

**Jessica Achberger, SAIPAR**

*From the Local to the Global: Tuesday Market as a Microcosm of Socio-economic Trends in Zambia*

This project uses a popular market in the capital city of Lusaka to explain some of the larger socio-economic changes that are taking place within Zambia. Tuesday Market is a local market located near the University Teaching Hospital. The market has long been popular amongst those in Lusaka, particularly women of Indian origin. However, while the market is engrained in the society, it is constantly evolving, reflecting broader changes within the Zambian economy.

For this project I am collecting oral data, using my existing connections with stall owners and customers built up through three years of participation in the market community. I will explore a number of socio-economic issues, including the changing “face” of the marketplace, which now includes not only Chinese customers, but stall owners, as well as the traditional mix of customers of Zambian, Indian, and European origin, exploring issues surrounding migration, integration, and labour. In addition, I will investigate the source of the goods, highlighting regional integration in Southern Africa and the changing Zambian agricultural industry.

**Alastair Fraser, Lecturer, Cambridge University**

An outline: Politics and Interactive Media in Africa (PIMA) is a research project looking at how select radio and TV stations in Kenya and Zambia reflect, gather, disseminate and influence public opinion. We are particularly interested in how the liberalisation of broadcasting licences, the spread of mobile phone ownership and the growth of call-in and text-in radio and TV shows affect politics both during national elections and in relation to everyday local politics. The 18-month (October 2012 to April 2014) project involves researchers from Cambridge University, University of Nairobi, University of Zambia and the Centre for Policy Dialogue in Lusaka.

On a relatively prosaic level, we start out by trying to understand how stations plan, design, manage and understand interaction with viewers/listeners. We have selected a number of rural and urban, English and local language, state, private, community and religious stations. The Zambian cases include, in Lusaka: Yatsani FM, Muvi-TV, Phoenix FM, ZNBC radio and TV and Millennium FM, in Eastern Province, Breeze FM and Feel Free, and in Southern Province Sky FM and Radio Chikuni. We visit the stations observing the working practices of journalists and hosts, and interview owners, managers, hosts, guests, and where possible listeners and callers/texters about what they are doing, their aims and their evaluations of their involvement in the shows. We are also accessing archives of the programmes, and the communications received from listeners/viewers of the station. By analysing this data, we hope to establish how stations do their work, how they enable, influence, shape and police the expression of public opinion, and under what technological, regulatory, political and ethical influences they work.

Outside of the stations themselves, we are also interested in how individual and organisations, including NGOs and political parties, attempt to use these spaces to pursue their objectives. We have paid particular attention to the leaders of opposition political parties (to what extent are they attempting to repeat the Sata effect of campaigning and building their personal profile via call-in shows? How? How successfully?), and to 'serial-callers', the small community of men (and they are almost all men) who spend a considerable part of their lives engaging these shows and whose voices (at least in Lusaka) dominate the shows. Who are they? Are they sponsored by political parties? Do they, the stations, others in their communities, understand them as vital to debate or an irritation, as principled liberal individual citizens, as socially embedded community representatives, as nascent leaders, or what?

We are also seeking to map the media environment and governance processes of selected constituencies (Mandevu in Lusaka, and Chipangali in Eastern Province). We have done audience surveys in both constituencies with the particular aim of understanding who is listening to, calling and texting in to these shows, and why, as well as who doesn't, and why not. We are then working to describe how decisions are made, problems solved and power contested in these particular places, and to see how interactive media shows relate to pre-existing systems of authority and governance.

### **Elizabeth Haines, PhD Candidate, Royal Holloway University, London**

This research project examines mapping work in Northern Rhodesia, 1915-1955. It describes changes in mapping practices during that period, from expedition-style journeys with compass and sketchpad, to a post-war industrial scale cartography that used bomber planes, radar, plotters, or and offset printing. It examines how technological change reconfigured the ways in which geographic knowledge was created and used by various state agencies and by private enterprise. Through an examination of the intermittent and localised mapping projects that took place it aims to provide a narrative about colonial mapping in the region that does justice to its contingent and erratic character. It looks at the distribution and re-distribution of mapping tasks and technical expertise along shifting social, gender, and racial lines. It traces the idiosyncratic circulation of documents through the private and public sector, local and global networks.

