UHURU

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Land Acknowledgement

McGill University is built on a land which has long served as a meeting place for many Indigenous peoples, such as the Haudenosaunee and Anishinabeg nations.

The UHURU journal team would like to pay respect and recognize these nations as the traditional keepers of the land.

“The day will come when history will speak.

But it will not be the history which will be taught in Brussels, Paris, Washington or the United Nations…

Africa will write its own history and in both North and South it will be a history of glory and dignity.”

- Patrice Lumumba

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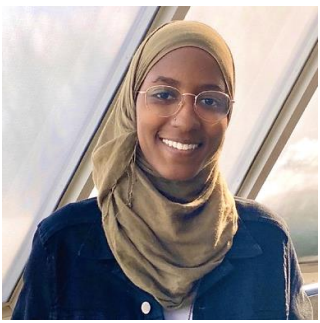

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Opening Statement by the ASSA

The African Studies Students' Association (ASSA) represents all students enrolled in the African Studies Joint Honors, Major and Minor programs at McGill University. The vision for our association has been to enhance visibility, achieve legitimacy, foster community and uphold accountability for the association, Africa and her people.

We are confident that we have fulfilled our vision with the consideration of the various initiatives we have executed during this academic session. These initiatives included, but were not limited to, our involvement within the *Black History Month* program at McGill, the *Africa Speaks* Conference, our collaboration with the *Desautels African Business Initiative*, and the establishment of tutoring services.

Most importantly, this journal serves as the pinnacle of what our association aims to achieve- the enhancement and promotion of Afrocentric scholarship at McGill and beyond. The publication of this journal serves as the fulfilment of our vision as a whole. The Uhuru editorial team has demonstrated exemplary effort throughout the academic year, and it is with much delight that we are able to release another edition of the Uhuru Journal!

Sincerely,

Iyanu Soyege and Suko Bhebhe
Co-Presidents 2019-2020

Statement by the Editor in Chief

UHURU is dedicated to all Africans in love with their continent, to the African diaspora seeking to understand the inextricable threads of their identity, to those willing to learn more and to the Mother continent that we all cherish.

In trying to understand the theme (Africa Now), our team stumbled upon an academic, literary and artistic treasure taking us on a tour of the continent from Morocco to South Africa and from Ghana to Kenya. The multiple subjects pay close attention to the dynamics of the continent in a freedom of tone, style and academic or non-academic form.

In 2020, Africans continue to build the threads that weave the beauty of the multifaceted continent. In 2020, students continue to rethink the continent's past, its effect on the present and the challenges facing its future. In 2020, Africa, riddled with legacies of a heavy past (still affecting contemporary societies), is this journal's focus as a reminder that freedom still needs restoration. In 2020, students continually pave the way to a truer understanding of Africa.

UHURU, *freedom* in Swahili, reminds us that the future is played out in the mind and that the words we attribute give meaning to them and that producing decolonized, nuanced and balanced knowledge is a key to educate about Africa, recognizing its beauty and its challenges and where they come from. In this edition, we emphasize that the key to liberty, the essence of being able to re-think Africa and its issues, is the most powerful tool, knowledge.

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Stitches

Short Story *by* ***Cinke Houghton***

Summary: *Stitches* is set in Nairobi, Kenya and follows Julius Kimani. A 61-year-old retiree who lives alone with his wife in the affluent neighbor-hood of Lavington. It explores separate rituals that both the Kimanis have adopted and perform every year in the month of May. It is the first short story of the author, Cinke Houghton, to be published.

Every Thursday night in March, Julius Kimani would check on the S&W revolver that he kept in the basement. In previous years he would dismantle the small, black gun until its tiny parts filled the entire space of his little writing desk in the basement. As time went on, however, the inspection had reduced to removing the bullets to check the cylinder and barrel and extracting the floating firing pin from the frame. Only once he was convinced that the little steel pin was in good condition did he return it and the bullets.

Tonight, he finished just in time.

“Kimani! Dinner’s ready!” Lucia, his wife, shouted from the first floor.

“Alright.” He mum-bled, placing the gun back in its box and shutting it. With a shaking hand he lifted it off the desk and put it behind his toolbox on the wooden shelf hang-ing above his head.

"Kimani? Did you hear me? *Nasema, chakula iko-"*[1]

"Agh, Nimekuskia![2] I heard you woman!" He bellowed and Lucia became silent. A short moment of silence passed before he heard her footsteps recede. He moved what few files and books lay on the shelf closer to the toolbox until he was satisfied that the grey box was completely hidden. He withdrew a blue book that Lucia had bought for him to write in from the drawer beneath and placed it on the desk.

Satisfied with the illusion, he stood up from his wooden chair and walked the length of the dimly lit basement to the staircase. It always surprised him how empty it was. Small mounds of dried paint were scattered around the edges of the room from sickly, yellowish walls. Other than his little workstation there was only the old black keyboard that he had gotten years ago for little Bahati in the room. Just collecting dust like everything else in this house, he thought. As he passed by it, he ran his fingers over the keys.

Once he had gotten to the first floor the smell of dinner wafted by him and made his stomach grumble. He walked into the living room and found his wife sitting at one end of the table, waiting for him. Even at 52 one would not be at fault for calling Lucia Kimani beautiful. Her smooth, ebony skin

[1] Kiswahili for "I am saying, food is-

[2] Kishwaili for "I have heard you"

remained devoid of wrinkles or spots and shone even when the sun hid behind the clouds on the darkest days of the wet seasons. Today she had her hair secured tightly beneath a blue headwrap that spiraled perfectly in a bun just above her forehead. She wore a mustard yellow shoal around her shoulders, a black T-shirt beneath it and blue jeans. She had dressed up for dinner.

She was busy fiddling with her transparent sewing kit when she noticed him standing a few paces away watching her. “I thought it would be nice,” she said with a small smile, pointing at the spread on the dining table that consisted of turkey, potatoes and green beans, “since… it’s around the time that-” Julius glared at his wife and she kept quiet. He said nothing and sat down at the other end of the table.

It was around this time, eleven years ago, on Saturday, the 21st of March in 2009 that they had lost their only child.

Julius had been alone with their daughter, Bahati, driving home from a piano recital that she had just performed for her whole 4th grade class at the annual talent show. She had been crying the entire way back because she had made a mistake on what she had called, “the most important part of Fur Elise.” He had turned around for only a second to suggest they stop by to get some ice-cream for her and mama to cheer her up. That was all it took. A white range rover

on the opposite lane swerved to avoid an overtaking matatu[3], and slammed into the right side of their car. Her side.

