

# Democracy, Citizenship and Public Policy in Africa

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REPORT 2020 - 2021

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**institute for democracy,  
citizenship and public policy in  
Africa**



## Acting director's report

Lockdowns in response to the COVID-19 pandemic hit the Institute hard. The University of Cape Town closed physically in March 2020. Many foreign students were sent back to their home countries. The university remained largely shut through the whole of 2020 and 2021. Most researchers and administrators worked from home. Seminars were replaced by webinars. We all missed the everyday interactions that are integral to sustaining an intellectual community. Travel and fieldwork were difficult for long periods. It became much harder to raise new funds.

One major event that unfortunately had to be postponed was the launch of a new initiative falling under the Institute. Associate Professor Ndangwa Noyoo established the Zola Skweyiya African Social Policy Innovation initiative, named after Zola Skweyiya, whose career included ten successful years as Minister of Social Development in South Africa. The launch of the initiative – and the accompanying conference focusing on the life and work of Zola Skweyiya – had to be postponed to 2022.

The Institute remained active despite these challenges. In 2020-21 the Institute's researchers published 2 books, 28 book chapters, 29 peer-reviewed journal articles and 24 Working Papers or Policy Papers (see pages 13-14), as well as numerous articles in the media and other shorter pieces. We have now launched our own Working Paper series. We have assisted Afrobarometer to complete its round 8 interviews and commence its round 9 interviews across Africa (see pages 3-4). We have held well-attended webinars and online workshops and conferences (see page 12). We have collaborated in pioneering research on political parties and elections (see pages 5-6), including in Zambia (see pages 7-8).

Some of our work pivoted to focus on the impact of and responses to COVID. Ndangwa Noyoo co-edited a volume on [The Coronavirus Crisis and Challenges to Social Development](#). Lena Gronbach and I analysed [social protection reforms in Southern Africa](#) and I coauthored a series of pieces in the media on South Africa's slow vaccination rollout.

## Rebuilding an intellectual community

Prior to COVID-19 we had a busy schedule of workshops and seminars that contributed to a healthy intellectual community. Our workshops brought together researchers from across the region and further afield. Our fortnightly lunchtime seminars provided opportunities primarily for the presentation of work-in-progress by our own researchers.

COVID-19 disrupted all of this activity.

In 2021 we resumed a busy programme of regular webinars and online or hybrid workshops (see page 12). Matthias Kronke and Sishuwa Sishuwa organized a series of monthly webinars on the theme of democracy in Southern Africa. These were so well-attended that we reached the limit of 100 participants on our zoom license and some people were then unable to join the webinar. We also resumed lunchtime webinars. We collaborated in a series of three hybrid workshops on the Zambian elections (see pages 7-8). We held a series of webinars on recent research on social policy and two dedicated workshops on attitudes and beliefs around social protection.

In addition, Ndangwa Noyoo organized a series of online events with the Oliver and Adelaide Tambo Foundation on the theme of 'the unfinished business of liberation'. We also collaborated with UCT's Nelson Mandela School of Public Governance and the South African Institute of International Affairs over specific events.

## Administration

Associate Professor John Akokpari continued as Director through 2020. John left for a well-earned sabbatical at the beginning of 2021 and I took over as Acting Director, pending the appointment of a new Director. The appointment process stalled under lockdown, however. In the midst of transition from John to myself, we failed to publish an annual report for 2020. This report therefore covers both 2020 and 2021.

Our administrator, Becky Maughan-Brown, ‘moved’ in 2020 to our parent institute, the Centre for Social Science Research (CSSR). For the rest of 2020 the Institute was administered part-time by Lameez Mota, who was employed primarily by the Safety and Violence Initiative (within the CSSR). Lameez left UCT in 2021. Dumi Hlwele, who provided general administrative support for the Institute and the CSSR, also moved elsewhere in the university in mid-2021. Our finance officer (shared with the CSSR), Nicci Scheepers, stepped up to the plate in 2021, taking on additional responsibilities (especially with regard to Afrobarometer), with strong support from Becky (Maughan-Brown). Other CSSR administrative staff – especially Diane Ocholla (webinars) and Amanda Swartz – helped out with specific activities. We are grateful to all of Becky, Lameez, Nicci, Diane and Amanda for their sterling work.

## Challenges

The major challenge facing the Institute is the dearth of ‘Africanist’ scholars at UCT, where ‘Africanist’ is understood as referring to scholars whose research concerns Africa beyond South Africa’s borders. UCT has strong capacity in many disciplines in the study of South Africa but capacity in the rest of Africa is generally limited.

This reflects in part the combination of the parochialism of most South African researchers and UCT’s commitment to employing more (black) South Africans and fewer scholars from elsewhere, under the university’s ‘employment equity’ policy. Very few junior South African researchers have any experience outside of South Africa. Of the few who do, some are snapped up by North American or European universities. We are fortunate to have two junior scholars with strong comparative interests: Dr Elias Phaahla (whose PhD – hopefully to be published in 2022 – focused on Mauritius) and Ms Alecia Ndlovu (who hopefully will complete her PhD, which examines the politics of mineral policy in several African countries, in 2022).

