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WELCOME MESSAGES

Greetings from APSA

I'd like to start off our next edition of the Africa Workshops Alumni Newsletter by thanking Dorothy and Sethunya for their dedication and hard work over the past year in managing this production. The newsletter continues to be a useful medium for connecting alumni with each other and with current scholarship in the discipline, and I hope it will continue to do so even after the conclusion of APSA's Africa Workshops program.

As many of you know, 2014 was due to be the last Africa Workshop funded through the Mellon Foundation. However, through long-term cost savings we are delighted to announce an 8th and final Africa Workshop in 2015, with alumni networking grants and professional opportunities extending throughout the year. Since 2008 when the first workshop was held in Dakar, Senegal almost 200 scholars (including participants and co-leaders) have taken part in the program. While membership to APSA and the African Politics Conference Group can be a useful way to connect with the broader political science discipline, the Africa Workshops alumni community represents a significant network and resource on its own. Here at APSA we're giving serious consideration to how we can best maintain our engagement with the alumni community beyond 2015. Please get in touch with your thoughts and ideas on how we can take this forward. Your feedback is much needed and greatly appreciated!

I also want to encourage you to contribute to future newsletters through announcements in the "Alumni News and Publications" section and with research submissions for "Featured Articles."

For anyone who will be at the African Studies Association's Annual Meeting in Indianapolis this November, I look forward to seeing you there! Best to all in the coming months and stay well!

Andrew Stinson; astinson@apsanet.org
Manager, APSA International Workshops

Greetings from the University of Botswana Editorial Team

Greetings from the city of Gaborone! Like Andrew has alluded, we are glad that this will not be the last issue of the newsletter despite the fact that funding from Mellon Foundation will come to an end this year. We plan to continue working with the newsletter until such time that we have identified volunteers who would like to take over from us and continue informing APSA Alumni about what is going on around the continent in terms of research, capacity building and socio-economic, cultural and political developments in Africa and globally.

In the global village, networking of academics, researchers, practitioners and policy makers is one of the greatest means of informing others about what is going on in our countries and other parts of the world. This newsletter was developed and designed to serve this purpose and the same spirit should continue so that those who come after us will have an excellent point of reference through the APSA Alumni newsletter.

We have selected democratic elections in Southern Africa as the theme for this issue to divert our attention for a moment to very interesting developments regarding elections that have taken place during 2014 in the SADC region. The emerging trends regarding democratic elections in the four selected countries brings out profound lessons to us all regarding how democracies develop and mature over time, for example Botswana and Malawi as well as trends in new democracies in Mozambique and South Africa.

We hope that you will enjoy this issue and note of and advantage of announcements and opportunities in terms of capacity building, research and networking.
We wish you all the best for the remainder of 2014!

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FEATURED ARTICLE

THE 2014 SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGIONAL ELECTIONS: Should we look forth to the coming elections in 2019 with great anticipation?

*Prof. Brothers Wilright Malema;
Associate Professor of Economics, University of Botswana*

Introduction: The year 2014 has witnessed not less than four elections in the Southern Africa sub region, with two of the sub-regions economic powers South Africa and Botswana going to the elections with interesting results in particular for Botswana. Mozambique an emerging impressive economic performer has also held its elections this year which also reflect some dynamics, which just like Botswana have the potential for a mouth-watering election come 2019. Malawi's elections might reflect something uniquely different from the other three countries. We wish to take a look at individual countries and look briefly at their performance in this year's elections relative to the previous one(s) depending on the available data. Whereas background information and underpinnings leading to elections would have made an interesting reading of the results, this may not be possible for all the countries and where such is available it shall be accordingly referred to.

Malawi: The country held its elections on May 2014 and though the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) had more members of Parliament at 50, they were not enough as they amounted to less than 33 percent of the total seats in parliament, which stood at 192/4. The party did not therefore have the requisite numbers to usher it as the new government for the country. As a matter of fact it was only a mere two seats above those acquired by the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) which had 48. The Peoples Party and the United Democratic Front had 26 and 14 respectively, while the

independents stood at 52. The total number of women elected to office stood at 30 which translate to 15.6 percent of the elected legislators.