His last image of her was in a face full of tears. No amount of couple's counseling could drown out the sound of his wife's voice from his head as she gasped for air, breaking down when she heard the news. She resented him; he knew it. Even after he did what he did he could not give her any more children before it was too late, despite them trying. Eventually time had caught up with them, and it was now impossible. He had snuffed out the flame in her heart and could not spark a new one. He could see it every time March rolled around. The bags under her eyes, the sadness in her smiles, the muffled cries that he would hear sometimes when he was in the basement.

He was responsible for that.

He hated that she would never say it. How it was his fault that the other elderly women at the Church on State House road looked at her with such pity. How they murmured quiet prayers as she walked up the aisle to receive the communion before dragging their grand-children by their skinny, ashen colored arms after her. She probably thought he was too weak to hear it come from her mouth. So, instead, she was kind with her words and patient with his habits. Habits that

[3] A van used for public transport common in Kenya

formed in order to drown out his own voice convincing him of the glaring fact.

Lucia had her way of dealing with it; by sewing and repairing anything she could get her hands on. Loose buttons, small tears in their clothes, emerging holes in the couches. Anything she could find. She always kept her kit close by, ready to spring into action. Julius quietly wondered if that was why she seemed so tired on the weekends of March. If she stayed up patrolling the 4-bedroom house they had bought for the future family they would have, looking for something to stitch back together. Julius had his own method, and it involved check-ing his gun every Thursday night, so that every Friday he would not have to.

The following day, the 20th, went by in the same fashion that dinner had, in a grey silence. When the clock struck 9pm he announ-zzced briefly that he was heading to the bar and left before his wife could protest. This part of his routine was always the quickest. He drove quickly to his local pub on Kilimani road, whispering “May-be this time…” to himself. He got to the bar where the young bartender solemnly served him glass after glass of whiskey, without the two of them exchanging words. He downed the contents of the last, mouthed the word “tab” and was out the door by the time the alarm on his phone announced it was midnight. His vision had

begun to blur so he drove home slowly.

He parked in front of the house and breathed a small breath of relief when he noticed that all the lights in the house windows were off, all except the light in the main hallway. Lucia always left that one on for him. Once inside he headed straight for the basement. The stairs creaked softly as he descended into the darkness below.

“Maybe this time…”, he repeated, this time his voice cracked. He reached for the light switch at the bottom of the stairs with his right hand as he wiped away the tears with his left. As he walked to the desk, he passed by the keyboard and ran his hand across the dusty keys. Pressing each one of them as he did. But they made no noise. The only noise in the room was his own short whimpers.

He reached in his shelf. Moving the files and books aside and pulling out the nondescript black box. His whim-pers turned into sobs as he sat down in his wooden chair with the box in front of him, alone on the desk. The black book he had placed there earlier must have fallen, but it was of no concern to him right now. Nothing would be, soon enough.

He opened the box and retrieved the gun, perfectly placed and primed, just as he had left it. His hands were shaking as he lifted it out. He did his best to grip it as tightly as he could to stop it from falling and waking Lucia. “I’m sorry, h-honey.” He said,

choking on his words. "Singeweza-"[4] He tried to take a deep breath but could not.

His shoulders shook quietly as he bowed his head and let the tears fall. As he did, his hands worked on their own. Pushing the cylinder open to expose all six bullets resting neatly in their chambers. His right hand emptied them all out onto his left, and his left grabbed one with its index and thumb and returned it into an empty chamber. The other five were put back onto the desk quietly. Only then did Julius open his eyes. Staring at the single bullet.

One out of six. "Sixteen percent chance." The doctor had told them twenty years ago. "Sixteen percent chance that the egg is fertilized. I am sorry Mr. Kimani but your sperm count is just too low for it to be any higher." Bahati had been that sixteen percent. She had been their only chance.

Sixteen percent… he thought, as he closed his eyes once more and spun the cylinder, hard.

This time…

He jerked the cylinder back into position and raised the revolver to his temple. "I'm so sorry…" he said, pulling the hammer back in place. "Lucia."

Julius pulled the trigger.

CLICK!

His eyes shot open and he gasped for air.

He lowered the gun back to the desk and stood up.

[4] Kiswahili for "I couldn't-"

He returned the gun and bullets back into the box and put the box back in its place. Placing a few files and books around the toolbox in front of it.

Not this time.

Just like all the other times. It was like the God that Lucia prayed for hours to was hellbent on keeping him in here. To wake up to the same empty feeling.

He walked out of the basement and up the stairs to the first floor and continued up to the second floor. Passed the common bathroom where he had given Bahati baths when she was little. Passed her bedroom where he had sung her lullabies in the language his mother had taught him. Finally, he opened his bedroom door halfway and slip-ped inside. Lucia was sleeping in a ball on the right side of the bed. He stripped down to his undershirt and reached into his bedside table.

Dammit! He cursed in his head. He was out of sleeping pills, he'd forgotten to restock them this morning. He moved around the edge of the bed to the bedside table on his wife's side. He knew she had sleeping pills as well, they both needed them. Especially in March.

He opened the drawer softly and peered inside, immediately noticing the familiar yellow flash behind her sewing kit. He took the box out and then the pill container. Reaching inside, he took a snow-white pill out and swallowed it in one quick motion. As he silently placed the pill container

back inside the drawer, he thought of the grueling drive he would have to take in the morning to the pharmacy. The hangover would be especially tough this time. He was about to do the same with the sewing kit when something silver flashed in the glow of the streetlight outside.

Julius paused for a moment and peered inside the transparent sewing box. There, hidden among the needles and spools of thread was a little, steel, firing pin.

He stopped breathing.

He reached into the box and pulled it out, blinking in disbelief. It really was the firing pin. The same firing pin he had made sure to return into the black frame of the S&W the night before.

Julius turned to his wife, who snored softly in her sleep. The woman who was always tired around this time, not because she had been sewing, but because she had been staying up to save his life. She probably woke up early too, to return the pin so he would not notice. She must have done this every weekend. But for how long? He thought.

He held onto the sewing box tightly before putting it back into the drawer. How long had she kept this secret? He wondered, as he walked slowly back to his side of the bed and got in softly, careful not to stir her. How long had the

sixteen percent not mattered? He moved up close to her and held her waist, kissing the back of her shoulder.

Before he fell asleep, he wondered if perhaps what she had been doing was sewing after all.

Beyond the Genocide: In the Wake of Tragedy, an Analysis of the Factors that have led to Multi-faceted Gender Parity in Rwanda

By ***Sabrina Gill***

Content Warning:
Discussions of genocide, rape, and sexual violence towards women.

"The 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi left the country shattered. Women took up new roles as heads of households and engage in rebuilding the country along with others. Gender equality and women's empowerment is a cornerstone of the Government of Rwanda's development strategy and a proven source of development progress."