Most senior ‘Africanist’ scholars at UCT come from outside of South Africa. I myself am British. John Akokpari is Ghanaian. Ndangwa Noyoo is Zambian. We were delighted when, at the end of 2021, the university announced that both John and Ndangwa were to be promoted *ad hominem* to full professors. Congratulations to both of them! If research into democracy across Africa is to expand, however, then the university needs to relax its restrictions on employing scholars from outside South Africa. In the meantime, it is imperative for us to have a solid cohort of post-doctoral and junior research fellows.

*Jeremy Seekings*

Jeremy Seekings (Acting Director)



## Afrobarometer



The Institute accommodates activities for several arms of the Afrobarometer (AB) operation, supporting AB's Africa-wide surveys of public opinion. In 2021 AB completed its eighth round of surveys and began its ninth round – carrying forward a project that began in 1999.

The Institute accommodates part of the AB 'Survey Unit' that oversees AB surveys across Africa. The Director of Surveys, Dr Boni Dulani is based in Malawi but falls under the UCT umbrella as a collaborator. Boni oversees the four regional survey managers responsible for East Africa, Anglophone West Africa, Francophone West Africa and Southern Africa respectively. In early 2021, Anyway Chingwete joined the Institute as AB's Deputy-director of surveys.

The Institute also accommodates the AB Data Management Unit, headed by Jamy Felton (pictured alongside). Jamy oversees a team of part-time assistants and interns in the Institute as well as four full-time staff based in Uganda, Kenya, Tunisia and Ghana. The Institute-based assistants and interns are either post-doctoral researchers (Dr Hangala Siachiwena) or PhD students (Thomas Isbell, Martin Oswald, Matthias Kronke, Vayda Megannon and Winnie Arthur).



The completion of round 8 of AB surveys was delayed by the COVID pandemic and ensuing lockdowns. Seven surveys were completed in early 2020 prior to lockdowns, after eleven surveys had been completed in 2019. This left seventeen of the scheduled thirty-five round 8 surveys outstanding when AB suspended fieldwork in early 2020. Round 8 fieldwork resumed in October 2020, with surveys completed in five countries by the end of 2020 and the last of the outstanding surveys completed in July 2021. The survey in Madagascar was cancelled after the COVID-related death of the head of the local partner organisation. In addition, an extra pre-election survey was fielded in Uganda in December 2020 and a telephonic survey was piloted in Namibia. Data collection was followed by cleaning, the preparation of codebooks and other documents, and the merging of data into a pooled, 35-country dataset. The merged dataset became available for internal usage in October 2021 and is scheduled for public release in July 2022 (one year after the final survey was conducted, according to AB protocol).

At the same time, preparations proceeded for round 9. The round 9 questionnaire was workshopped in mid-2021, new modules were piloted in two countries in September and the first surveys went into the field in October and November. By the end of 2021, fieldwork had been completed in four countries and training and fieldwork begun in four more. The upsurge of COVID at the end of 2021 delayed fieldwork in several other countries until 2022. The target for round 9 is a total of 41 surveys to be completed by September 2022. This total would include three countries that had never been surveyed previously (Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania and Seychelles) and four that had not been included in round 8 (Algeria, Madagascar, Sao Tome e Principe and Burundi). The possibility of conducting a survey in Rwanda is also being investigated.





R9 Pilot survey  
in Namibia.  
Fieldwork Team



R9 Data  
Management.  
Pilot Feedback  
in Namibia



R9 Fieldwork training in Nigeria

Most of AB's capacity-building activities are also run through the Institute. The COVID pandemic and lockdowns prevented the Institute running scheduled residential Summer Schools in both 2020 and 2021. In lieu of the Summer School, the Institute ran a series of online workshops, taught and administered by Associate Professor Rajen Govender and Thomas Isbell (with some guest lecturers). Workshops were run in July 2020, November/December 2020 (focused on media), March/April/May 2021 (focused on COVID) and May/June (focused on conflict, violence and governance). Rajen and Thomas also ran workshops for the World Bank over two weekends in February followed by an extended programme in November/December 2021.