A comparison with the previous elections of May 2009 gives more of a contrasting picture and points to some dynamics which may serve as a precursor to the 2019 elections. In the 2009 results the Democratic Progressive Party scooped 114 of the 193 seats in Parliament which undoubtedly made it the majority party in parliament. This represented 59.1 percent of the legislators. It was followed at a distance by the Malawi Congress Party with 26 seats and the United Democratic Party registered only 17 wins. The independents were 32, reflecting 16.6 percent of all members of parliament.

A comparison of the two elections indicates that the DPP lost more than 50 percent of its elected legislators within a period of five years. At the same time the MCP managed to increase the number of legislators by 84.6 percent from 26 in 2009 to 48 in 2014. The Maravi People's Party (MPP) which had a paltry one legislator in 2009, managed to have 26 in 2014 reflecting a 2500 percent growth. The growth rate could be misleading and should factor in the fact that the party had only one elected Member of Parliament in the previous elections. In comparison with the MCP it is clear that in terms of the absolute increases in the number of legislators, the two parties compare favourably as MCP increased by 22 voters while it was 25 for MPP.

However, when viewed through the lenses of percentages the disparities are extraordinarily significant.

In 2009, the majority party, being the DPP had Bingu wa Mutharika, its presidential candidate win comfortably by 65.98 of all the presidential cast votes. He was followed at a distant second by the MCP's presidential candidate John Tembo who was voted by less than half of the voters who voted the winner to the state house at 30.69 percent. All the other remaining presidential candidates scored less than one percent each.

As for the 2014 elections the presidential candidate for Democratic Progressive Party, Peter Mutharika won the elections with 36.4 percent of the vote against the incumbent Joyce Banda of the People's Party who came third with 20.2 percent of the presidential votes. Lazarus Chakwera was second with 27.8 percent.

Mozambique: The elections reflected some similarities to some degree with those observed in Malawi for the two elections under observation or discussion. While the Frelimo Party managed to hold on to government, it suffered considerable losses to the benefit primarily of Renamo. The Frelimo Party had 191 legislators of a total 250 possible legislators in 2009, only to lose 47 of those in 2014 to end up with 144 legislators. Renamo was able to increase its legislators by 38 to 89 while the remaining nine went to Mozambique Demoratic Movement which won 17 seats. Clearly the dominance of Frelimo is waning on the basis of the last two elections.

The Frelimo presidential candidate Filipe Nyusi was the winner having been voted for by 57.03 percent of the voters, which was only 1.7 percent above the popular vote for the party which was 55.93 percent. Alfoso

Dhlakama was the runner up having garnered 36.61 percent of the votes which was above the 32.46 percent netted by his party Renamo.

South Africa: The dominance of the African National Congress (ANC) was once again on display as the party managed 62.15 percent of the popular vote and 249 seats from a total of 400. It was followed by the Democratic Alliance (DA) at 22.23 percent and Economic Freedom Fighters, which broke away from the ANC at 6.35 percent. In 2009 elections the ANC's popular vote was 65.90 percent and the party had 264 seats out of a total 400 seats. The DA was still the major opposition at 16.66 percent while in third place, it was Congress of the People (COPE), another break away party from the ANC. However, COPE has in the current 2014 elections fallen down the packing order and one is left wondering whether the same fate might be awaiting EFF come 2019.

The popular vote of the ANC has been on a decline since the very first elections in 1994. However, it continues to enjoy support from more than 60 percent of the population and one would expect it to be worried of its consistently declining fortunes. Unlike the other two countries Malawi and Mozambique, the president of South Africa is not directly elected. The party with the majority support has its president automatically ascend to the throne of the highest office of the land, upon the party's victory. President Jacob Zuma is on his second and last term in office.

Botswana: The country held what has been deemed the most fiercely and hotly contested election in her history. The ruling Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) emerged victorious albeit with serious dents inflicted upon primarily by the newly formed coalition, the Umbrella for Democratic Change (UDC). The UDC was formed by the major opposition Botswana National Front (BNF), the Botswana

People's Party and the break away party, the Botswana Movement for Democracy (BMD) which is the offshoot of the BDP. The BMD was formed following what was perceived by its founding members as an emergence of dictatorial tendencies by its President and the state President Lt. Gen. Ian Khama Seretse Khama a former army commander and the son of the founding president of independent Botswana.