- Republic of Rwanda Government, 2017:02

Gender parity and equity is a development priority that we globally aspire to. When thinking of countries that model the ideal socio-political-economic environment for this, Nordic and other developed countries typically come to mind (The Telegraph, 2017). However, another trailblazing nation in this department -- that is not given enough recognition -- is the Republic of Rwanda.

In media and global studies, Rwanda is almost always discussed in the context of the 1994 Genocide. Even throughout the construction of this essay, it was difficult to find substantive litera-

ture that gave light to other aspects of Rwandan society and history, such as its rapid progression in gender mainstreaming. In a Forbes article entitled "Lessons from the World's Most Gender Equal Countries", only developed countries are given credit for their strides in gender mainstreaming. There is a blatant lack of recognition for the contemporary progressions of Rwanda, and the impressive developmental advancements that it has made despite this historical tragedy.

Before delving further into this topic, it is important to establish the definition and measurements of gender parity. While there are several indicators, we will be using the Global Gender Gap Index, published by the World Economic Forum. This report examines the gender empowerment gap with regards to four specific categories -- economic opportunity, educational accessibility, health services, and political empowerment. With '1' being complete gender parity and '0' being the absence of, Rwanda scores in the top 10 countries with the lowest gap with a score of 0.80 (Business Insider, 2019). Thus, we will be examining a variety of multi-faceted factors that have led to gender equality, such as the ones quantified by the Global Gender Gap Index.

Rwanda's gender parity will be discussed in relation to two main themes: the collaborative behaviour of Civil Society, and Intersectionality.

With regards to the collaborative behaviour of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Rwanda, and drawing from class takeaways, many of these CSOs possess an attitude of liberal values and apolitical, collaborative behaviors. When discussing Rwandan gender equality in the context of the present and the future, we will be using the examples of the Rwanda Women's Network, a local CSO, and an international organ, UN Women, to further elaborate on this collaborative behaviour.

Intersectionality, the second major concept of this essay, is defined as "visualizing differentiated patterns of vulnerability...recognizing heterogeneity" (Kazue Takamura). This is important to bear in mind, as various collaborative actors need to be mindful of the intersectional context of Rwanda. Giving recognition to vulnerability and gender imbalances during conflict is what makes Rwanda a unique case study.

This essay will first reflect on Rwanda's history, then look at current progress and initiatives, and lastly investigate the various future implications and limitations of gender parity in Rwanda.

Reflecting on history, the need for greater empowerment and accessible opportunities across various identities has allowed for the Rwandan government to effectively collaborate with international and local Civil Society actors, resulting in rapid,

sustainable, and intersectional gender parity across Rwanda.

The Past: Reflections on the Rwandan Genocide

To give greater context and understanding to modern CSO collaboration and intersectional frameworks, we must first reflect on the Rwandan Genocide of 1994, and the lessons learned that have helped to establish modern gender parity. The Rwandan Genocide was born out of long-standing tensions amongst varying groups with different identities. During the period of Belgian colonization, the "Belgians considered the Tutsis to be superior to the Hutus...they enjoyed better jobs and educational opportunities". (BBC, 2011) Tensions culminated in 1959 with riots from Hutu clans, killing several thousand Tutsi, and granting the Hutu with greater social, political, and economic advantages. As such, when Rwanda gained independence from Belgi-um in 1962, the Hutu were dominant, and Hutu leader President Juvenal Habyarimana was put into power. Tensions grew over time, and Tutsi refugees located in Uganda formed the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), led by the current Tutsi leader of Rwanda, President Paul Kagame. In 1994, President Habyarimana's plane was shot down (although the actors and motivations behind this are still not clearly known), which instigated the rapid and

pervasive Rwandan Genocide. Between April to July of 1994, over 800,000 people were killed, and sexual violence against women was rampant. (Gervais, Ubalijoro, and Nhyiraba 2009: 14) An estimated 500,000 wom-en were raped, where "rape was part of the genocidal plan and a tactic used for the systemic degradation of girls and women; perpetrators deliberately set out to infect female victims with HIV". (Gervais, Ubalijoro, and Nhyiraba 2009: 14) The Genocide perpetrated the vulnerability of women, throughhout its duration and for years to come. The Rwandan Genocide occurred out of long-standing divisions, killing and devastating thousands, and disproportionately targeting women.

The end of the Genocide left Rwanda with the issue of post-conflict reconciliation and reconstruction. The nationwide slaughter ended in July 1994, when the RPF took over Kigali. Instability and insecurity are the typical features of a post-conflict state such as Rwanda. However, Kagame eventually became president, and the "RPF mainstreamed women from the beginning, including them in both the political and armed wings of the Front," (Burnet 2008:365), and gender and development was made a priority. The first reasoning for this was the fact that "immediately after the killings, girls and women formed 70% of the entire Rwandan population."

sexual violence against women was rampant. (Gervais, Ubalijoro, and Nhyiraba 2009: 14). It became a necessity for women to fill positions of power in the post-conflict recovery of Rwanda. Secondly, there was a nationwide attitudal shift, where the "government undertook an ideological program called: 'national unity and reconciliation' to build a 'New Rwanda', a nation of people who refused the 'genocidal positions of power in the post-conflict recovery of Rwanda. Secondly, there was a nationwide attitudal shift, where the "government undertook an ideological program called: 'national unity and reconciliation' to build a 'New Rwanda', a nation of people who refused the 'genocidal ideology' of the past." (Burnet 2008: 365) Ensuring equitable treatment and resources across all identities was at the forefront of development priorities. Thirdly, these female leaders, in effective collaboration with CSOs, constructed strong institutions and equitable policy. Parliamentary quotas were introduced, in which women had to make up 30% of parliamentarians. Female political participation has gone above and beyond this, with women outnumbering men at 61.3%. (World Economic Forum, 2017) Other important policy, such as gender-based budgeting, reforming land-ownership rights, and paid maternity leave, have been integral to the empowerment of women in Rwanda since 1994.

(The Republic of Rwanda Government, 2017:8) Reflecting on Rwandan history allows for us to analyze our key themes of CSO collaborative behaviour and intersectionality. As women were the majority of the population post-Genocide, women began to instigate effective CSOs, as well as taking up positions of power on a multitude of other levels. The understanding of equitable rights and female needs was felt across all aspects of society, allowing for greater collaborations amongst CSOs and the state. Development priorities were aligned, where actors had an attitude of liberal values and apolitical, collaborative behaviours. Tangentially, intersectionality was at the forefront of these inclusive institutions and policies. Rwandan women underwent a very unique conflict, resulting in unique patterns of vulnerability which needed to be addressed in Rwandan reconstruction. Rwandan institutions needed to account for war crimes, a majority female demographic, and the shifting labour force.