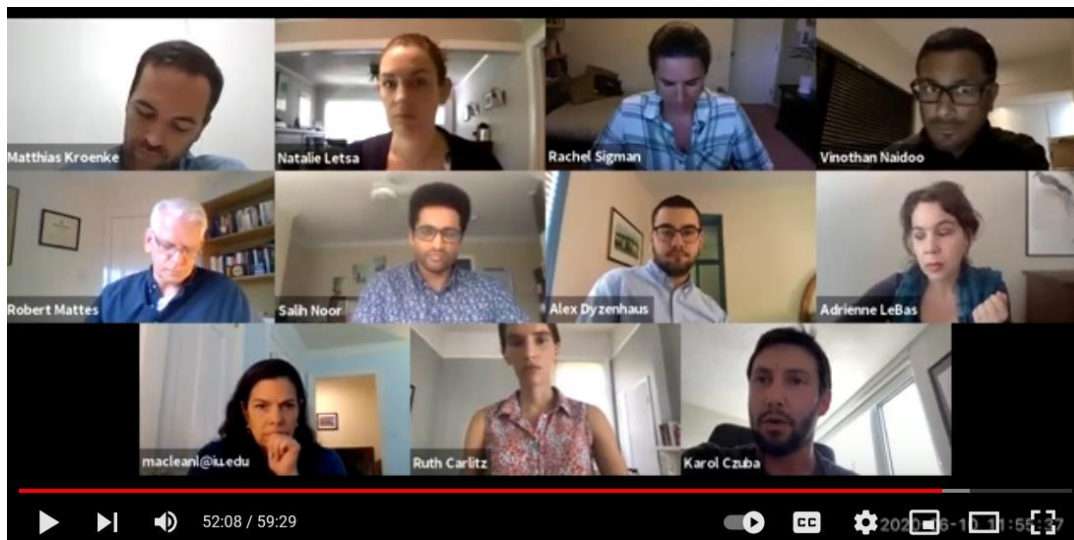
Our participation in Afrobarometer is motivated by the objective of promoting scholarship through the critical analysis of data. Institute researchers are active in the analysis of AB data. Jeremy Seekings used AB data to analyse [voting behaviour in Zambia](#). He and Hangala Siachiwena analysed more recent data (collected in December 2020) to assess trends in political support in the run-up to Zambia's elections (August 2021). This was widely reported in the Zambian media (including on the front page of *The Mast*, 11<sup>th</sup> July) and was published as a [Working Paper](#). Boni Dulani and Anyway Chingwete published a piece on [public opinion](#) in Zimbabwe around the 2018 elections. Boni also coauthored work using AB data on attitudes [toward same-sex relationships](#) and [political leadership](#). Matthias Kronke used AB data for a [Working Paper](#) and then book chapter on political partisan identification among African voters (coauthored with Bob Mattes), as well as for coauthored articles on how [electoral systems affect citizens' efforts to hold governments to account](#) and [political parties 'presence' at the local level](#). Thomas Isbell submitted his PhD, in which he used AB data from across Africa to understand the consequences of inequality for political behaviour; several draft chapters had already been published as [Working Papers](#). Jeremy Seekings convened a session on the critical analysis of AB data at the online African Studies Association annual conference in November; Thomas Isbell participated in this session. Jeremy also assisted with an ASA conference panel convened by Carolyn Logan on the future of AB.

## Political Parties in Africa

Political parties play crucial roles in mediating between citizens and the state. The Institute's *Political Parties in Africa* project has grown into the most important cross-national research initiative on parties in Africa within or outside the continent. This has been largely the result of the effort and energy invested by Sarah Lockwood and Matthias Krönke (both pictured below).



COVID meant that our workshops had to go online: In January/February 2021 we held a four-afternoon online workshop, with almost twenty presentations from scholars from North America, Europe and Japan as well as Africa. The format allowed us to bring together junior and senior scholars and engage for several days about issues such as party building and decay, candidate selection, campaign mobilization, voting and intra-party democracy. Following positive feedback, a further four-afternoon online workshop is scheduled for February and March 2022.



Over the past two years, we organized or collaborated in panels on political parties at a series of international conferences. In 2020, we collaborated with the Political Parties Database Team and organised a panel on “Party Membership” in a global comparative perspective, as well as a second panel on “Political Parties in Africa” at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. For the 2021 Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association (US), we brought together several of the scholars from our 2021 Virtual Conference and the PPA network to present their work across two panels on “Party Building and Decay” and “Parties, Elections, and Mobilization”.

Some of the papers presented at the original (pre-COVID) PPA conference were published as a symposium in *Party Politics* on “Party Structures and Organization Building in Africa”. The five papers – by scholars from the PPA network, including researchers based in South Africa, Tanzania, United Kingdom, and the United States - contribute to our understanding of how parties in Africa operate. These included an article by Matthias, Sarah and Bob Mattes on measuring parties’ local presence across Africa, using data from Afrobarometer.



Data-collection has proceeded within the constraints of the lockdown. Afrobarometer round 8 included new questions on political parties. Through collaborations with the Political Parties Database (PPDB) and scholars across the continent, we completed data collection for a global data set on the formal rules of political parties. As the regional partner for Africa, we contributed information for 35 parties across 17 countries to this dataset. Additionally, we also developed new institutional linkages. Following an initial consultation period, we began a new collaboration with Professor Herbert Kitschelt’s Democratic Accountability and Linkages Project (DALP), based at Duke University in the USA. DALP entails expert assessments of party-citizen linkages, with a particular focus on clientelist relations. Data collection for this expert-survey will begin in early 2022 with two pilot studies in Zambia and Lesotho. Taken together, we anticipate that the data collected with the PPDB and DALP will improve our understanding of African political parties in a global context.

One of the key characteristics of political parties in Africa is their very uneven institutionalization. Whilst parties have enduring ‘brands’, support bases and structures in some African countries, in other countries politicians readily move between parties. Our research programme is therefore concerned also with local politicians, the choices they make with respect to competing for selection as the official candidate of one or other party, and the personalized structures, organization and resources they bring or take with them. We applied unsuccessfully to the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA) for a large grant to fund data collection and online dissemination on candidates for election in four African countries. We shall be revising and resubmitting this application prior to the batch of elections scheduled for 2023-24.