I argue that temporal horizons are key to understanding cartographic production. Northern Rhodesian mapping projects are driven by the cycles within colonial administrative practices, by environmental patterns in climate and vegetation, but most crucially of all, by cycles of investment and expected return in the private sector. Through situating documentation of land and land use within a temporal framework, it suggests that the mapping records can be read as the material manifestation of some of the contradictions inherent in colonial 'development' and 'conservation' of the territory.

This research is carried out in the context of a PhD that is a 'Combined Doctoral Award'. I'm working at both Royal Holloway, University of London and the Science Museum.

Exploiting the collection of twentieth century surveying instruments at the museum, I hope to bring these mapping histories into not only a written, but into other audio-visual forms.

### **Erin Hern, PhD Candidate, Cornell University**

Erin Hern is a PhD Candidate in the Department of Government at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. Her primary advisor is Nicolas van de Walle. She will be in Zambia from July 2013 – August 2014 to complete field research for her dissertation. While in Zambia, she is a research affiliate of the Southern African Institute for Policy and Research, located in Lusaka.

Erin's research concerns the way that citizens' experiences with public policy affect the way they participate in politics. She is particularly interested in the reasons why men and women participate in politics in different ways and in different rates across the country. While most previous work on the topic has examined demographic characteristics such as occupation, education, and wealth to explain different patterns of participation, these characteristics cannot fully explain the different patterns of participation that Zambian respondents have reported in national surveys like the Afrobarometer.

In order to understand better why men and women in different parts of Zambia participate in politics in different ways, Erin is examining the different experiences individuals in different parts of the country have with public policy. She suggests that individuals living in different parts of the country—the urban areas of Central Province, the commercial agricultural centers in the South, and the remote rural areas far outside of the capital—have different experiences with public policy, and that these different experiences influence the way they participate in politics. For example, an urbanite with access to good infrastructure, public schools, and health clinics will likely have a different opinion of the government than a rural dweller who has only periodic contact with the government through agricultural extension programs. She suspects that exposure to these different types of policies likely influences the forms of political participation that people pursue.

While in Zambia, Erin will be taking a few different approaches to collecting data. She will be spending some time in the National Archives in Lusaka to examine the historical context of public policy production in the country. She will then carry out a series of surveys in Southern Province, Central Province, and Northwestern Province to determine how exposure to different types of policies affects individuals' decisions about political participation. She plans to spend approximately three months at each research site.

## Marja Hinfelaar, SAIPAR

### Effective States and Inclusive Development Research (ESID):

#### Project description:

Researchers and practitioners agree that an effective state is central to inclusive development. But non-state actors play an equally critical role in delivering goods and services to poor people.

Recent research shows how the inter-play between state-society relations, bargaining and informal politics can shape development. ESID research will therefore take a multifaceted approach, looking at the combined influence of elitist and popular forms of politics and the importance of global influences in creating the conditions for a government to achieve its development goals and produce policies that are pro-poor.

There will be a particular focus on policies and programmes that have been successful in terms of reducing extreme forms of poverty in specific policy areas, chosen from growth and employment, basic services, social protection, access to justice and natural resource governance. But ESID research will also look more broadly at how 'developmental states' emerge and might be promoted.

ESID will explore these over-arching concerns within two distinct but related projects:

- *ESID Natural Resources Project One*: this will track the historical experience of countries with long-established histories of natural resource extraction in both Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa
- *ESID Natural Resources Project Two*: the second, and more prospective study, will examine the implications of the more recent oil finds Ghana and Uganda. Focused on two core ESID countries, this study falls within ESID's 'flagship' project.

Project one: tracking the politics of natural resources and inclusive development over time (Zambia, Ghana, Peru and Bolivia):

"The exploitation and governance of natural resources offers a particularly insightful window onto two of ESID's major concerns in this phase of research, namely the role of political settlements and development ideologies in shaping the prospects for inclusive development, and the significance of how our core domains of accumulation, redistribution and recognition relate to each other."

