INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY, CITIZENSHIP AND PUBLIC POLICY IN AFRICA

ANNUAL REPORT

2019



institute for democracy, citizenship and public policy in Africa

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

DIRECTOR'S NOTE



Since 2017 the Institute has grown to encompass an exciting suite of research projects and activities concerning democracy in Africa. As detailed in this Report, our researchers have been examining a diverse range of topics including political parties, public opinion, voting and elections, regional integration, public policy and the judiciary. Over only three years our researchers have published a total of six books, forty-seven book chapters, twenty-four peer-reviewed journal articles and twenty-seven working papers, as well as a large number of shorter publications including Afrobarometer Despatches (summarising the findings of Afrobarometer surveys) and online articles. During 2019 we expanded further our regional and global collaborations, held important workshops and co-hosted another successful Summer School to build capacity among young African researchers.

The year 2019 was significant in that I took over formally as the first substantive director of the Institute. As Director, I worked with the able assistance of an administrative staff, including Becky Maughan-Brown, the Operations Manager, Nicci Scheepers, the Finance Officer, and Nondumiso Hlwele, our Administrative Assistant. Professor Jeremy Seekings together with Emeritus Prof Chris Sunders and Prof Tim Murithi, provided invaluable scholarly support.

The Institute hosts several parts of the Afrobarometer network. The Data Management team is now headed by Jamy Felton, who took over from Carmen Alpin in 2019. We continue to integrate Afrobarometer more fully into the intellectual work of the Institute, engaging critically with public opinion data, and increase capacity through the Anglophone Summer School we co-host in November/December each year.

A series of successful workshops were organised in 2019, which brought together scholars from across UCT, Cape Town, Southern Africa and outside the continent. Notably, the "African Solutions to African Solution" workshop was held in July. This workshop is part of our larger work on the Africa Union (AU) and regional integration. There was also a workshop on Political parties in Southern Africa, focusing in particular on Botswana, Malawi and Zambia. A workshop on Pan-Africanism, Nationalism and Xenophobia originally scheduled to be held in October 2019 has been rescheduled for March 2020. In addition, other workshops, including several on Zambian politics, are planned for the year ahead.

A number of seminars were held by the Institute. Occasionally, joint seminars with the CSSR were organised, which featured a variety of relevant Social Science topics. The Institute's seminars included topics on the South African and Malawian elections. Also, the Institute occasionally invited distinguished speakers. Other seminars in the Institute were run by Afrobarometer. The seminars, often well attended, attracted audiences from across the Humanities faculty and the university in general.

The year also saw the Institute continuing the execution of projects already started In particular, the Political Parties, the Social Welfare and the Judiciaries in Africa projects, were continued. The appointment of three post-doctoral fellows at the beginning of 2019 augmented the Institute's intellectual power and helped in the execution of these projects. The year has been a successful one as far as research and meeting of the overall goals of the Institute were concerned. I remain thankful to all stake holders, individuals and institutions who helped make 2019 a successful year. I am looking forward to another productive year in 2020.



Associate Professor John Akokpari



GOVERNANCE



The management and administration of the Institute comprise:
• the **Director** (Associate Professor John Akokpari appointed for a two year term 2019-2020)
• the **Management Committee**, comprising researchers actively involved in the Institute's projects
• an **Advisory Board**, comprising researchers based in Cape Town with an active interest in the work of the Institute
• an **International Advisory Panel**, which is in the process of being constituted
• a part-time **Operations Manager**
• **administrative staff** shared with the Centre for Social Science Research (CSSR)

The Management Committee meets as necessary, at least three times per annum. The role of the Advisory Board is to give critical advice to the Director and Dean on the direction, activities and management of the Institute. The Advisory Board must meet at least once per annum. The Board reports (through the Chair) to the University Research Committee, which in turn reports to the University Senate. The membership of the Board comprises ex officio members together with scholars – from across UCT as well as from elsewhere in Cape Town – with a strong interest in the work of the Institute.