In the 2009 elections were won by BDP, in which the party was able to win 45 of a total of 57 seats in parliament, and the opposition collectively had the remaining 12. The BDP was voted by 53 percent of the total voters. In the just ended 2014 elections the BDP won 37 of the 57 legislative seats while the opposition won the remaining 20 seats with the UDC winning 17 and Botswana Congress Party

(BCP) 3. For the first time in Botswana's history the BDP is governing the country with 46.5 percent of the popular vote while the UDC and BCP are at 30 percent and 21 percent respectively. The First Past The Post political system under which the country has been operating since independence has sustained the BDP's rule.

Conclusion: There is a very clear case amongst the four countries under discussion on the basis of the previous two or more elections that the party's which have been dominant are experiencing some waning popularity. This sets the stage for interesting elections come 2019. In the case of Botswana, Africa's oldest democracy the ruling party has been in power since 1966, when the country attained independence.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Call for Papers/Proposals

The Centre of African Studies at the University of Cambridge invites applications for two **Visiting Research Fellowships** from candidates in all the disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. The aim of the Fellowships is to enable the fellows to focus on a period of research and writing in Cambridge. Preference will be given to early-to-mid-career candidates with a distinguished research profile. They are expected to be permanent residents in Africa. The appointments will take place from 1 October 2015 – 31 March 2016 and are non-renewable. Each award is worth up to £14,000; out of which travel, college accommodation, maintenance costs and medical insurance will be paid by the Centre on behalf of the fellow. The closing date for applications is 9 January 2015. An application package may be downloaded from our website: www.african.cam.ac.uk.

The second **Annual Bank Conference on Africa (ABCA)** will be held in Berkeley, California, on June 8-9, 2015. It will cover various topics pertinent to the causes, solutions, and understanding of conflict and fragility in sub-Saharan Africa. It is being organized jointly by the Center for Effective Global Action (CEGA) at the University of California at Berkeley and the World Bank (Office of the Chief Economist for the Africa Region). *Full papers should be submitted in PDF format by January 31, 2015.* Limited funds to support travel for successful African presenters may be available. For more information see their online [Call for Papers](#).

A Call for Applications for PhD candidates interested in attending the inaugural writing workshop for emerging Southern African scholars hosted in conjunction with the **Journal of Southern African Studies 1st Biennial Conference**. The primary aim of the workshop will be to support emerging scholars from the Southern African region to develop their writing skills and enable them to refine and prepare original papers that can be considered for publication in international peer-reviewed journals. Workshop sessions will take place immediately before the conference and all participants will attend both events. Participation will be fully supported with free accommodation, meals and return transport for those selected. *The deadline for application is 21 November 2014.* For more information contact Dr. Andrew Brooks, King's College London: Andrew.brooks@kcl.ac.uk.

The **University of British Columbia's Faculty of Law** has established a **Junior Scholar Workshop** to stimulate the exchange of ideas and research among younger scholars in the academy on "Human Rights in the Global South: The Role of the State and the Non-State." A large emphasis in this Workshop is placed on bringing together early career researchers from the Global South for a dialogue with junior and senior faculty members from UBC Law and beyond to present their work and receive immediate feedback on scholarship at the intersection of law and human rights. The 2015 Workshop will take place in Vancouver, Canada from the evening of June 8th and ending the evening of June 10th. This call for papers invites the submission of abstracts, in English, of no more than two (2) pages long along with a current curriculum vitae. *Abstracts are due by December 1, 2014 to Ms. Iris Oi Yin Lee by email (lee@law.ubc.ca).* For more information, visit: <http://gscis.blogspot.com/2014/10/junior-scholar-workshop-at-university.html>.