## Zambian Politics

The Institute has developed a strong interest in Zambian politics, primarily because of the presence of a series of excellent Zambian PhD students and post-doctoral researchers. Our interest in Zambia focused primarily on contemporary politics, public policy and (especially) the elections held in August 2021. The Institute co-convened the **Zambia Election Research Network (ZERN)**, which brought together scholars in Zambia, elsewhere in Southern Africa and further afield in Europe, North America and even East Asia. ZERN grew out of a network that had analysed the 2016 elections. Three Institute researchers (Hangala Siachiwena, Sishuwa Sishuwa and Jeremy Seekings) contributed chapters to an edited collection on *Democracy and Electoral Politics in Zambia* (published in 2020). In 2020-21, ZERN held two pre-election workshops (in December 2020 and May 2021) and a post-election workshop (in October 2021). Some of the analysis presented at ZERN workshops are to be included in a prospective special issue of the *Journal of Eastern African Studies* on Zambia's 2021 election, guest-edited by Hangala Siachiwena and Sishuwa Sishuwa – both post-doctoral research fellows in the Institute – together with Dr Nicole Beardsworth from the University of the Witwatersrand.

*Jeremy Seekings with interviewee outside a Zambian parliamentary constituency office, October 2021.*



After completing his PhD in 2020, **Hangala Siachiwena** (pictured alongside) took up a post-doctoral position. His PhD research focused on the consequences of changes of government for the reform of social protection policy in Zambia and Malawi. Hangala published two further Working Papers based on his PhD and revised his work for submission to journals. Hangala's work on the 2021 election included a general analysis (published in the *Journal of African Elections*) and a closer analysis of voting in urban areas. Together with Jeremy Seekings, he published an analysis of data on voting trends from the December 2020 Afrobarometer survey in Zambia, showing clearly that President Lungu and the Patriotic Front had lost support in key provinces and were likely to be defeated. Hangala presented papers at the online American Political Science Association and UK

Development Studies Association annual conferences, as well as at IDCPPA and ZERN workshops and seminars.



Hangala, Matthias Krönke and Jeremy Seekings were all involved in the **Zambia Election Panel Study** (ZEPS), a three-wave pre- and post-election telephonic panel study conducted in partnership with the University of Gothenburg in Sweden. The first wave of data (collected in June 2021 and presented to a select audience just prior to the August election) showed clearly that Lungu and the PF had continued to lose support. Hangala was also involved in a mini-survey in four constituencies with funding from the British Institute in Eastern Africa (BIEA). This survey focused on the political behaviour of urban informal sector workers.

**Sishuwa Sishuwa**'s time in the Institute, as a post-doctoral research fellow on leave from the University of Zambia (UNZA), continued to be productive and eventful. His scholarship focuses primarily on the political history of Zambia since Independence. He has been revising his PhD (on Michael Sata, who became president in 2011 then died three years later) for publication as a book-length study of ethnic populism in Africa. Several chapters have been published as journal articles. Sishuwa also coauthored an article (with Nic Cheeseman) on democracy in Africa (part of which was summarised in [The Conversation](#)). A new project examines the sometimes-surprising sources of democratic resilience in Zambia. An article on the role of the military in the debate over presidential terms in 2000-01 was published and new work on the prehistory of the smooth turnover following the 2021 election was presented at workshops.

*Sishuwa Sishuwa meeting with UK's High Commissioner to Zambia, Nicholas Woolley*



Sishuwa has also been a prolific commentator on Zambian politics, writing a series of articles in the media that were critical of the Zambian government. Sishuwa incurred the wrath of Zambia's despotic regime after one of his critical pieces was [published in March](#) and Sishuwa participated in a legal challenge to President Lungu's standing again as the ruling party's candidate in the presidential elections. It was [reported](#) that Sishuwa was to be charged with sedition. UNZA succumbed to pressure from the ruling party and [disassociated](#) itself from [its employee](#). In response, academics from Southern Africa and further afield wrote [an open letter in defense of Sishuwa](#). They pointed out that Sishuwa did not incite popular rebellion (as the term 'sedition' implies) but rather examined the underlying causes of societal tension in order to reduce the prospect of violence. In their open letter, the academics declared that they believed that it was 'both his right and his patriotic duty to bring such concerns into the public eye'. The director of the Institute also published a piece in the [Daily Maverick](#) in support of Sishuwa. The defeat of the incumbent president and party in the election (in August) removed the threat of prosecution.

As Sishuwa soon made clear, he was willing to praise the new government when he assessed that praise was deserved but was also willing to criticize it for its mis-steps. In early December, he published a piece assessing newly-elected President Hakainde Hichilema's [first one hundred days in office](#). In November, Sishuwa, Jeremy Seekings and Mundia Kabinga (from UCT's Graduate School of Business) comprised a panel for a hybrid seminar/webinar on Zambia under the new government.

## Public policy

The Institute has a global reputation for its work on aspects of public policy, especially social policy. Our work builds on a substantial research programme funded by the UK Department for International Development in the 2010s, with pioneering research on social protection policy undertaken in Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana, Malawi, Zambia, Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Mauritius, Lesotho and South Africa. We continue to attract a steady stream of PhD students working on social protection in the region.

Our work expanded significantly in 2020-21.