Management Committee

A/Prof John Akokpari (Political Studies): Director
Jamy Felton (Afrobarometer)
Rebecca Maughan-Brown (Operations Manager)
Prof Tim Murithi (Honorary Research Associate)
Dr Vino Naidoo (Political Studies)
Xichavo Alecia Ndlovu (Political Studies)
Sibusiso Nkomo (Afrobarometer)
Dr Elias Phaahla (Political Studies)
Prof Chris Saunders (Emeritus Professor, History)
Prof Jeremy Seekings (Sociology)
Postgrad student representatives

Advisory Board

The DVC, Research (chair)
The Dean or Deputy-Dean, Humanities Faculty
The Director of the Research Office, UCT
The Director of the Institute
Prof Rob Cameron (Political Studies)
Anyway Chingwete (Institute for Justice and Reconciliation)
Prof Danwood Chirwa (Law)
Prof Hormon Chitonge (African Studies)
Dr Colin Darch (former African Studies librarian)
Dr Sean Gossel (Graduate School of Business)
Prof Alan Hirsch (Graduate School of Development and Public Policy)
Dr Mundia Kabinga (Graduate School of Business)
Prof Evance Kalula (retired, formerly Law and IAPO)
Vanja Karth (Democratic Governance and Rights Unit, Law Faculty)
Busi Khangala (African Studies librarian)
Prof Edwin Muchapondwa (School of Economics)
Prof Ndangwa Noyoo (Social Development)
Prof Lungisile Ntsebeza (African Studies)
Prof Francis Nyamnjoh (Anthropology)
Chris Oxtoby (Democratic Governance and Rights Unit, Law Faculty)
Brian Raftopoulos (University of the Free State)
Prof Maano Ramutsindela (Environmental and Geographical Science)
Dr Antonio Tomas (African Centre for Cities)
Prof Hermann Wasserman (Film and Media Studies)

CAPACITY BUILDING

Building capacity in the critical study of democracy, citizenship and public policy is foundational to the work of the Institute. Members of the Institute supervise masters and doctoral students, it helps to fund graduate students, and provides an intellectual community within which they can flourish. The Summer School run in partnership with Afrobarometer provides an opportunity for students to develop skills.

31

POSTGRADUATE STUDENTS SUPERVISED

25

SUMMER SCHOOL STUDENTS FROM 15 COUNTRIES









TOP: Marianne Camerer and the students in her *Measuring Corruption and Integrity* course in the Afrobarometer Summer School

MIDDLE: Post graduate student research being presented at our weekly *African Politics and Society Working Group* meeting

BOTTOM: Sishuwa Sishuwa (center) and Matthias Kronke (right) at the *Democracy in Central and Southern Africa* conference at the UCT Graduate School of Business

LEFT: 2019 Afrobarometer Summer School students and lecturers

THE AFRICAN UNION AND REGIONALISM PROJECT

The African Union (AU) replaced the 39-year old Organisation for African Unity (OAU) in 2002. The latter had become anachronistic and unable to deal with the challenges facing the continent after the abatement of the Cold war and the upsurge of globalisation. New challenges relating to human rights, democracy, environmental degradation, conflicts migration and human security among other things, were tests for which the OAU was unprepared. While various international and national conferences have been held to address these issues – some resulting in the publication of books and conference proceedings – there remain gaps and unanswered questions. For example, there are still questions on whether the AU has met popular expectations; will the continental body become yet another proverbial "leviathan with the feet of clay" just like its predecessor? And, what are the future prospects for the AU? These are some of the central questions the Institute seeks to address under the AU and regionalism project.



ABOVE: Participants at the July *African Solutions to Continental Challenges* workshop

BELOW: The African Union and Regionalism Project team (from left: Professor Tim Murithi, Assoc. Professor John Akokpari, Dr Clever Chikwanda, and Emeritus Professor Chris Saunders) plan the March 2020 workshop

As part of the process of addressing these critical questions, the Institute held a one-day conference in July on the theme "African Solutions to Continental Challenges: Myth and Reality" The conference was opened by the Dean of Humanities Faculty at UCT, Professor Shose Kessi, who urged participants to develop creative ways in making the AU a true vehicle for addressing the myriad of challenges facing Africa. A number of papers were presented on various topics, including the AU Agenda 2063, silencing the guns, the AU peace and security nexus, civil society, democracy and democratic reversals, and regional economic communities. Participants included academics, practitioners and members of civil society organisations. The workshop was the first of two planned as part of the African Union and regionalism project. The second conference, on "Pan-Africanism, Citizenship and Xenophobia", will take place in March 2020. Two edited books are anticipated to result from the project – one on the African Union Solutions to continental challenges, and the other on Pan-Africanism, Citizenship and Xenophobia. Both books are expected to be out by September 2020.



African Union

CITIZENS' ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURS







Afrobarometer is a pan-African, non-partisan research organisation conducting public attitude surveys in 36 countries. The IDCPPA serves as a support unit, housing the Data Management team and hosting some capacity building activities.



