



TABLE OF CONTENTS

Welcome messages

Greetings from University of Botswana Editorial Team.....	1
Greetings from APSA	3

Featured Article

POST-APARTHEID MASCULINITIES IN CONTEXT OF SERVICE DELIVERY PROTESTS.....	3
--	---

Announcements

Call for Papers/Proposals.....	7
Alumni Networking Grants	9
Announcement of 2014 Africa Workshop	9
Call for Teaching Resources	10

Alumni News and Publications... 10

WELCOME MESSAGES

Greetings from the University of Botswana Editorial Team

As the co-editors of this Africa workshop Alumni newsletter, we welcome you to this 2nd issue. This is a collaboration between APSA in the USA and CESPAM in the Department of Political and administrative Studies (PAS) and Department of Sociology in the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Botswana.

The main purpose of this newsletter is to bring together scholars, researchers, professionals, practitioners and students from APSA Africa workshops alumni and the continent in general. It is their platform to share ideas and inspire alumni and others by disseminating and sharing information relating to:

- Personal and professional development,
- Providing update on published or forthcoming books and articles,
- Journal articles of interest,
- Employment Opportunities,
- Announcement for meetings, conferences, workshops as well as deadlines for registration, submission of articles, and
- Provide updates from APSA regarding the next Africa workshop program.

We encourage you as the community of alumni to contribute and help the newsletter to achieve its aim of promoting cross pollination of ideas and experiences, while also enhancing and facilitating networking and professional development.

We also continue to encourage all Africa workshops alumni to feel free to contribute in any thematic areas whenever there is a call for papers publications, cutting edge research and announcement for grants, fellowships, meetings, and conferences opportunities.

We look forward to welcoming new alumni from the 2014 APSA Africa Workshop on “Distributive goods and distributive politics” to be held in Maputo, Mozambique, from June 30th to July 11th 2014.

We also wish to congratulate workshop leaders Anne Pitcher (University of Michigan, USA), Rod Alence (University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa), Brian Min (University of Michigan, USA), Carlos Shenga (Higher Institute of Public Administration, Mozambique) and Sylvia Croese (Stellenbosch University, South Africa).

In this issue, the article featured highlights “the discord between a progressive Constitutional decree of gender equality and rights and deeply entrenched hegemonic notions of gender.” Using the post-apartheid South African context, the authors, Malose Langa and Peace Kiguwa critically review the gendering of current service delivery protests amongst the working-class.

Attention is focused to a contradiction between a rising black middle-class elite and poor male protestors who tend to describe themselves as disempowered as men, making claims of emasculation and ‘stolen masculinity’.

The argument is that a masculinist discourse emerges where working class men construct their masculinity as losers in both services delivery and access to the bodies of women as a result of the rising black middle-class and foreigners.

Women’s bodies become the site of this struggle for service delivery, as commodities that can be stolen, and yet meted out with a growing intolerance towards them as leaders occupying local government positions.

Wishing you all a happy reading and please feel free to inform us about your excellent ideas and suggestions on how to do better in the next newsletter!

Co-editors:

Dr. Dorothy Mpabanga; mpabanga@mopipi.ub.bw
CESPAM Director/Senior Lecturer in PAS, University of Botswana

Dr. Sethunya Tshepho Mosime; mosimest@mopipi.ub.bw
Lecturer in Department of Sociology, University of Botswana

Website Manager:

Ronald Seabo Badubi, badubironald@gmail.com
University of Botswana

Greetings from APSA

I want to echo Dorothy and Sethunya's welcome to this second issue of the Alumni Newsletter and thank them for their hard work over the past several months in putting it together.

I'd also like to take this opportunity to introduce Saidat Ilo, who has joined the APSA staff as a graduate assistant on the Africa Project through this summer. Saidat is a doctoral candidate in political science at Howard University writing her dissertation on the competing bilateral economic relationships among Nigeria, China, and the United States. Over the coming months Saidat will be the new point of contact at APSA for all of our alumni community activities. She will also be expanding the project website to include additional web resources and enhance virtual connectivity. Feel free to contact her at silo@apsanet.org with any questions or suggestions, or even just to say hello.