Proposed paper outline for Zambia:

A. Conceptual argument and hypotheses

B. Periodization of the political settlement (these periods are by type of settlement *not* by regime)

- periods of stability, and characterization of the settlement during these periods
- moments of rupture and explanations of factors driving these ruptures
- patterns of exclusion and inclusion over time

C. Changing patterns and governance of relationships between natural resource extraction and development over these periods

D. Key themes in the changing relationships between settlements, natural resource extraction and development patterns

- Ideas and discourses
- The roles of key actors at transnational, national and subnational scales
  - In this section themes of national-subnational relations, environmental and human rights organizations, artisanal and small scale miners, co-ops will also appear, where relevant as key actors
- The roles of CSR, taxation and taxation-based social spending

E. Conclusions (relating political settlements, key themes in resource extraction and indicators of inclusive development)

**Lauren Honig, PhD Candidate, Cornell University**

As global and domestic demand for agricultural land rises, so do the stakes of the state's struggle to be the ultimate authority over the territory within its borders. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the state's jurisdiction over land is incomplete. With less than 10% of land in Africa registered by the state, chiefs, marabouts, kings, and other customary authorities (CAs) maintain a great deal of power over the provision of property rights on rural land. This presents a challenge to the state's ability to translate state preferences into actions (Geddes 1994) and its monopoly on political authority within its territorial boundaries (Weber 1918; Tilly 1992). The state extends its authority over land by converting land from customary control to state-derived rights to land access, such as title or leasehold. However, this state-building process has been uneven and conflictual, as some CAs challenge the state, claiming the right to control community resources.

To contribute to understandings of contemporary state-building in Africa, this project seeks to explain when and how the state is challenged in extending its authority over land. I argue that key variation in state and customary institutions structures the state's ability to subsume customary authority over land. In particular, it is the mechanisms of downward accountability within customary institutions that condition how the CA responds to the state. Through consent and resistance, customary authorities actively shape the outcomes of state attempts to consolidate power. To illuminate this modern state-building process across contexts within Africa, I carry out this research in Zambia and Senegal, two structurally-similar states with key variation inland institutions. Historical narrative, the

reconstruction of recent negotiations between customary and state actors over land, and an original geo-coded dataset of attempted large scale land conversions in Zambia and Senegal provide the research foundations for this dissertation.

**Duncan Money, PhD Candidate, Oxford University**

*'Let me warn you, you are sitting on top of a volcano': The Northern Rhodesian Mine Workers' Union, mining companies and the state*

The current focus of my research into the mining industry and mining communities of the Copperbelt is the Northern Rhodesia Mine Workers' Union (NRWMU), the trade union formed by and for European mineworkers in 1936. In general, I think that the history of this union offers an intriguing way of examining the shifting hierarchies of race, class and gender between 1930 and around 1960. The actions of the NRMWU also clearly shaped the development of the mining industry during its formative years.

There has been little academic work on the Copperbelt settlers and we know very little about them yet they were a serious concern for the colonial administration, the British Government and the international mining companies, Anglo-American and the Selection Trust, who dominated the Copperbelt during this period.

In the 1940s and 1950s, the European mineworkers' enjoyed a standard of living virtually unparalleled in mining communities around the globe. However, this did not translate into general levels of satisfaction. Instead many mineworkers' and other European residents of the Copperbelt perceived that they were beset by adversaries from virtually all sides and a pervasive sense of insecurity dominated the community. The well-organised, militant NRMWU was both an expression of this and a defence against it, and production was regularly disrupted by a series of bitter industrial disputes.

The NRMWU represented a combination of political egalitarianism, industrial militancy and racial exclusivity. In this respect, it can be seen as part of a general trend of 'white labourism' that emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as a highly mobile, transnational white workforce sought to protect their position by preventing African and Asian workers (and occasionally other Europeans) from competing in the labour market.