Images clockwise from upper left:
- Fieldwork observation in Angola
- The Angolan team in Luanda
- Traveling to remote fieldwork locations
- Najib presents his work at the Summer School

The Head of Data Management, Jamy Felton, and her PhD research assistants, Thomas Isbell and Matthias Krönke are based at UCT, and have international assistance from the Anglophone and Francophone West African Data Manager Kakra Adu (based in Ghana) and the East African Data Manager Samuel Balongo (based in Kenya). In 2019, Jamy was appointed as the Data Manager, following the departure of Carmen Alpin, and Mohammed Najib Ben Saad was appointed as the Data Quality Officer. Najib will work for the team remotely from Tunisia. Following the completion of Round 7 of the survey in 2018, and the release of the R7 Merge dataset in 2019, we commenced with Round 8 in mid-2019. After hosting a successful Data Management meeting at UCT in July, technical assistance and fieldwork was conducted in ten countries: Botswana, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, Uganda, and (for the first time) Angola.The team provided assistance both in country (with programming, training and hardware setup) and remotely (with monitoring and data cleaning).

Following the Data Management meeting, the team was able to improve quality control measures leading to better data quality, and reduced cleaning time compared to Round 7. They continue to work towards making sure that data is delivered in a timely and efficient manner. In addition, the data team also aims to make sure that the data is readily available to members of the public, especially in academia. While the datasets are available on the website, restricted data and geo-coded data requests are monitored and processed by the team at UCT, to ensure that sensitive data are not misused.

In November-December 2019, the Institute hosted another successful Summer School in partnership with Afrobarometer with 25 participants from 15 countries. The Institute also hosted a successful Writing Workshop with 6 participants of the 2018 Summer School, in an effort to ensure that Summer School participants are able to produce papers based on their work. Jamy also conducted a data skills workshop with the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) of the African Union, assisting them to train research assistants who will go on to code the Africa Governance Atlas.

JUDICIARIES IN AFRICA



JiA
Judiciaries in Africa

dgru
DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE & RIGHTS UNIT

The judiciary is integral to upholding the rule of law and thus, the effective working of democracy. Too often, however, African judiciaries are unable to adequately fulfill these roles according to the mandates they have been given. The Judiciaries in Africa (JiA) project aims to further our understanding of judiciaries in Africa by collecting systematic comparative information with a focus on judicial independence, legitimacy and access to justice. Broadly speaking, the project seeks to answer three questions:

- To what extent are judiciaries independent from other branches of government, able to enforce the rule of law, and provide access to justice?
- Why do some judiciaries perform better or worse in fulfilling their mandates?
- Which factors are facilitating or impeding institutional development of judiciaries, and thus the quality and health of multiparty democracy in Africa?

To answer these questions, the JiA project brings together existing, and generates new research that connects the areas of judicial independence, legitimacy and access to justice. In May we collaborated with the Afrobarometer and held a presentation at the University of the Free State on South Africa's Judiciary and how it is perceived by its citizens. Moreover, we also collaborated with the UCT Post Graduate Law Students Council to host a panel discussing the independence of judiciaries across Southern and East Africa. In September we were also part of an international panel at a conference organized by the International Organisation for Judicial Training in Cape Town in which law and media scholars discussed the importance of public perception and confidence in the courts. Part of our public engagement has also taken place online as several of our events have been in collaboration with and covered by the Judges Matter campaign - a coalition of civil society organisations who believe in the importance of judges.

In addition to analysing newly available public opinion data, we also started new data collection modules. We conducted our first survey of South African magistrates focusing on their workload as well as their work environment more broadly. In the coming months, we will develop evidence-based policy recommendations for various stakeholders in the judiciary.

Lastly, we have also secured funding from the Social Justice Initiative to develop a court user survey for which the data collect will start in early 2020. The aim of this module is to provide new insight into how citizens experience the Magistracy in South Africa. Moreover, we received funding to conduct similar surveys in Malawi, Namibia and South Africa at the High Court level.





Images from a panel discussion with the UCT Post Graduate Law Student Council on the independence of judiciaries across Southern and East Africa

POLITICAL PARTIES IN AFRICA

PPA
Political Parties in Africa

Political parties are a vital element in the quality of representative democracy, facilitating both the participation of citizens in political life and the accountability of elected representatives to those citizens. Despite their importance, however, citizens of Africa's democracies struggle to access information on the parties and candidates in elections. Moreover, scholars currently know relatively little about how political parties in Africa work, with evidence restricted to journalistic accounts, or country-specific scholarly accounts.