I encourage all of our alumni to contribute to future newsletters through announcements, research submissions, and also by offering feedback and/or suggestions for how we can continue to provide a useful service through this endeavor.

For anyone who will be in Maputo this July, I welcome a chance to meet with you during the 2014 Africa Workshop. Best to all in the coming months!

Andrew Stinson; astinson@apsanet.org
APSA Coordinator for International Workshops

FEATURED ARTICLE

Post-apartheid masculinities in context of service delivery protests

Malose Langa; Malose.Langa@wits.ac.za

Senior Lecturer in Community Psychology, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

& Peace Kiguwa; Peace.Kiguwa@wits.ac.za

Lecturer in Social Psychology, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

Introduction

In this brief we examine public discourses of black masculinity in post-apartheid South Africa reflected in the current climate of a rising black middle-class elite and service delivery protests amongst the working-class. The continuously changing context of socio-political and economic transformations taking place in the country has witnessed political engagements in the public arena with transformations and complexities of gender, poverty and other pertinent issues by political leaders. These public engagements have also

been inadvertently been personal in nature whereby leaders have often been unwittingly compromised in specific gendered practices and dynamics of power. In their public engagements with these practices, particular constructs of black masculinity and femininity emerge that would seem to contradict the transformation and liberal progressive agendas that they espouse within the political domain. Furthermore, post-apartheid South Africa has been marked by increasing unrest and protest concerning service delivery of basic necessities within the communities.

These incidents highlight the gendered climate of issues concerning economic, social and cultural transformation within the public political sphere in the country. What do these contexts of violence and gender highlight about broader meanings of black masculinity and South Africa's gender transformation agenda?

Contextualising the issue

Mamdani (1996, p 29-30) has observed that the strength of South African context of transformation lies in "its civil society, both white and black...The strength of urban forces and civil society-based movements in South Africa mean that unlike in most African countries, the center of gravity of popular struggle was in the townships...". In some ways, the South African struggle was already and implicitly founded upon an urban, rights-based discourse that characterized the new ANC-led government. This emphasis on rights is evident in the Constitution's focus on entrenching universal human rights that include right to dignity, gender equality and freedom of speech amongst others. Since its transition into democracy South Africa has been marked by unsurprisingly contradictions and complexities in the practical entrenchment of some of the ideals of human rights laid out in its Constitution. Furthermore, redistribution of resources including land, education and employment remain a contentious issue for many. Another marked change has been the steady rise of a small but elite black middle class who have benefited immensely from the different economic transformation agendas within the country.

This steady increase of a black middle-class and political elite has in turn witnessed an upsurge in political and community unrest across the country related to poor service delivery of basic resources in the rural communities. Alexander (2010) however notes

that violent protests date back to the pre-democratic era and current protests are exemplary of this socio-historical practice. Since 2004, South Africa has been marked by steady increase in violent community protests. Recently, the Multi-Level Government Initiative tracked violent protests between February 2007 and August 2012, and conclude that an unprecedented increase in such social action in the country (De Visser and Powell, 2012). Within this context, service delivery protest discourses have also centred on a challenge to the growing black elite through masculinist discourse that highlights the shifting role and practice of hegemonic masculinity more generally. Furthermore, the political discourses on gender transformation in the country have played out along other public incidents involving black political and business leaders that would seem to contradict these ideals they espouse.