The gendered impacts of the Genocide, as well as the context of post-conflict reconstruction, highlight the importance of collaboration and intersectionality when looking towards the current state of gender parity in Rwanda.

The Present: Current Initiatives and Actors

Rwanda's current advancements in gender parity are largely thanks to effective cooperation and

implementation by various actors. Locally, one of the major CSOs promoting gender equality is the Rwanda Women's Network (RWN). Their primary mission in Rwanda is to "work towards improvement of the socio-economic welfare of women in Rwanda through enhancing their efforts to meet their basic needs". (RWN, 2019) They have spearheaded a multiplicity of programs and projects, with various goals such as accessible physical and mental health care, quality education, economic empowerment, and protec-tion from sexual violence. Another part of their mandate is "community mobilization spaces for women, including facili-tating women through these community spaces to connect with other women on key issues and support each other for collective change." (RWN, 2019) In this way, they effectively work on tangible projects to improve the accessibility of resources, and additionally foster solidarity and support amongst Rwandan women. RWN has been an effective grassroots organization in promoting collaborative behaviour. It is just one of the CSOs operating towards gender equality in Rwanda, of which "are primarily concerned by the implementation of the National Gender Policy". (Rwanda Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion, 2019) This is because "Rwanda is a difficult operational context for civil society and NGOs... [the] arrangements through which

civil society-state relationships can be negotiated remain...state-determined". (Gready 2010: 656) Interestingly enough, Rwandan gender empowerment reforms can be argued to have been carried out through a top-down approach. In many cases, a top-down approach can go awry, but within Rwanda, as the state is run by predominantly women, this results in a 'trickle-down effect', where female decision makers implement equitable changes to the benefit of women across Rwanda. In this sense, there is greater shared empathy and openness to collaboration with local CSOs who can more effectively implement the measures detailed by sustainable national policies.

International CSOs, actors, and related initiatives have been largely helpful in gender mainstreaming in Rwanda. A major challenge to feminism that exists universally is the participation and support of men in the fight for gender equity. In Rwanda, "women's awareness changed once and for all since all generations of women were affected by the experience of Genocide. However, for men, this meant confronting a new world order in terms of gender politics, something that older men find harder to accept." (Wallace, Haerpfer, Abbott 2008: 119) To remedy this, the Rwandan Government has welcomed the support of UN Women, particularly with their "HeForShe" solidarity campaign. The mandate of HeForShe

details that it acts as “an invitation for men and people of all genders to stand in solidarity with women to create a bold, visible and united force for gender equality.” (HeForShe, 2019) In Rwanda, participation in this campaign is incredibly high, with 206,454 commitments to solidarity. In 2014, the Rwandan President Paul Kagame was selected as the HeForShe Global Champion, and stated that “as Rwandans, as a global community, we need every member of our society too use his or her talents to the full if we are ever to reach our development goals. I urge all men and boys to join me as HeForShe Champi-ons in support of our women and girls...” (The Republic of Rwanda Government, 2017: 11) The state and international organisations, such as UN Women, have committed to three new commitments to be made by 2020 in Rwanda. This includes bridging the gender digital divide, triple STEM opportunities and education for women, and eradicating gender-based violence. In this way, international initiatives, and the willingness of strong institutions, have helped to not only provide accessible resources, but have also pledged to a commitment of changing culture. Shifting the culture of ingrained sexism makes for a more sustainable and long-term impact in the fight for gender equality in Rwanda and across the globe.

Presently, there are a variety of actors that engage in women’s em-

powerment in Rwanda, and together, they succeed in its successful implementation. The state acts as a strong, female majority institution, implementing successful equity poli-cies. Local CSOs, such as RWN, help to provide the services and support detailed by these laws and bring women together to foster a greater sense of solidarity. International actors and initiatives, such as UN Women and the HeForShe movement, are helping to improve gender parity in the very-long term, by eradicating the inherent culture of gender discrimination. Efforts towards gender parity demonstrate the collaborative behaviour of CSOs, and the attitude of liberal values and apolitical, collaborative behaviours. Intersectionality has been at the forefront of these initiatives, as demonstrated by Kagame's three priorities, where Rwanda has identified unique patterns of vulnerability for Rwandan women and have made commitments to institutionalise these initiatives. Thanks to collaborative behaviour and prioritising intersectionality, there have been vast tangible improvements in the quality of life for women. Some examples include the fact that at present, female labour participation in Rwanda is at 86%, women are guaranteed three months of paid maternity leave, (World Economic Forum, 2017), and there is overall increased political and educational participation. Through collaborative behaviours and bearing in mind an intersectional

framework, various actors have been able to successfully promote holistic female empowerment.

The Future: Positive and Negative Implications

Collaborative CSO behaviour and intersectional initiatives possess a variety of possibilities for the future. Optimistically, Rwanda has constantly updated and implemented national strategic frameworks towards gender equity. From 2010-2017, the "7 Year Government Programme" was introduced, which pushed for greater attention to gender-based violence and female equity concerns (The Republic of Rwanda Government, 2017: 7). From 2013-2018, the "Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy" was introduced, particularly because "Rwanda has lifted people out of extreme poverty, paying particular attention to women, who form the majority of the poor." (The Republic of Rwanda Government, 2017: 8) In this sense, we can again see the significant attention to intersectionality, with particular accommodation for poor women post-Genocide. This focus cuts across other important sectors, such us health care, whereby "linking efforts to strengthen [the] health system with a preferential option for the poor - a cross-cutting agenda known as the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy - Rwanda has amplified the impact of its health system investments."

(Drobac, Naughton 2014: 60). Furthermore, the most recent development framework of Rwanda is Vision 2020, where there is a major push for efforts "against poverty and practice a positive discrimination policy in favour of women." (The Republic of Rwanda Government, 2017: 7). Rwanda continues to prioritise gender in its long-term development goals, reviewing and reinstating new initiatives to create sustainable spaces and opportunities for the empowerment of women. With these commitments in mind, paired with the aforementioned implementtation on the part of multiple actors, it is foreseeable that Rwanda will continue its positive trajectory of gender empowerment with its updated and long-term development plans.