We are excited to host the new Zola Skweyiya African Social Policy Innovation, headed by Associate Professor Ndangwa Noyoo (from the Department of Social Development). The Initiative consolidates and extends our work on social policy. It is named after the late Zola Skweyiya, who was South Africa's highly-regarded Minister of Social Development from 1999 to 2009. The new initiative is intended to grow into a

research and policy analysis unit premised on the understanding that the attainment of social development, social inclusion and equality, in South Africa and Africa, can be realised through the development and implementation of transformative social policies that are evidence-based and anchored in indigenous knowledge and informed by Afrocentric theoretical frameworks and models of development. This stance partly mirrors the strategic thinking and passion which Skweyiya brought to his work. ZSASPI seeks to respond to the transformation and social policy

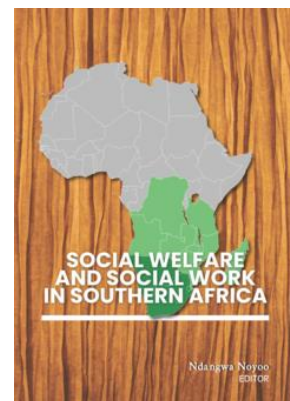
imperatives of South Africa, Southern Africa, Africa and the Global South, via academic and policy-based pursuits, and community-based initiatives. The initiative was due to be launched at a conference on Skweyiya's legacy, scheduled for late 2020, but unfortunately postponed because of COVID-19. We did hold an online launch for Ndangwa Noyoo's edited volume on *Social Welfare and Social Work in Southern Africa* (Stellenbosch University Press). The launch of ZSASPI is scheduled for April 2022.



ZSASPI  
Zola Skweyiya African  
Social Policy Innovation



Associate Professor Ndangwa Noyoo



Whilst much of our work hitherto has been on policy-making, we have recently turned our attention to policy-implementation. We had planned a workshop for mid-2020, but this had to be postponed. The workshop will incorporate research into the implementation of social protection reforms in response to COVID-19, which has been the focus of much of our research over the past year. We are also engaged in a project on states, citizens and social protection in Africa, examining the ways in which social protection both reflects and reframes state-citizen relations.

One of our PhD students, Lena Gronbach, has worked extensively on the implementation of social protection measures under the COVID-19 pandemic. Lena conducted extensive research for the International Policy Centre for Inclusive Growth (IPC-IG) on emergency measures across Africa. Her own thesis examines variation in the use of mobile money payment technologies across Africa: Whilst some countries are deeply invested in mobile money payments, others – including South Africa – have been resistant.

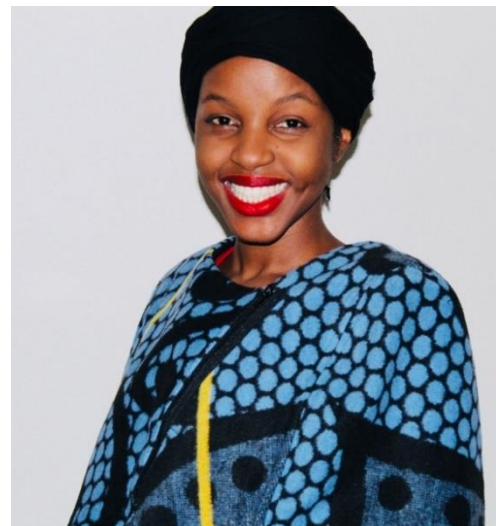
Another expanding area of research are norms and values around social protection. The importance of norms and values was evident in prior research. PhD student Winnie Arthur is using mixed methods to examine norms, values and beliefs among both elites and non-elites in Botswana. PhD student Giorgia Nicolo is examining aspects of norms and beliefs in the South African case. In his research in Zambia and Malawi, Hangala Siachiwena has sought to identify the significance of norms and values in shaping parties' approaches to social protection. He is currently planning to interview MPs from the United Party for National Development, which won the August 2021 elections in Zambia. Jeremy Seekings is continuing to examine the role of norms and values in the negotiations – and contestation – between international organisations and national political actors over social protection.

We have also and will continue to conduct research into some other areas of public policy, especially with respect to development and the labour market. For example, we have recently completed a major project for the Carnegie Foundation for Peace (in the USA) on the governance of economic development in Zambia.

## Regional and international politics

Democracy in individual countries is shaped by external as well as domestic political actors. The African Union and Southern African Development Community have, on occasion, intervened in political crises. Governments and parties also influence politics in other countries. International organisations play a major role in policy-making and implementation across much of Africa, as is evident in our research on public policy.

**Primrose Bimha** (pictured alongside) submitted her PhD thesis – on the efforts of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and South Africa to resolve post-election conflicts in Lesotho and Zimbabwe – and took up a post-doctoral research fellowship in the Institute in April. In her thesis, Primrose argued that external mediators facilitated peace agreements but failed to ensure their implementation. After presenting a webinar on SADC's responses to successive electoral crises in Zimbabwe, Primrose embarked on further research, with the aim not only of publishing her analysis but also of writing recommendations for the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) ahead of Zimbabwe's next elections (scheduled for 2023). Primrose's next challenge is to revise her thesis for publication as journal articles or a book. She is also working with John Akokpari (her PhD supervisor) on the socioeconomic challenges faced by African Union (AU) member states. Primrose published an article in 2021 on the under-representation of women in leadership positions in foreign policy in Africa.