Black Masculinities post '94

Over the recent past years, there has been a growing interest in the field of gender studies on the study of men and political power (see, for example, Connell, 1995, 2000; Frosh et al., 2002; Khan, 2009; Morrell, 2001; Seidler, 2006). All these studies show masculinity differs in terms of class, race, ethnicity, and culture. Thus it has been argued that we need to speak of 'masculinities', not masculinity (Connell, 2000; Frosh et al., 2002) in order to capture the multiplicity of forms that masculinity can take in different contexts and at different historical moments. In South Africa, Morrell also argues that "there is no one, typical South African masculinity" (2001, p.33), but rather different masculinities. South African masculinity was complicated by the long history of colonial apartheid. In an article in the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Morrell (1998) highlights how white Afrikaner masculinity became hegemonic in relation to black masculinity under the apartheid regime. Many black men felt emasculated in being

called 'my boys' or 'kaffirs', by their white bosses (Morrell, 1998, p. 854). Many black men were forced into the 'role of a non-man'-having to embrace the powerlessness of knowing that "white people could violate your life at will" (Clowes, 2005, pp.103-104). Clearly, under apartheid, black masculinity was positioned as inferior to white masculinity. White men were in a position of power and authority and had the privilege to freely violate a black man's rights.

Undoubtedly, the apartheid regime influenced comrades/activists to develop certain notions of militarised/struggle masculinity (Langa & Eagle, 2008; Xaba, 2001), which refers to young men active involvement in politics and violent, protest activities that were aimed at defeating the apartheid regime. Some of these young men even left the country to go and join various military groups. Post 1994, virtually overnight, the comrades were required to change their life scripts from those of freedom fighters to take on the identity of ministers in government and business entrepreneurs through taking advantage of Black Economic Empowerment (B.E.E) opportunities. Morrell (2001) argues that practices of masculinity are non-static, but they continuously change depending on the context in which men find themselves. The discussion of masculinity in South Africa illustrates well that as societal changes take place, new forms of masculinity also emerge. In *Changing Men in South Africa*, Morrell (2001) argues that men responded differently to changes in gender relations in South Africa. Some have responded flexibly to the erosion of male privileges, while others have wanted to maintain the status quo of men-in-charge and denigration of women as sex objects, despite all policies and legislations aimed at promoting healthy alternative masculinities, gender equality and anti-sexist agendas. The discourses of service delivery protests have focused on feelings of powerlessness and

perceived emasculation amongst many of the young men in the communities (Langa and Kiguwa, 2013). Equating masculinity via social status and practice of employment, these young men engage with theirs and the plight of their communities via discourses that challenge and critique local black elite leaders. The power struggle reflected in these dynamics and in the protest discourse further draws distinctions between working-class and middle-class men that re-invent old apartheid militarised masculinities (Langa and Kiguwa, 2013). The latter form of masculinity was primarily directed at local councillors within the communities who were perceived as corrupt representatives of the government failing to provide basic necessities in the communities. Interestingly, the interviews with a majority of the protestors indicate a masculinist engagement with economic and cultural contexts of transformation whereby protestors described the visible consumerism and materialism displayed by these local leaders as indicate of dominant masculinity and described themselves as disempowered as men.

The increasing ide of xenophobic violence has also been characterized by such discursive constructs of emasculation and 'stolen masculinity', whereby foreign nationals are perceived as not only stealing local men's jobs but also their women (Dodson and Oelofse, 2000). Masculinity within this context is thus redefined within broader commodification of women's bodies and social and personal agency. The female body becomes the symbolic domain wherein contests and struggles over legitimating forms of masculinity are defined (Langa and Kiguwa, 2013).

The contestation over women's bodies is not the exclusive domain where struggles and redefinitions of black masculinity are played out. The violent protests within the

communities have also been characterized by an intolerance of women leaders occupying local government positions. Post-apartheid democratic transformations have witnessed a concerted attempt at redressing previous gender inequalities (Morrel, 2001). This has entailed electing more women into leadership positions not only at political levels but also more generally. Some of the dominant discursive constructs of masculinity during the service delivery protests has been a marked rejection of this gendered leadership, with some protestors arguing “we can’t be led by a woman” or “women are not good leaders” (cited in Langa and Kiguwa, 2013, p. 8). Abusive comments related to women councillors have also characterized other municipal violent protests and some women leaders even been accused of only occupying their posts because of sexual favours that they have provided to specific male figures.