Despite these achievements, there are still major challenges to female empowerment in the foreseeable future of Rwanda. For example, one limitation is that Rwanda may experience is that of limited technical skills for vocational advancement. Although women participate greatly in the labour force, there is still much to be done about creating employment opportunities and adequate training outside of the agricultural sector. Although from 2002-2012, Rwanda saw an increase from 12% to 27% in agricultural to non-agricultural employment for women. (The Republic of Rwanda Government, 2017: 7) This number could potentially be much

higher and be conducive to overall development. Another hindrance is the "insufficient skills for gender analysis [that] make it difficult to identify key gender priorities and to propose appropriate interventions" (The Republic of Rwanda Government, 2017: 25). The aforementioned national frameworks for gender empowerment can only be developed with accurate and sufficient understanding of various problems and intersectional conditions. Without proper analysis, there could be important communities excluded from development discourse. Finally, another major challenge is the nuances of changing patriarchal culture. Although HeForShe is dominant in Rwanda, "studies within sociology of gender further elaborate... [that] the granting of new rights to women on the basis of their gender marks the category of 'woman' as distinct... this further reinforces the idea that brings about the subordination of women in the first place -- that men and women are fundamentally different." (Berry 2015: 4) A change in sexist culture has begun but will take several years before nuances in bias are explored and eradicated. There are potential future barriers to collaboration and intersectionality in Rwanda, such as its lack of technical opportunities for women, its gaps in gender analysis, and the nuances of discriminatory patriarchal culture.

The future of Rwandan gender parity holds a

variety of positive and negative outlooks, of which collaborative behaviour and intersectionnality should be at the forefront. With regards to aggregate long-term development frameworks, there must be greater attention to intersectionality amongst women -- particularly with women who have children from Genocidal acts of rape, female sex workers, and very young women who are the heads of households. Collaborative behaviour could be better estabi-shed, where CSOs and joint state policy help to address these unique patterns of vulnerability. When analysing potential future limitations, these challenges can again be addressed by bearing in mind the importance of collaboration and intersectionality. CSOs have the potential to create spaces for women to build up their technical skills, and potentially create more jobs to better gather national data and statistics. The culture of discrimination against women impacts the vulnerability of women altogether and taking the time to recognise the intersectional nature of discrimination allows for a better understanding of the diversity of gendered issues.

Conclusion

From the 1994 Genocide and looking towards the future, Rwanda has effectively taken steps to collaborate with CSOs, give recognition to intersectional needs, and mainstream gender equity.

In the past, the impacts of the Rwandan Genocide disproportionately impacted women. As women were the majority of survivors, they grew to occupy positions of power and promote strong institutions and have created sustainable policy and programs to further development initiatives.

Presently, a combination of local CSOs, the state, and international UN organs have helped to implement effective actions towards gender parity. CSOs help provide resources as dictated by the state, the state propagates inclusive policy, and welcomes the support of HeForShe in shifting discriminatory culture. In the future, collaboration amongst these actors and a greater recognition of intersectionality needs to be at the front of long-term plans. This is to overcome potential challenges, such as a greater need for technical capacity and training, a lack of coherent analysis, and a better understanding of the nuances of vulnerability in societal discrimination. Reflecting on history, the need for greater empowerment and accessible opportunities across various identities has allowed for the Rwandan government to effectively collaborate with international and local Civil Society actors, resulting in rapid, sustainable, and intersectional gender parity across Rwanda.

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To what extent did Egypt ‘Modernize’ during the 19th century?

By ***Marine Pichon***

Selon de nombreux auteurs tels que Henry Dodwell ou Guy Fargette, la figure de Mehmed Ali doit être considérée comme « le fondateur de l’Égypte moderne » (Dodwell, 1996), notamment en raison de son introduction en Égypte de nouvelles institutions dans la première moitié du 19e siècle, ou de ses divers projets publics (tels que l'ouverture d'écoles, la construction d’hôpitaux, la fondation d'usines et la création d'une armée moderne). Pourtant, selon Khaled Famy, malgré ces efforts coordonnés de la part du pacha pour réactiver l'économie égyptienne après des siècles de stagnation et même de déclin, l'expérience s’apparente à un échec : même avant la mort du pacha en 1849, un grand nombre des usines, écoles et autres établissements qu'il avait fondés ferment ou sont abandonnées. La seconde moitié du 19e siècle égyptien se caractérise alors par une relation complexe entre désindustrialisation, impérialisme, dépendance à l’empire britannique et réformes. Nous chercherons donc à montrer que l’Égypte semble belle et bien avoir connu une modernisation durant la première partie du

19ème siècle, qui s'inspire mais diverge clairement du modèle de développement occidental. Or, c'est cette prise de distance recherchée avec l'occident qui incarne paradoxalement la grande fragilité de cette dynamique ambitieuse de modernisation, puisque celle-ci vient se heurter aux intérêts impérialistes des puissances européennes.

Tout d'abord, lorsque Mehmed Ali prend le pouvoir, après la défaite française à Aboukir et après avoir été reconnu par le sultan ottoman Selim iii comme wali (gouverneur d'Égypte) en 1805, l'Égypte se trouve dans une situation de forte anomie, de précarité politique et de « power vacuum » (Fahmy, 1998). Mehmed Ali va alors être à l'origine de nombreuses réformes afin de moderniser le pays. Entre 1807 et 1811, il se concentre ainsi sur l'armée et met en place la conscription, afin de repousser les frontières de l'Égypte. Il pousse également d'autres réformes comme l'amélioration de l'administration financière et de l'agriculture, la modernisation des structures, l'appel à des techniciens étrangers. Il fait reconstruire la ville d'Alexandrie vers 1810. En 1819, il commença la construction du canal Mahmoudiya pour irriguer Alexandrie avec les eaux du Nile. Sur le plan économique, de 1808 à 1817, Mehmed Ali lance une politique d'appropriation des terres (notamment via l'expropriation des propriétaires mamelouks), le faisant devenir le premier

propriétaire terrien d'Égypte. En 1822, après avoir conquis une grande partie du soudan, le général Mahommed Bey introduit la culture du coton en Égypte, et diffuse le coton jumel, de qualité supérieure aux produits alors sur le marché. L'industrie du coton se développe alors, si bien qu'en l'espace de seulement quelques années le coton devient une importante source de revenus pour le pays. Mehmed Ali utilise l'état pour mettre en œuvre une révolution industrielle, grâce à la constitution de monopoles d'état. En 1830, l'Égypte occupe le cinquième rang mondial pour les broches à filer le coton par têtes d'habitant. Selon Jean Batou, l'Égypte dispose aussi d'une production diversifiée de biens de consommation et d'une industrie lourde, pour lesquelles elle fabrique localement les machines et équipements nécessaires (Batou, 1991).