The **International Studies Association** invites applications from junior scholars for the **James N. Rosenau Postdoctoral Fellowship**. The competition is open to scholars in the social sciences and humanities who have received their Ph.D. within the past two years or who will receive their Ph.D. on or by July 1, 2015. The 12-month stipend is \$50,000 and it does not have an in-residence requirement. The successful applicant will spend 3/4th time (30 hours per week) pursuing their research project, and 1/4th time (10 hours per week) conducting research (remotely) on behalf of ISA. *All application materials must be submitted electronically to postdoc@isanet.org on or before January 15, 2015.* See the [Call for Applicants](#) for more information.

The **African Peacebuilding Network (APN)** of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) invites **residential postdoctoral fellowship** applications from African academics and researchers who work on conflict and peacebuilding and are based in universities in Africa. The residential postdoctoral fellowship is directed toward African PhDs based in African universities who are in the early postdoctoral phase of their scholarly careers. Fellowships are awarded on a competitive, peer-reviewed basis and are intended to support three months of residency in Africa and the United States, from September 2015 through December 2015. Fellows will also have the opportunity to attend the APN's writing workshop and will be expected to present their research to scholarly and practice communities in their host country as well as the United States. Up to four individual grants of a maximum of \$20,000 will be awarded. *Applications are due by 9 pm EST, December 14, 2014.* If you have questions, please contact APN program staff by e-mail at apn@ssrc.org read the APN Postdoctoral Fellowship Frequently Asked Questions

Next Generation Social Sciences in Africa Fellowships in peace, security & development are now available. The SSRC offers three distinct competitive fellowship opportunities to support the advancement of social science faculty toward completion of doctoral degrees in Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, and Uganda. *Annual Deadline is December 1st.* For more information visit <http://www.ssrc.org/programs/nextgenafrika/>.

The **American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS)**, with financial support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, announces competitions for: 1) **Dissertation-completion fellowships** in Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Uganda, and 2) **Early-career postdoctoral fellowships** in Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, Uganda, and South Africa. Stipends are \$10,000 for dissertation-completion Fellows and \$17,000 for postdoctoral Fellows, plus an additional \$1,000 per Fellow for books and media at both award levels. Fellowships release recipients from teaching and other duties for an academic year to permit full-time research and writing. (They may be used to "buy time.") Recipients of both kinds of fellowship are also eligible for further support in the form of a residency at a participating research center in Africa for a sustained period of writing. Approximately forty fellowships will be awarded annually in all five countries combined. *Application Deadline: 1 November 2014.* Application forms and instructions for the 2014–2015 competition will be available at www.acls.org/programs/ahp or may be requested by email at ahp@acsls.org.

Alumni Networking Grants

APSA invites all Africa-based workshop alumni to take part in the 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 over \$47,600 in small grants to 18 Africa Workshops alumni. Recent recipients include:

February 2014

Aremu Fatai Ayinde (2012) – \$902 *Professional Development Grant*
Edmond Mballa Elanga (2013) – \$990 *Professional Development Grant*
Henry Kam Kah (2009) - \$1,025 *Professional Development Grant*

May 2014

Freedom Onuoha (2009) - \$1,770 *Professional Development Grant*

August 2014

Alpha Ba (2014) - \$1,770 *Professional Development Grant*
Celso Monjane (2014) - \$1,970 *Professional Development Grant*
Idahosa Osaretin (2014) - \$1,918 *Professional Development Grant*

Congratulations to these alumni! Grant applications will be reviewed by the Africa project steering committee in February, May, and August through 2015. Additional information can be found online at <http://community.apsanet.org/Africa/alumnigrants>.

Summary of 2014 Africa Workshop

APSA's 2014 Africa Workshop was held in partnership with the Higher Institute of Public Administration (ISAP) in Maputo, Mozambique – making this year's program the first one held in a Lusophone country. Twenty-four scholars from ten different countries attended the workshop on "Distributive Goods and Distributive Politics." Additional information is available online at the [2014 Workshop page](#).