An election poster in Botswana with ex-president Ian Khama's younger brother on a poster for the ruling Botswana Democratic Party before he defected to the new opposition party

The Political Parties in Africa (PPA) project is one of the Institute's key projects and seeks to improve the quality of information about political parties that is available to citizens, policy makers and the academic community. We do this by collecting data, developing online resources, providing analysis, and partnering with organizations and researchers around the world. Following on from last year's successful conference on political parties in Southern Africa, several members of the PPA network presented research at this year's American Political Science Association's annual conference in Washington, D.C. in August. Moreover, we are moving forward with publishing some of the papers from the conference together with additional papers in two separate special issues, one focusing on party organization, while the other examines ideology and party manifestos. This year the PPA was also co-organized and participated in several workshops and conferences focusing on elections in the region and the roles of political parties in these elections. In June we, together with the University of Stellenbosch, organized a workshop on South Africa's elections; and in December, we hosted a workshop on this year's elections in Malawi, Mozambique and Botswana – and looking forward to the 2021 elections in Zambia.

We also continued our successful collaboration with the Political Parties Database (PPDB) project in collecting national-level data on political parties, focusing on their formal rules. We completed data collection in Namibia, Uganda, and Zimbabwe, as well as started to collect data in Malawi, Ghana and Mauritius. We also conducted preliminary research focusing on constituency-level party organization in southern Zambia and Botswana. Sishuwa Sishuwa, a post-doctoral research fellow in the Institute, continued with his research into political parties, ideologies and leadership in Zambian politics.

This year, we have been able to further grow the network of African researchers working on political parties on the continent through both conferences as well as funding for post-graduate students. The PPA together with the IDCPPA awarded scholarships for 9 students to join the Summer School, including the PPA's first travel grants for Zimbabwean research member Chido Nyaruwata who was involved in coding PPDB variables for the opposition in Namibia .



Jeremy Seekings interviews a local politician in Zambia

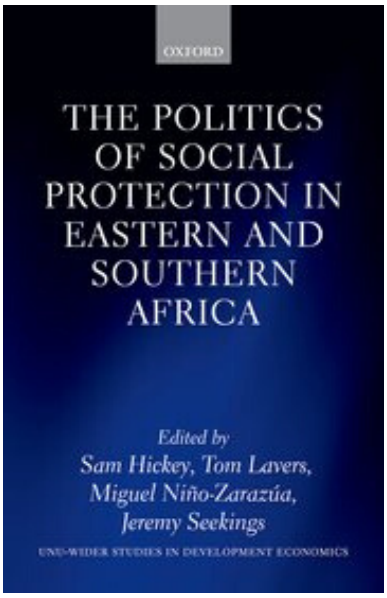


PPA members Sarah Lockwood, Matthias Kronke, Aikande Kwayu, Consolata Sulley, and Shana Warren (left to right) at APSA in December

PUBLIC POLICY



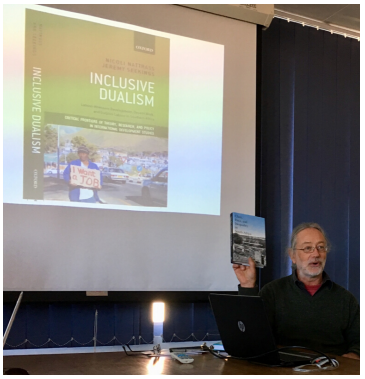
Our major research programme on public policy is the Legislating and Implementing Welfare Policy Reforms (LIWPR) research programme, previously funded primarily by the British government Department for International Development (DfID). The most notable publication this year was *The Politics of Social Protection in Eastern and Southern Africa* (Oxford University Press), edited by Sam Hickey and Tom Lavers (University of Manchester), Miguel Niño-Zarazúa (UNU-WIDER) and Jeremy Seekings. Under an agreement that UNU-WIDER has with OUP, the book is on full (free) Open Access. Four of the eight case-studies are based in LIWPR research: Jeremy's study of Botswana, Marianne Ulriksen's of Tanzania, Maria Granvik Saminathan on Lesotho and Sam Hamer and Jeremy on Malawi. In addition, Jeremy co-authored a chapter on DfID policy on social protection as well as the introduction.