**Sikanyiso Masuku** (pictured alongside) has been a post-doctoral researcher in the Institute since 2019. Although his intended research during 2020-21 was constrained by COVID, Sikanyiso published a steady stream of papers, including papers based on his PhD research on the experiences of refugees from other African countries in South Africa. His general concern is with the constraints on migrants' access to economic opportunities and public services, and the ways in which migrants exercise agency in response. There is often a wide gap between the formal rights that forced migrants supposedly enjoy and the benefits and opportunities that they can access in practice.

Building on his PhD research, Sikanyiso has begun to analyse the experiences in South Africa of skilled migrants from other African countries, focusing on migrants in the health, teaching, engineering, and academic sectors. Data collection began in Gauteng and will continue in KwaZulu-Natal and Cape Town. Sikanyiso published some preliminary analysis as a co-authored book chapter.

Sikanyiso has several other ongoing research projects in Zimbabwe, in collaboration with Zimbabwean colleagues. These focus on Zimbabwe's non-contributory social assistance programs during the pandemic as well as policy with regard to rural youth.

**Chris Saunders** continued to write about the history of liberation across Southern Africa, including studies of Southern African participation in the Non-Aligned Movement and external influences on liberation struggles. He also wrote regular reports on politics for *The Annual Register* and the annual *Africa South of the Sahara*.

**Jeremy Seekings** also continued to examine the roles played by international organisations – ranging from inter-government agencies such as the World Bank and the International Labour Organisation, government aid agencies such as the former British Department for International Development and international NGOs such as HelpAge International – in social protection policy. In addition to a critical [review of the literature](#), Jeremy published an article on the '[vernacularisation](#)' of global rights discourses and social protection in African regional arena.

**DEMOCRATIC REVERSALS**  
Pathways of Democratization and Autocratization in Southern Africa

**SPEAKERS:** Nic Cheeseman  
Professor of Democracy  
University of Birmingham

**DISCUSSANT:** Nicolas van de Walle  
Professor of Government  
Cornell University

**20 April 2021**

5:00 - 6:00 PM CENTRAL AFRICAN TIME / EAST AFRICAN TIME  
4:00 - 5:00 PM CENTRAL EUROPEAN SUMMER TIME  
11:00 AM - 12 PM EASTERN TIME

IDCPA MONTHLY WEBINAR SERIES  
To register, please email [info@idcpa.ac.uk](mailto:info@idcpa.ac.uk)

**ZAMBIA 2011 - 2021**  
Presidentialism, Legal Autocratization and Democratic Backsliding

**SPEAKERS:** Bonifika Dulani  
DIRECTOR OF POLITICAL STUDIES  
Majja Mufumba  
Southern Africa Institute for Policy and Research, Lusaka  
Lise Rahnert  
University of Bergen (Norway)

**18 May 2021**

5:00 - 6:00 PM CENTRAL AFRICAN TIME / EAST AFRICAN TIME  
4:00 - 5:00 PM CENTRAL EUROPEAN SUMMER TIME  
6:00 - 6:00 PM BRITISH SUMMER TIME  
11:00 AM - 12 PM EASTERN TIME

IDCPA MONTHLY WEBINAR SERIES  
To register, please email [info@idcpa.ac.uk](mailto:info@idcpa.ac.uk)

**PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION**  
(Unexpected) presidential turnover and its consequences in Africa

**SPEAKERS:** Yanetian L. Morse  
University of Cambridge  
Ivan Oshing'Oga  
Northumbria University  
Michael Kaufman  
Michigan State University

**15 June 2021**

5:00 - 6:00 PM CENTRAL AFRICAN TIME / EAST AFRICAN TIME  
4:00 - 5:00 PM CENTRAL EUROPEAN SUMMER TIME  
6:00 - 6:00 PM BRITISH SUMMER TIME  
11:00 AM - 12 PM EASTERN TIME

IDCPA MONTHLY WEBINAR SERIES  
To register, please email [info@idcpa.ac.uk](mailto:info@idcpa.ac.uk)

**ZAMBIA'S 2021 ELECTION**  
Towards rebuilding democracy

**SPEAKERS:** Nicola Beardsworth  
University of the Witwatersrand  
Nic Cheeseman  
University of Birmingham  
Linda Kasanda  
Chairman, The Commission - Executive Director  
Sikhweho Sikhwe  
University of Cape Town  
University of Cape Town

**17 August 2021**

5:00 - 6:00 PM CENTRAL AFRICAN TIME / EAST AFRICAN TIME  
4:00 - 5:00 PM CENTRAL EUROPEAN SUMMER TIME  
6:00 - 6:00 PM BRITISH SUMMER TIME  
11:00 AM - 12:00 PM EASTERN TIME

IDCPA MONTHLY WEBINAR SERIES  
To register, please email [info@idcpa.ac.uk](mailto:info@idcpa.ac.uk)

**SURVEYING DEMOCRACY & GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA**  
Substantive findings and methodological advances

**SPEAKERS:** Joseph Ananka  
Professor  
Ellen Lutz  
University of Göttingen (G2)

**21 September 2021**

5:00 - 6:00 PM CENTRAL AFRICAN TIME / EAST AFRICAN TIME  
4:00 - 5:00 PM CENTRAL EUROPEAN SUMMER TIME  
6:00 - 6:00 PM BRITISH SUMMER TIME  
11:00 AM - 12:00 PM EASTERN TIME