Les réformes que mènent Mehmed Ali sont directement liées à sa volonté personnelle de concentration de pouvoir. En effet, afin de remplacer les mamelouks, Mehmed Ali structure son pouvoir autour de sa famille et de milliers de fonctionnaires turcophones prêts à servir dans les bureaucraties civiles et militaires, formant une toute nouvelle classe dirigeante. Selon Henry Laurens, ce processus de concentration est le moteur de la puissance du nouvel état. Tout ce qu'on appelle les réformes de Muhammad Ali s'expliquerait alors par la constitution d'une

« maison vice-royale monopolisant la richesse et le pouvoir » (Laurens, 1995). Pour Alain sainte marie, la tentative de modernisation de l'Égypte et la construction de grands monopoles sont en effet essentiellement motivés par une double perspective politique pour Mehmed Ali : consolider son pouvoir sur l'Égypte et renforcer le poids de l'Égypte au sein de l'empire ottoman (Sainte-Marie, 1974). Cette volonté d'émanciper l'Égypte de l'empire ottoman. Ces intérêts politiques ont des conséquences cruciales pour la modernisation de l'Égypte: selon Jean Batou, l'élimination des mamelouks comme intermédiaires était nécessaire pour accroître et drainer l'essentiel du surplus économique dans les caisses publiques (ouvrant alors la voie à une accumulation rapide dans les secteurs modernes de l'économie) (Batou, 1991).

Cette stratégie de modernisation s'est considérablement inspirée du modèle proposé par l'occident, mais recherche également à diverger de ce dernier en renforçant l'autonomie du pays. En effet, Mehmed Ali va s'appuyer sur l'importation de techniques, d'experts et d'idées venant d'Europe afin d'industrialiser l'Égypte. Néanmoins, afin de domestiquer au mieux le processus, le pacha va en parallèle tenter d'assurer la formation des jeunes égyptiens. Selon jean Batou, vers 1835-1840, les écoles supérieures et professionnelles (agronomie, arts et métiers,

polytechnique, navigation, médecine, etc.) Regroupaient entre 6 300 et 8 600 étudiants, soit 1,5 pour 1 000 hab (Batou, 1991). Parallèlement, le pacha avait pris des dispositions pour envoyer plusieurs missions scolaires à l'étranger, en particulier en France comme en 1826. En outre, Mehmet Ali va tenter de diminuer le plus possible les importations, développer la production domesti-que, même lorsque celle-ci est moins rentable et opérer une forme de protectionnisme adminis-tratif (Al-Gritly, 1966). D'ailleurs, contrairement au modèle occidental, les dynamiques à l'œuvre en Égypte sont profondément anti-libérales : reconcentration de la propriété foncière au profit exclusif de l'état, multiplication des monopoles de production et d'échange, pouvoir despotique disposant arbitrairement de la personne et des biens de ses sujets… cela a conduit certains auteurs à rapprocher le cas égyptien (et notamment l'absence de bourgeoisie industrielle entreprenante) des économies industrialisées non capitalistes du 20ème siècle, comme l'union soviétique (Issawi, 1966). Sans forcément chercher à faire des comparaisons anachroniques, il est néanmoins clair que les réformes de Mehmed Ali renforcent le développement d'une certaine forme d' « égyptianité » ou d'embryon de sentiment national.

Néanmoins, cette modernisation à la fois économique, politique, administrative, éducative, voire sociale, de la

première moitié du 19ème siècle va se heurter rapidement à des dynamiques contraires, attribuables pour beaucoup à l'impérialisme européen mais également à la fragilité du terreau dans lequel cette modernisation prend racine.

En effet, d'une part, si nombre de réformes de Mehmed Ali échouent à partir du milieu du 19ème siècle, c'est tout d'abord car elles reposaient avant tout sur le volontarisme du pacha, sur ses monopoles et dépendaient donc de la situation financière de l'état égyptien. Pour Alain sainte marie, ce terreau était donc insuffisant pour permettre d'impulser une modernisation durable, notamment après la déposition du pacha en 1948: le marché intérieur égyptien était insuffisant et avec un pouvoir d'achat trop faible pour assurer un débouché adéquat à la production domestique (Sainte-Marie, 1974). Si la bureaucratie prend de l'ampleur sous le règne du pacha, son organisation et ses procédures restent extrêmement précaires, arbitraires et facilement corruptibles (Brett, 1986). Par ailleurs, les réformes de Mehmed Ali ne bénéficient pas d'un véritable soutient populaire de la part de la paysannerie égyptienne qui est surexploitée et fiscalement opprimée (Fahmy, 1998). A titre d'exemple, la moderni-sation de l'éducation par le pacha illustre bien ce clivage entre l'élite et la société. En effet, selon Mahmud A. Faksh, les réformes liées à l'édu-cation (et

notamment leur tendance séculaire) ont créé en Égypte un important écart culturel entre deux systèmes d'enseignement (un reli-gieux traditionnel et un laïc moderne) corres-pondant en fait à deux modes de vie différents (celui des masses, et celui des élites, davantage occiden-talisées) (Faksh, 1980). Comme le résume M. Abir, tout en érodant les fondements de la société traditionnelle, Mehmed Ali n'a pas véritablement fourni de substitut approprié pour la rem-placer (Abir, 1977).

D'autre part, la plupart des réformes conduites par Mehmed Ali viennent contrecarrer les intérêts impérialistes des puissances européennes, notamment la grande bretagne. Comme l'explique Michael Brett, malgré tous ses efforts, Mehmed Ali ne parvient pas à se rendre totalement indépendant d'Istanbul et a finalement été victime de la détermination de la Grande-Bretagne à pré-server l'intégrité de l'empire ottoman, dont l'Égypte faisait offici-ellement partie (Brett, 1986). En 1841, le pacha est contraint par la menace d'un débarque-ment britannique de reconnaître la suzeraineté ottomane en échange de la confirmation de son droit héréditaire de gouverner l'Égypte. De ce fait, il était obligé d'accepter les obligations internationales de l'em-pire ottoman, y compris les dispositions commer-ciales de balta liman visant à abolir les monopoles commerciaux dans l'ensemble de l'empire ottoman (surtout

les monopoles de Mehmed Ali). Or, comme nous l'avons vu précédemment, ces monopoles étaient l'épine dorsale de la politique économique du pacha et auraient donné à ses industries la protection dont elles avaient besoin pour concurrencer les produits européens. Ayant perdu cette protection, les industries naissantes et les services qui leur sont liés sont tombés en ruine. Le deuxième incident qui est généralement souligné pour souligner comment les efforts européens ont le plus contribué à faire avorter cette expérience de développement a été le firman de 1841 qui a été adopté par le sultan ottoman mais qui était le résultat de la pression européenne. Selon jean Batou, ce firman a dépouillé l'Égypte des possessions territoriales qu'il avait réussi à acquérir au cours des deux décennies précédentes et, tout aussi important, a réduit la taille de ses forces armées à 18 000 hommes en temps de paix, seulement une petite fraction de sa taille d'origine (Batou, 1991). Ainsi, l'intervention européenne est une cause cruciale de l'échec de la modernisation impulsée par Mehmet Ali.