The workshop co-leaders – Rod Alence (University of Witwatersrand, South Africa), Sylvia Croese (University of Stellenbosch, South Africa), Brian Min (University of Michigan, USA), Anne Pitcher (University of Michigan, USA), and Carlos Shenga (ISAP, Mozambique) – put together a two week program that combined discussions of theoretical and methodological research on goods provision with hands-on statistical training in the use of R, a free, open-source statistical package. Site visits and presentations at the National Institute of Statistics, the National Institute of Health and the Institute for Social and Economic Studies provided insight into some of the ways that government and independent research groups collect and rely on empirical data to understand the crippling effects of HIV-AIDS, the persistence of poverty, inequality, and the distribution of goods across the country. For a detailed summary of events from this year's Africa Workshop, download the complete [2014 Workshop Proceedings](#).

A special word of thanks is due to workshop co-leader Carlos Shenga, ISAP's Academic Director; and Rodolfo Manhice, lecturer and head of the ISAP Resource Centre, who provided invaluable assistance in facilitating this workshop.

Following the workshop, all Africa-based alumni were provided with 3 years' complimentary membership to APSA and are encouraged to take part in the activities of the association as much as possible. This brings the APSA Africa Workshop alumni community up to a network of 170 scholars from across Africa and the United States!

Stay tuned for an announcement of the theme, leaders, location, and Call for Applications for the 2015 workshop, which will be posted to the project website in late December.



ALUMNI NEWS AND PUBLICATIONS

Please join me in congratulating the following alumni for their continued professional accomplishments! In addition, twenty-two former participants and co-leaders were invited to present their research at APSA's Annual Meeting in Washington DC (USA) this August. See the [Project News](#) section of our website for more information. If you would like to submit an announcement to be included in future Alumni News, e-mail africannewsletter@apsanet.org.

2008 Alumni - Dakar, Senegal

- Catherine Boone (London School of Economics) has a new article in the Spring 2014 issue of *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, "Social networks, resources, and international NGOs in postwar Sierra Leone," vol. 4, no. 1: 33-59.

2010 Alumni - Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

- Alice Kang (University of Nebraska-Lincoln) wrote a book chapter "How Civil Society Represents Women: Feminists, Catholics, and Mobilization Strategies in Africa" published in *Representation: The Case of Women*, edited by Maria Escobar-Lemmon and Michelle Taylor-Robinson (Oxford University Press, 2014).
- Peace Medie (University of Ghana) was awarded the biennial African Author Prize at the African Studies Association of the UK's (ASAUK) conference in September, for her article "Fighting gender-based violence: The women's movement and the enforcement of rape law in Liberia."

2011 Alumni - Nairobi, Kenya

- Carl LeVan (American University) and Josiah Olubowale (University of Trinidad) have a new article in the July 2014 issue of *African Affairs*, "I am here until development comes': Displacement, demolitions, and property rights in urbanizing Nigeria," vol. 113, no. 452: 387-408.

2012 Alumni - Gaborone, Botswana

- Lauren Maclean (Indiana University) was co-editor of the book "*The Politics of Non-State Social Welfare in the Global South*" recently published by Cornell University Press.
- Azeez Olaniyan (Ekiti State University) was awarded an African Humanities Program Postdoctoral Fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS)
- Abosede Babatunde (University of Ilorin) has a new article in the Fall 2014 issue of the *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, "Oil, Environmental Conflict and the Challenges of Sustainable Development in the Niger Delta," vol 9, issue 2: 77-82.

2013 Alumni - Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso

- Edmond Eballa Elanga (University of Douala) had his book, "*La politisation des associations religieuses pentecôtistes au Cameroun*," published by Éditions Universitaires Européennes in February.
- Blessing Onyima (Nnamdi Azikiwe University) was awarded an Early Career Academic Grant from the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) in April.
- Hassan Ndzovu (Moi University) had his book, "*Muslims in Kenyan Politics: Political Involvement, Marginalization, and Minority Status*," published by Northwestern University Press in October, following a Global Encounters postdoctoral appointment

2014 Alumni - Maputo, Mozambique

- Abubakar Abdullahi completed his PhD in Political Science this August at Usmanu Danfodiyo University in Sokoto, Nigeria.
- Janet Monisola Oluwaleye completed her PhD in Political Science this October at Ekiti State University, Nigeria.