IDCPA MONTHLY WEBINAR SERIES  
Please find the link to the event: <https://www.idcpa.ac.uk>

**THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON ELECTIONS IN AFRICA**

**SPEAKERS:** Robert Macdonald  
University of Edinburgh  
Keith Sawyer  
The Commonwealth Secretariat

**19 October 2021**

5:00 - 6:00 PM CENTRAL AFRICAN TIME / EAST AFRICAN TIME  
4:00 - 5:00 PM CENTRAL EUROPEAN SUMMER TIME  
6:00 - 6:00 PM BRITISH SUMMER TIME  
11:00 AM - 12:00 PM EASTERN TIME

IDCPA MONTHLY WEBINAR SERIES  
Please find the link to the event: <https://www.idcpa.ac.uk>

**GUNNING FOR THE BALLOT**  
The Military and Zimbabwe's 2023 Election

**SPEAKERS:** Ngwenzi Chivona  
Professor of Political Science  
Chipo Dzandara  
University of Zimbabwe  
Alex Mupfema  
University of Kent  
Brian Sanyalwa  
University of Cape Town

**23 November 2021**

5:00 - 6:00 PM CENTRAL AFRICAN TIME / EAST AFRICAN TIME  
4:00 - 5:00 PM CENTRAL EUROPEAN SUMMER TIME  
6:00 - 6:00 PM BRITISH SUMMER TIME  
11:00 AM - 12:00 PM EASTERN STANDARD TIME

IDCPA MONTHLY WEBINAR SERIES  
Please find the link to the event: <https://www.idcpa.ac.uk>

## Webinars and workshops

Date	Title	Presenter and discussant (where appropriate) <a href="#">Video link</a>
18 February 2020	Constructing houses, constructing memories: Michael Sata and the politics of historical memory in Zambia under the era of multiparty democracy, 2001-2011	Dr Sishuwa Sishuwa
3 March 2020	The Malawian High Court's judgement on the 2019 elections	Prof Danwood Chirwa
10 March 2020	Does ideology matter in Zambian politics? Comparing the ruling PF and opposition UPND policies on social welfare	Hangala Siachiwena and Courtney Hallink
August 2020	Panels at American Political Science Association	Papers by Matthias Krönke, Sarah Lockwood, Bob Mattes, Robert Nyenhuis, Collette Schulz-Herzenberg, Moletsane Monyake, Consolata Raphael, Aikande Kwayu, and others
20 October 2020	COVID-19 and Social Protection in Southern Africa	Dr Jeremy Seekings and Lena Gronbach
3-4 December 2020	Workshop (organized with SAIPAR, Lusaka, as Zambia Election Research Network): Zambia's 2021 elections	24 presentations over 2 days
15 December 2020	The politics of sustaining Zambia's social cash transfer programme.	Hangala Siachiwena
20 April 2021	Democratic Reversals: Pathways of Democratization and Autocratization in Southern Africa	Prof Nic Cheeseman; <i>Prof Nic van de Walle</i> <a href="https://youtu.be/s2AWcp8WsYs">https://youtu.be/s2AWcp8WsYs</a>
4 May 2021	Populism in Power: Public Policy in Zambia Under President Michael Sata and the Patriotic Front Government	Hangala Siachiwena
5 May 2021	Oliver and Adelaide Tambo Foundation "Unfinished Business of Liberation" webinar: The Constitution: Intention and Implementation	Albie Sachs and Thandiwe Matthews
7 May 2021	Workshop (organized with SAIPAR, Lusaka, as Zambia Election Research Network): Zambia's 2021 elections	7 presentations
13 May 2021	Joint webinar with the SA Institute of International Affairs: Authoritarian Politics in Zimbabwe	Brian Raftopoulos; <i>Roger Southall</i>
18 May 2021	Zambia 2011-2021: Presidentialism, Legal Autocratization and Democratic Backsliding	Prof Lisa Rakner and Dr Marja Hinfelaar; <i>Dr Boni Dulani</i> <a href="https://youtu.be/vwAP7MTUaeg">https://youtu.be/vwAP7MTUaeg</a>
1 June 2021	The COVID-19 pandemic and non-contributory social protection programs in Zimbabwe	Dr Sikanyiso Masuku
15 June 2021	Presidential Succession in Africa: (Unexpected) Presidential Turnover and its Consequences in Africa	Profs Yonatan Morse, Ken Ochieng Opalo and Michael Wahman <a href="https://youtu.be/i9PxmC-cs5s">https://youtu.be/i9PxmC-cs5s</a>
22 June 2021	Social Protection workshop	Drs Anna Wolkenhauer and Hangala Siachiwena; <i>Drs Sishuwa Sishuwa and Elias Phaahla</i>
29 June 2021	The inefficacy of diplomatic responses to electoral crises: SADC responses to Zimbabwe's electoral crises in 2008, 2013 and 2018	Primrose Bimha
6 July 2021	Social Protection mini-workshop	Drs Marion Ouma and Kate Pruce; Winnie Arthur and Lena Gronbach
27 July 2021	Perceived inequality and the demand and support for democracy in Africa	Thomas Isbell
5 August 2021	Pre-election polling in Zambia	Profs Michael Wahman, Jeremy Seekings and Ellen Lust.
17 August 2021	Zambia's 2021 Election: Towards Rebuilding Democracy	Sishuwa Sishuwa, Linda Kasonde, Nic Cheeseman and Nicole Beardsworth <a href="https://youtu.be/nV_dyZmCrig">https://youtu.be/nV_dyZmCrig</a>
21 September 2021	Surveying Democracy & Governance in Africa: Substantive Findings and Methodological Advances	Joseph Asunka and Ellen Lust <a href="https://youtu.be/ZL4-sq0Xo-4">https://youtu.be/ZL4-sq0Xo-4</a>
28 September 2021	Workshop on norms and values in social protection	Winnie Arthur, Zara Trafford, Vayda Megannon and Giorgia Nicolo
19 October 2021	The Impact of Covid-19 on Elections in Africa	Robert MacDonald and Koffi Sawyer <a href="https://youtu.be/ez8AkDsc4vk">https://youtu.be/ez8AkDsc4vk</a>
28-29 October 2021	Workshop (organized with SAIPAR, Lusaka, as Zambia Election Research Network): Zambia's 2021 elections	15 presentations over 2 days
19-20 November 2021	Panels at (US) African Studies Association annual conference	Abdoul Karim Saidou, Consolata Sulley, Aikande Kwayu, Itumeleng Makgetla, Thomas Isbell, Richard Houessou, Mercy Kaburu, Amanda Clayton, Sarah Lockwood, Robert Nyenhuis, Matthias Krönke and Jeremy Seekings
23 November 2021	Gunning for the Ballot: The Military and Zimbabwe's 2023 Election	Hopewell Chin'ono, Chipso Dendere, Alex Magaisa and Brian Raftopoulos <a href="https://youtu.be/GC8e5AsIuX4">https://youtu.be/GC8e5AsIuX4</a>
29 November 2021	Zambia under the new government	Drs Sishuwa Sishuwa and Mundia Kabinga, and Prof Jeremy Seekings