Access to *The Politics of Social Protection in Eastern and Southern Africa* is free from UNU-WIDER

The LIWPR continues to generate other research output, including Working Papers by Isaac Chinyoka, drawing from his PhD thesis on child welfare regimes. Courtney Hallink completed her thesis on 'liberal' political parties and social protection in Southern Africa, earning a distinction. Hangala Siachiwena submitted his PhD thesis on changes of government and social protection in Zambia and Malawi. Post-doctoral research fellow Sikhanyiso Masuku continued his research into the challenges facing transnational migrants in South Africa. Greg Musiker submitted his Master's dissertation on development planning in Zambia (and received a distinction).

A set of papers, edited by Elena Moore and Jeremy Seekings, based on South African research was published in the journal *Critical Social Policy* (November 2019). This work examined 'Social Protection, Intergenerational Relationships and Conflict in South Africa'. The introduction by Elena and Jeremy reviewed the 'Consequences of Social Protection on Intergenerational Relationships in South Africa'. Other articles included Gabby Kelly's analysis of 'Disability, cash transfers and family practices in SouthAfrica', Kirsty Button and Thobani Ncapai's analysis of 'Conflict and negotiation in intergenerational care: Older women's experiences of caring with the Old Age Grant in South Africa' and Elena's article on 'Who has a duty to support? Care practices and legal responsibilities in South Africa'. Jeremy's article on 'The conditional legitimacy of claims made by mothers and other kin in South Africa' used data from survey experiments on who is considered deserving of assistance from both the state and kin.



Oxford University Press published in mid-year *Inclusive Dualism: Labour-Intensive Development, Decent Work, and Surplus Labour in Southern Africa* by Nicoli Nattrass and Jeremy Seekings. This book pulls together research on the economic importance of the clothing manufacturing industry in development, especially in labour-surplus economies, and explores the politics of South Africa's disastrous policies towards this sector. The IDCPPA and Centre for Social Science held a book launch in August (images to the right).



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BOOKS

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- Dallywater, L., **Saunders, C.** & Adegar, H. (eds), *Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War 'East': Transnational Activism 1960–1990.* Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg.

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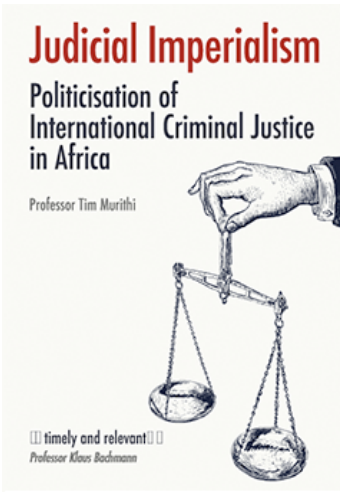
WEB ARTICLES

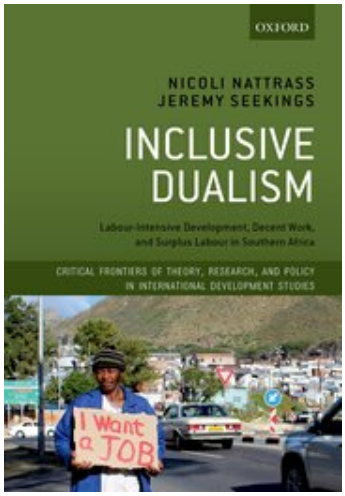
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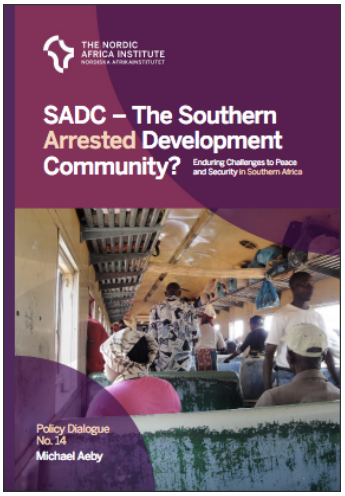
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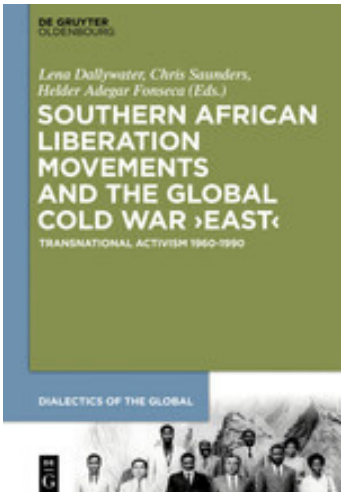
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As well as 27 Afrobarometer dispatches and policy papers by Institute members Carmen Alpin, Jamy Felton, Thomas Isbell, Matthias Kronke, Robert Mattes & Jeremy Seekings available at: http://www.afrobarometer.org/publications