Conclusion

The widening gap between black working-class and black middle-class has been played out in a post-apartheid context in different and multiple ways. One of these intricate ways has been the increasing surge of service delivery protests in the country that have been equally distinct in their re-invention of militarised forms of black masculinity evoking of old apartheid era. These discourses have highlighted the emphasis on constructs of black masculinity that engages with women’s bodies as sites of struggle over legitimate forms of masculinity. Furthermore, contradictions of gender transformation within the broader public arena and as espoused by political leaders highlight the discord between a progressive Constitutional decree of gender equality and rights and deeply entrenched hegemonic notions of gender.

References

- Alexander P (2010) ‘Rebellion of the poor: South Africa’s service delivery protests- a preliminary analysis’, in *Review of African Political Economy*, 37, 123, 25_40.
- Clowes, L. (2005). To be a man: Changing constructions of manhood in Drum Magazine, 1951-1965. In L. Ouzgane., & R. Morrell. (Eds). *African masculinities: men in Africa from the late 19th century to the present*, (pp. 89-108). University of Kwa-Zulu Natal: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Connell, R.W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Polity Press. Cambridge.
- Connell, R.W. (2000). *The men and the Boys*. Polity Press. Cambridge.
- De Visser, T & Powel, D (2012). Service Delivery Protest Barometer 2007-2012. Mutli-Level Government Initiative, Cape Town: Community Law Centre.
- Dodson, B., & Oelofse, C. (2000). Shades of xenophobia: in-migrants and immigrants in Mizamoyethu, Cape Town. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue canadienne des études africaines*, 34(1), 124-148.
- Frosh, S., Phoenix, A., & Pattman, R. (2002). *Young masculinities: Understanding boys in contemporary society*. New York: Palgrave.
- Kahn, J. S. (2009). *An introduction to masculinities*. UK: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Langa, M., & Eagle, G. (2008). The intractability of militarised masculinity: A case study of former Self-Defence Unit members in the Kathorus area, South Africa. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 38(1), 152-175.

Langa, M., & Kiguwa, P. (2013). Violent masculinities and service delivery protests in post-apartheid South Africa: A case study of two communities in Mpumalanga. *Agenda*, 27(1), 20-31.

Mamdani, Mahmood. (1996). *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. Cape Town: David Philip

Morrell, R. (1998). Of boys and men: masculinity and gender in Southern Africa studies. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24(5), 605-630.

Morrell, R. (2001). *Changing men in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.

Morrell, R. (Ed.). (2001). *Changing men in southern Africa*. Zed Books.

Seidler, V. (2006). *Young men and masculinities: global cultures and intimate lives*. London: Zed books

Xaba, T. (2001). Masculinity and its Malcontents: The Confrontation between 'Struggle Masculinity' and 'Post-struggle Masculinity'(1990-1997). *Changing men in southern Africa*, 105-124.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Call for Papers/Proposals

Call for papers for October 2014 issue of Alumni e-Newsletter, on "The gendering of leadership in the postcolonial African state"

Submissions are requested from alumni that address broader issues on leadership and the gendering of the postcolonial African state. Attention has been paid to questions of gender and representation in Africa, with many comparative studies done on the challenges and opportunities, among other things, for increasing numbers of women in decision-making positions, focusing on the disadvantaged 'girl-child' and feminization of poverty. The first decade of the 21st century also saw an unprecedented number of legal reforms across the continent attempting to address discrimination on the basis of gender and gender-based violence. Parallel to this has been a growing sentiment that perhaps the focus on women has happened at the expense of men, hence the thesis that African masculinities are in crisis. According to Robert Morell (1998), "the inclusion of women in the study of the past and the recognition of their agency has filled an important lacuna but also has made evident the corresponding gap in knowledge about men." The strongly emerging trajectory is that gender issues are not just about women, hence the trend towards replacing the term 'women', with the presumably inclusive 'gender'. Where we used to have 'women studies', 'women's affairs departments', 'women and the law', we are increasingly seeing a shift to 'gender studies', 'gender affairs departments', and 'gender and the law'. We have also seen an increasing emphasis on making penal codes inclusive of both genders in definitions of offenses like rape and other forms of gender-based violence. However, debates about African masculinities have remained situated around identities, but little has been done to link African masculinities to the state, as if the shifts in masculinities have no impact of the state. If masculinities shift, so do patriarchies; and does the nature of the state. The question is, what has been the impact of these changes to the 'gendering' the African state? We are inviting papers from