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### Electoral Preferences Among Multiethnic Voters in Africa

**Boniface Dulani<sup>1</sup>, Adam S. Harris<sup>2</sup>, Jeremy Horowitz<sup>3</sup>, and Happy Kayuni<sup>1</sup>**

### A case study of government and civil societies' collaboration and challenges in securing the rights of Congolese refugees living in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

Since a 2014 election, media coverage has identified the Congolese refugee crisis in Pietermaritzburg as a case study in the challenges of securing the rights of refugees. This article examines the role of government and civil societies in securing the rights of Congolese refugees living in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. It explores the challenges of securing the rights of refugees and the role of government and civil societies in addressing these challenges. The article also discusses the importance of collaboration between government and civil societies in securing the rights of refugees.



### Surviving on Borrowed Power: Rethinking the Role of Civil Society in Zambia's Third-Term Debate

Sishuwa Sishuwa

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### The National Party and the Ideology of Welfare in South Africa under Apartheid

Jeremy Seekings

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**Chingwete, Anyway** and Stephen Ndoma, '*Crisis communication: Radio tops Zimbabweans' news sources – except for 'other people'*', *Afrobarometer Dispatch* 367 (Accra: Afrobarometer).



### Roots of Contemporary Political Strategies: Ethno-Populism in Zambia during the Late Colonial Era and Early 2000s

Sishuwa Sishuwa

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### ELECTIONS, LEGITIMACY, AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

*Lessons from Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi*

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### Special Issue Article

### Pandemic, lockdown and the stalled urbanization of welfare regimes in Southern Africa

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# About the Institute for Democracy, Citizenship and Public Policy in Africa

The Institute was established in 2017 to conduct empirical research into the factors that strengthen and sustain democracy across Africa. Our team of researchers – including post-doctoral research fellows and PhD students – approach the study of democracy from four broad directions:

**Public opinion and voting behaviour:** How do citizens view democracy and political institutions in their countries? How do they assess the performance of government and opposition? To what extent and how do they hold governments to account through elections or other mechanisms? We work closely with the **Afrobarometer** surveys of public attitudes towards democracy, governance, economic conditions, and related issues across most of Africa.

**Political parties and elected representatives:** How do political parties organize, mobilise, conduct election campaigns and govern? How are candidates for election selected? To what extent and how do parties and individual Members of Parliament represent citizens? We host the **Political Parties in Africa** project.

**Regional and international factors:** How do regional and international organisations affect the conduct of elections, the operation of political institutions, the maintenance of order and the making of public policy?

**The consequences for public policy:** What determines or informs public policy-making and implementation? To what extent do public policies reflect the will of the citizenry? Our primary focus is on social protection or welfare policy, through the new **Zola Skweyiya African Social Policy Innovation**. We also study development and labour market policies.

We address these questions through data collection (including both quantitative and qualitative data, through large-scale surveys, interviews and, where appropriate, archival research) by both teams of researchers and individual researchers. We hold regular seminars (or webinars) and workshops. We collaborate with researchers elsewhere in Africa and further afield.



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