La seconde moitié du 19ème siècle se caractérise alors par une relation complexe entre réformes, contre-réformes et impérialisme économique britannique. Le successeur de Mehmet Ali, Saïd pacha autorise l'Eastern Telegraph Company à entrer dans le marché égyptien et laisse les britanniques fonder la

Bank of Égypte en 1854. Il développa également les infrastructures du pays, lançant un deuxième chemin de fer reliant le Caire et Alexandrie, et un autre chemin de fer menant vers le port de suez, selon les intérêts des britanniques. En 1862, par manque de main d'œuvre, la compagnie du canal de suez exige de Saïd pacha l'envoi de 10 000 travailleurs chaque mois via un système de corvée, jusqu'à l'ouver-ture du canal en 1869. Sous le règne d'Ismaïl pacha, l'Égypte bénéficie de la hausse des prix de coton liée à la guerre de sécession. Ismaïl pacha il va également rétablir et améliorer le système administratif de Mehmed Ali, qui entre-temps avait été démoli, et réorganise les écoles militaires fondées aussi par Mehmed Ali. En 1865, il crée également la poste égyptienne. Néanmoins, en 1976, l'état égyptien déclare banqueroute marquant l'établissement du condominium franco-britannique en Égypte.

Pour conclure, nous pouvons dire que l'Égypte a connu une modernisation, au moins durant la première moitié du 19ème siècle sous le règne de Mehmet Ali, qui jette les bases à un décollage national visant à transformer l'Égypte, renforcer son pouvoir et gagner en indépendance face au pouvoir ottoman. Or la politique du pacha s'est heurtée aux intérêts européens et notamment britanniques, en soulignant l'importance stratégique de la position de l'Égypte pour leurs communications avec l'inde. Cette confronta-

tion a alors conduit à une interférence impérialiste et à la remise en cause des monopoles et dynamiques impulsés par Mehmed Ali, inaugurant une période d'occupation qui a duré soixante-dix ans durant laquelle la modernisation du pays a été surtout décidée par les intérêts économiques des puissances européennes.

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The political, economic and social factors contributing to the emergence of the Arab Spring in Tunisia in 2010-2011

*By **Joshua Poggianti***

Abstract: This paper provides an analysis of the main causes of the Arab Spring in Tunisia in 2010-2011 which brought down Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali's government and resulted in the democratization of the African country. Its outline follows the three main factors which contributed to the emergence of the revolution. Firstly, political factors such as corruption and state violence created an unstable environment favouring revolution and fuelled and increased the population's will to rebel and change the situation of the country. Secondly, economic factors like unemployment and a high inflation were one of the reasons the people were unhappy and wanted change. Economic causes also explain the universality of the message of the Jasmine revolution and the unique participation of the youth in the protests. Finally, social factors such as the high use of social media like Facebook and Twitter and the "youth bulge" of the Arab region provide another explanation for the inclusion of young adults in the conflict. Social media also explains how the revolution developed to last and sustain in time, resulting in the democratization of Tunisia, the only country having participated in the Arab Spring achieving this. In addition, this paper links the emergence of the

Arab Spring in Tunisia with a general theory on the causes of revolutions. Indeed, Good-win's general analysis on revolutions which focuses on political factors, named the state-centred perspective, explained in his book "No Other Way Out", can be used to explain how revolution began but lacks further economic and social analysis.

A revolution is the sudden and radical change of government or social order in a particular country. Tunisia underwent a revolution from December 2010 to January 2011, resulting in the fleeing of Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, former leader of the state since 1987 and the democratization of the country. The Tunisian Revolution, or Jasmine Revolution also led to the Arab Spring, a series of major conflicts and revolutions in Libya, Egypt, Yemen, Syria and Bahrain and minor protests and demonstrations in Morocco, Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Jordan, Kuwait, Oman, Sudan, Djibouti, Mauritania, Pales-tine and Saudi Arabia. The most important conflicts emerging from the Arab Spring were the Syrian Civil War, The Egyptian Crisis, the Libyan Civil War and the Yemeni Civil War. This essay will explain the emergence and occurrence of the Arab Spring in Tunisia by examining the political factors, such as corruption and lack of civil rights, linked to Goodwin's state-centred perspective, economic factors, like low conditions of life and high unemployment, and

finally social factors, for instance the large proportion of youths in the population and the uncommon high use of social media.

First of all, political factors were a major cause of the Arab Spring in Tunisia. Even though every conflict needs a tiny spark, in this case the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi on December 17th 2010, a local vendor victim of police violence, the long-lasting corruption, lack of political freedoms and oppression in the authoritarian state had much more of an influence on the birth of the revolution. Since 1987, Tunisia was ruled by a Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, with the Democratic Constitutional Rally (RDC). Its government was defined as authoritarian and dictatorial as the country only had one party, interfered with the work of human rights organizations like the Tunisian Human Rights League and restricted basic civil rights such as the freedom of press, speech and association.

The extreme longevity of Ben Ali's government brought out a problem of legitimacy, common to Arab countries like Egypt and Libya. Indeed, after a bloodless coup d'état, 23 years of leadership and five consecutive five-years terms, each won by an implausibly high margin, the government's legitimacy was cynically questioned by the population and fuelled anger as well as a will for change and new, fair elections. The authoritarian regime

affected everyone, except those privileged by the system and only contributed in "uniting the whole society it governed against it" (Aleya-Sghaier 2012, 21).

Ben Ali's Tunisia was also a corrupted, repressive, police state which responded to the demonstrations and protests in December and January using violence and fear. The political elite was corrupted with bonuses and privileges and a mafia of families was created extorting money from privatizing national busi-nesses. This increased awareness of the country's corruption revealed with the internet only "deepened feelings of hatred among Tunisian youth toward their rulers" (Aleya-Sghaier 2012, 21) and fuelled the population's will to rebel.

The state's response to protests was also problematic as militants were often met with ignorance from the government until Ben Ali's appearance the 13th of January, where he promised not to seek another term in 2014 and vowed to reduce food prices and loosen restrictions on Internet use. The police also used force against protestors, it was "systemic" to "counter popular demands" (Aleya-Sghaier 2012, 28), resulting in the killing of 338 Tunisians throughout the revolution, according to Fox News. Police violence in response to demonstrations backfired in the whole Arab world, not just Tunisia, and was one of the main reasons for the start of the civil wars in Syria and Libya. It attracted even more

support for the protesters and increased the revolution's popularity.