I'm interested in how this phenomenon was generated and maintained on the Copperbelt. Many contemporary accounts, particularly from the mining companies, blame the spread of attitudes from the Witwatersrand in South Africa northwards, an argument echoed in the scattered references to the white Copperbelt miners in the existing academic literature. I think this is unsatisfactory, as it posits a kind of 'virus' theory where people are infected by racist attitudes, or implicitly regards the Witwatersrand in terms of 'original sin', the origin point where bad things emanate from. However, the limited work that has done on 'white labourism' points to its transnational origin, and highlights the role of British and

Australian workers in developing and implementing racist working practices in the South African mining industry.

I also think that the role of the NRMWU helps us explain what is otherwise a puzzling feature of Copperbelt settler society: how a highly transitory society such as this manages to maintain consistent social norms across this period. Copperbelt settlers, particularly mineworkers, rarely stuck around for long and during this period we can see the European community on the Copperbelt as a kind of settler/sojourner hybrid society. Social institutions such as the NRMWU helped to establish and sustain the distinctive features of Copperbelt settler society.

**Elizabeth Sperber, PhD Candidate, Columbia University**

*Deus ex Machina? The Political Roots of Religious Change in Sub-Saharan Africa*

My dissertation focuses on religion and politics in sub-Saharan Africa. It asks why Pentecostalism has emerged as a powerful political force in some sub-Saharan countries, but not others. This question brings together two literatures usually considered separately: the study of identity and politics in political science and the interdisciplinary study of African Pentecostalism. Aside from radical Islam, American political scientists have all but ignored the question of politicized religion in sub-Saharan Africa. Instead, attention remains trained on tribal and linguistic cleavages, even as evidence suggests tribal identity does not always wield the influence with which it is commonly associated (Baldwin 2010; Kasara 2007). Scholars of African Pentecostalism, on the other hand, argue that the explosion of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity, the fastest growing religious groups in the region (Pew 2010), are driven by poverty, urbanization and globalization. Yet, existing cross-country data suggests that these factors are necessary but not sufficient to explanation variation in Pentecostal growth across African states.

The main argument of this dissertation is that political parties play critical, yet under appreciated roles in shaping religious change. This is because sitting governments can and do promote or constrain new religious movements within their borders. In the 1990s, for instance, Cameroon placed serious restrictions on the establishment of new churches. In Zambia, however, the ruling party elevated the status of Pentecostalism and targeted public resources to subsidize 'indigenous' evangelism. What drives these decisions? Incentives to promote or constrain certain identity types, I argue, are shaped by existing patterns of ethnic clientelism and political competition. Contra dominant theories in political science, I therefore contend that different ethnic cleavages become politically salient in response to prior political alignments, not merely group size (Posner 2005) or ascriptive heritable traits (Chandra 2004).

To elaborate my argument, I present four cross-national case studies and then hone-in on the case of Zambia. In the Zambian case, I combine historical process-tracing with an in-depth study of voter perception prior to the 2011 elections, as well as statistical analysis of the relationship between shifts in religious demography and political competition. First,

historical research suggests that the prominence of chiefs and churches in Zambian politics tends to alternate. When chiefs occupy privileged positions in government, churches tend to experience threat, (e.g. under UNIP in the 1980s). When churches are privileged, however, chiefs tend to receive fewer material and political benefits (e.g. under Chiluba's administrations). Second, my randomized, qualitative research study finds strong evidence that voters associate parties with religious denominations. Religious patronage is also perceived to shape a variety of political outcomes. Politics is not, therefore, viewed as driven solely by tribe or language group. Finally, I am compiling data from many ministries and organizations to test the hypotheses that the MMD:

- Targeted disproportionate access to land plots; development funds; and/or political appointments to Pentecostals.
- Disbursed greater benefits prior to elections.
- Concentrated benefits in electorally competitive districts.

The findings of this project will shed light on the roles played by religion in contemporary African politics as well as the influence of political competition on today's religious movements.

Questions:

I look forward to your reactions, in general. I would also particularly appreciate thoughts on:

- Archival documents to consider in historical process tracing
- The changing relationship between the MMD and (specific) chiefs during the 2000s