a broad spectrum of perspectives that link in various ways the idea of a crisis of masculinity to the contemporary postcolonial African state.

Submissions of up to 6000 words are invited for this call, to be featured in the October issue of the newsletter. No referencing style is prescribed, but authors have to be consistent with their selected referencing style. Submission deadline: May 30 2014

Alumni are invited to propose possible themes for future feature articles. If there is a theme you would like to see featured in the APSA Africa e-newsletter, you are welcome to submit a 500 words call for papers (CFP), briefly providing the context and possible thematic areas for authors. The editorial committee reserves the right to make the final decision on the CFP and on the selection of the article to be featured. Send submission to MPABANGA@mopipi.ub.bw or mosimest@mopipi.ub.bw or badubironald@gmail.com.

Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) Governance Research Programme: Comparative Research Network on “Africa’s Changing Security Sector Institutional Landscape”

Within the framework of its strategy for building comparative knowledge on Africa produced from within the African continent, the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) invites proposals from researchers based in African universities and centres of research for the constitution of a special Comparative Research Network (CRN) on Africa’s changing security sector institutional landscape.

Deadline for Proposal Submission: May 31, 2014. More information about this and other conferences can be found at: <http://www.codesria.org/spip.php?rubrique7&lang=en>.

57th Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association on “Rethinking Violence, Reconstruction, and Reconciliation”

November 20-23, 2014; JW Marriott Indianapolis Hotel in Indianapolis, IN, USA
Program Chairs: Odile Cazenave, Boston University; and Clifton Crais, Emory University

We are soliciting proposals for papers, panels, and roundtables. Presentations may focus on the theme of “Rethinking Violence, Reconstruction, and Reconciliation” or on broader social science, humanities, and applied themes relating to Africa. We strongly encourage the submission of formed panels.

Deadline for proposal submission: March 15, 2014. You can find more information on the theme and the guidelines for proposals at the ASA website: <http://www.africanstudies.org/annual-meetings/call-for-proposals>.

32nd Annual Association of Third World Studies Conference on “The Coming Decade: The Role of Leadership, Institutions, and Culture in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.”

October 16-18, 2014; Metropolitan State University of Denver in Denver, CO, USA
Deadline for Submission of Abstracts: September 1, 2014

To submit an abstract and register for the 2014 ATWS conference, please access the conference registration and paper/panel submission page through <http://apps.gsw.edu/~atws/> (look under “Conferences”). Abstracts may also be submitted, and registration completed, directly through www.regonline.com/ATWS2014.

Alumni Networking Grants

APSA invites all Africa-based workshop alumni to participate in the new Alumni Networking Grants program. Made possible by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, grants of up to \$12,000 are available to support alumni participation in activities as presenting at an academic conference, hosting a mini-workshop at your home institution, or finding support for advancing current research towards publication. Since August 2013, APSA has awarded six Alumni Networking Grants to 11 Africa workshop alumni, totaling over \$37,000. Recipients include:

- 1) Beranger Avohoueme (2013) – Professional Development Grant
- 2) Richard Asante (2011) – Professional Development Grant
- 3) Rasel Madaha (2010) – Professional Development Grant
- 4) Joseph Fashagba (2011) and Carl LeVan (2011) – Publication Grant
- 5) Danielle Carter (2012), Mesharch Katusiimeh (2012), Lauren MacLean (2012) – Workshop Grant
- 6) Bonnie Ayodele (2010), Azeez Olayian (2012), and Taiwo Owoye (2013) – Workshop Grant

Congratulations to these alumni! Grant applications will be reviewed by the Africa project steering committee at regular intervals throughout the year. The next deadline is May 9, 2014. Additional information on the Alumni Networking Grants program can be found at <http://community.apsanet.org/Africa/alumnigrants>. Questions should be directed to Saidat Ilo at silo@apsanet.org.