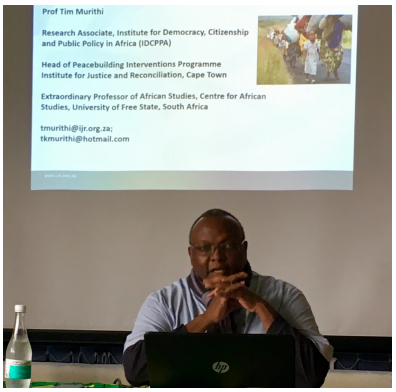




SEMINARS AND WORKSHOPS

Elites' Perceptions of Inequality in Brazil & South Africa Understanding support to and rejection of redistributive policies	Graziella Moraes Silva	26 February
Growth or rent seeking coalitions? An examination of city governance regimes and their relationship to economic rents	Crispian Olver	14 March
The limits of civil society: Rethinking the third-term debate and the defense of democracy in Zambia	Sishuwa Sishuwa	19 March
Political settlements analysis: Relevance and challenges	Tim Kelsall	26 March
Combining school sport with mediation skills as a catalyst for post-conflict community healing in South Africa	Clever Chikwanda	2 April
The 2019 South African National Election Study	Tanja Bosch, Robert Mattes, Reza Omar, Collette Schulz-Herzenberg and Herman Wasserman	18 April
Regional reconciliation in Africa: The elusive dimension of peace and security	Tim Murithi	30 April
Freedom slipping? Africa's closing political space is marked by less freedom and a willingness to trade liberties for security	Gugu Nonjinge	14 May
Inequality, economic insecurity and populism	Ian Shapiro	20 May
Mapping State Capacity in Africa: Measuring Scope, Strength and Reach	Matthias Krönke and Vinothan Naidoo	21 May
Afrobarometer – an indispensable resource for African scholarship and effective policy-making	E. Gyimah-Boadi	29 May
Gift or Grift? An Analysis of Perceptions of China among Africans	Robert Nyenhuis	11 June
2019 Election Workshop (cohosted with the Stellenbosch University)		28 June
African Union Solutions to Continental Challenges: Myth and Reality Research Conference		11 July
Freely settled and urban based refugee populations	Sikanyiso Masuku	23 July
The Political Struggle for 'the people': Populist Discourse in the 2019 South African Elections	Robert Nyenhuis	6 August
Inclusive Dualism: Labour-Intensive Development, Decent Work, and Surplus Labour in Southern Africa	Nicoli Nattrass and Jeremy Seekings	20 August
Social Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Social Re-Engineering for Inclusive Development	Ndangwa Noyoo	10 September
Monitoring African Accords: Implementation Monitoring in Zimbabwe's GPA and the APSA	Michael Aeby	8 October
Political Parties, the State and Basic Service Delivery in Africa	Matthias Krönke	29 October
Borders, Security and Globalization	Assis Malaquias	22 November
Living with differences: How perceived inequality shapes democratic support	Thomas Isbell	26 November
Understanding national identity in Africa: Lessons from Botswana and Ghana	Dominika Koter	9 December
Elections in Southern Africa Workshop		10-11 December









Images of 2019 seminars & workshops (from the top):
- Vinothan Naidoo & Matthias Kronke
- Tim Murithi
- Sishuwa Sishuwa, John Akokpari & Batlang Seabo
- Thomas Isbell

ABOUT THE IDCPPA

The Institute was established in 2017 to conduct research into the factors that strengthen and sustain democracy across Africa. Our research focuses on three broad topics. First, we are concerned with effective and predictable political (including judicial) institutions. This entails research on institutions of representation and accountability, focusing on issues such as constitutional design, legislatures, courts, rights, political parties, sub-national government and bureaucracy. Secondly, we are concerned with the factors that encourage an active and critical citizenry. This involves research into, inter alia, public opinion, political activism and the media. Thirdly, we examine the effects of public policies on social and economic dimensions of citizenship as well as its political and civil dimensions, including through economic growth, social welfare (including health care) and the regulation of everyday life (including family life). We are dedicated to the critical reexamination of democracy in Africa and the development of Africa-centric theory through systematic empirical research and a critical engagement with scholarship on other parts of the world.



Members of the IDCPPA and CSSR and their families



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