Announcement on 2014 Africa Workshop

The 7th annual Africa Workshop will take place from June 30 to July 11 in Maputo, Mozambique, hosted by the Higher Institute of Public Administration (ISAP). The US-based workshop leaders are Anne Pitcher and Brian Min (both University of Michigan). Their Africa-based colleagues are Rod Alence (University of Witwatersrand, South Africa), Sylvia Croese (Stellenbosch University, South Africa), and Carlos Shenga (ISAP, Mozambique).

Entitled “Distributive Goods and Distributive Politics”, the workshop will focus on the study of how governments allocate goods and services and how these allocations affect political outcomes. The course will combine discussion of classic and contemporary theoretical and methodological research on goods provision with hands-on statistical training in the use of R, a publicly available statistical package. Fellows will work with a range of datasets and strengthen their ability to analyze the distribution of public and private goods and their political impacts.

The deadline for applications was March 14 and participants will be selected in early April. Over the coming months, we look forward to welcoming an additional cohort of 26 scholars to the Africa Workshops alumni community.

Call for Teaching Resources

The APSA Africa Workshops team would like to compile teaching resources that may be helpful to the alumni community. We would like to hear from you as to what kinds of teaching resources will be most useful to you (e.g. sample course outlines/syllabi, a peer teaching advice column from one of your fellow alumni or other APSA members, integrating technology in the classroom, reading materials for students, etc). Please send your suggestions to Saidat Ilo at silo@apsanet.org.

ALUMNI NEWS AND PUBLICATIONS

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

1. Richard Asante (2011) published his article “Making Democracy Work? Quasi-Public Entities and the Drama of Elections in Ghana” in the October 2013 special issue of the Journal of African Elections.
2. In November 2013, 25 alumni and leaders presented their research at the African Studies Association's Annual Meeting in Baltimore, Maryland (USA). See [Project News](#) on the website for more information.
3. Abosede Babatunde (2012) was awarded a Peace fellowship by the Consortium of Peace Studies at the University of Calgary, Canada, where she was a visiting scholar in residence from September through December, 2013.
4. Yahaya T. Baba (2013) was selected as a Junior Researcher by the Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence, at the University of Bielefeld, Germany, the project lasted from October, 2013 through January, 2014.
5. Herman Touo (2010) published his article “Gender Equality, Legislative Recruitment Process and Selection of other Political Executives in Modern Politics: Empirical Evidence from Cameroon” in the December 2013 issue of the *Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Studies*.
6. Yacouba Moluh’s (2012) article "Democratization and Accommodation of Political Representation in Cameroon: The Case Study of the Sawa and Beti People" was published in *VRU, Law and Politics in Africa / Asia / Latin America*. Issue 3/2013.
7. Baholy Malala Ravonison (2013) completed her PhD in December 2013 and was recruited by her alma mater in the Department of Anthropology.
8. Mamadou Lamine Dembélé (2013) completed his PhD in January 2014.

9. Several alumni attended a workshop on African State Legislatures: Subnational Politics and National Power, hosted by Landmark University in Nigeria on January 7-8, 2014 and funded by the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). Presentations were given by Yahaya Baba (2011), Joseph Fashagba (2011), Solomon Gofie (2011), Carl LeVan (2011), and Majuta Judas Mamogale (2012). Organizers Joseph and Carl are planning a follow-up roundtable at NED headquarters in Washington, DC (USA) on March 26 at 12:30pm.