These political factors contributing to the emergence of the Tunisian's revolution are directly in accordance with Goodwin's general analysis on revolutions, named the state-centred perspective, explained in his book "No Other Way Out". For him, revolutions are mainly caused by "political oppression and violence, typically brutal and indiscriminate" (Goodwin 2001, 3) in comparison to economic exploitation and social inequality. This theory therefore focuses on the state, Goodwin believes that revolutions and their development are dependent to the state and that they will be more likely to emerge "in opposition to states that are configured and that act in certain ways" (Goodwin 2001, 25), that is authoritatively and violently. The Tunisian revolution can certainly be explained by the state-centred perspective, as it contains the right elements defined by Goodwin such as a corrupt, authoritarian government, prone to violence. Nevertheless, the perspective fails to analyse factors that are not political or from the state, such as economic factors.

Secondly, economic factors were another major cause of the Arab Spring in Tunisia. The whole Arab world was in a situation of economic distress before the revolution which largely contributed to the population's anger and wish for change. Inflation and

unemployment were both high which emphasized the region's economic recession. For example, according to the Economist Intelligence Unit, in Tunisia, the real's GDP annual change went from 3.7% in 2010 to -0.7% in 2011. The crisis was even worse in Libya who had a real's GDP annual change of -28.2% in 2011. Economic recession was linked to the government's inaction and change was needed to improve the economic situation.

With the economic recession came a rise in inflation. The most important was the food inflation, affecting the whole population without exception. Even though inflation rose before the revolution, it peaked in March 2011, where food cost 2.1 times more than it did in 2005 according to the FAO Food Price index. Inflation lowered the population's purchasing power and aggravated already poor living conditions. Indeed, in 2010, 20.5% of the population lived below the national poverty line, according to the World Bank. Some protests were directly aimed at high costs of living and raising unemployment like the demonstration in Thala on 3 January 2011, which ended with the landing of a tear gas cannister in a local mosque.

Unemployment was also very high, reaching 16% in Tunisia, in 2011 (Economist Intelligence Unit), and even higher rates among the youths. Unemployment directly caused an increase of support to the revolution

amongst scholars and "led to massive participation in the revolution, especially in the deprived areas of the country." (Aleya-Sghaier 2012, 21). The rise in unemployment is also directly linked to Mohamed Bouazizi's self-immolation, triggering the revolution after his suicide in consequence to the loss of his job. A large portion of the population could relate to Bouazizi's despair and believed participating in the revolution would bring the necessary changes. As Brinton says, "revolutions are born of hope" (Brinton 1938, 250).

Finally, social factors were the last main cause for the emergence of the Arab Spring in Tunisia. The Tunisian revolution was special in the way it used social media and internet to defend and spread its opinions without any leader, a clear ideology or program. For Aleya-Sghaier, it was a "revolution of dignity" (Aleya-Sghaier 2012, 19). In such a state with a lack of freedom of press and speech, the internet proved to be "a significant organizational tool, a transmitter of information, and an instrument of mobilization and media attention" (Aleya-Sghaier 2012, 38). It gave Tunisians freedom of speech and even informed them on events around the country and the whole Arab region. Social media are also harder for the government to control and censor, Egypt even resorted to an internet

shutdown on January 28, 2011. Facebook and Twitter were the most used social media, with 8908 mentions of #sidibouzid, a popular hashtag in Tunisia in reference to the city where uprisings began, on January 14, the day of Ben Ali's resignation. Though social media weren't a direct cause of the revolution, they largely contributed to the revolution's development and its sustainability.

Another social cause of the revolution was the Tunisian "youth bulge" (Aleya-Sghaier 2012, 21). Indeed, 15 to 29 years old Tunisians make up 29% of the population according to the World Bank. This new generation didn't see any future for itself in this corrupt state, frustrated by the unemployment and illegitimate government. The youths constituted the core of the hope-led revolution, they were "its initiators, propagandists, and primary protagonists" (Aleya-Sghaier 2012, 31) and felt "restraint, cramp, ... rather than downright crushing oppression" (Brinton 1938, 250). A contrast was also marked between the aging elite and determined youths, illustrated by technological gap concerning social media and internet.

The last social factor contributing to the Arab Spring in Tunisia was the national appeal of the revolution. Its message was universal, simple and patriotic. Protestors waved national flags during demonstrations and shouted the most popular of the rallying calls: "the people want the fall of

the regime". Its national appeal is also a reason why the Tunisian revolution, or Jasmine revolution sparked the Arab Spring all over the Arab world. The revolution wasn't only Tunisian but truly univer-sal and its message easily resonated in the region.

The Tunisian revolution ended on January 14, 2011, the day of Ben Ali's resignation. A democratization process began soon after Ghannouchi's resignation on February 27, 2011 which resulted in Caïd Essebsi's election in November 2014, during the first free presidential elections of the country. The Tunisian revolution remains the only conflict of the Arab Spring to result in full democratization of the country, with some conflicts still being ongoing today, such as the Syrian Civil war and the Yemeni Civil War. The outcomes of the revolution then follow Brin-ton's idea of a "honeymoon" (Brinton 1938, 91) period, following the end of the conflict. But according to Brinton, a revolution could follow the English, French and Russian pattern and end "in something like dictatorship—Cromwell, Bonaparte, Stalin" (Brinton 1938, 24). This theory could still hold true, the revolution having ended only eight years ago.

In conclusion, the Arab Spring in Tunisia emerged because of political, economic and social factors. The conflict can be partially explained by Goodwin' state-centred perspective on revolutions as it is

linked to the country's political causes for the start of the revolution such as corruption, lack of civil rights the legitimacy problem of the regime. Nevertheless, the existence of the revolution is also explained by economic factors, such as a rise in unemployment and inflation and social factors, like the high proportion of youths in the population and the use of social media and internet.

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Photographs

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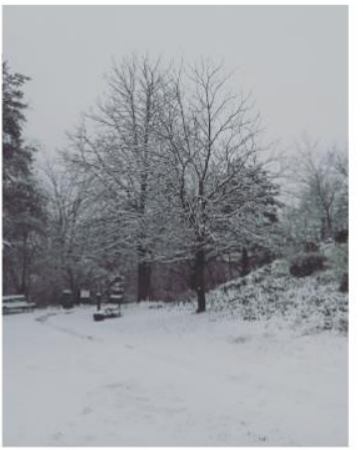

The Same Ship That Brought the Bible, Brought the Gun: An Analysis of the Rise of Christianity in Ghanaian Society

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Abstract: The virulent rise of Christianity in Ghana is a phenomenon deeply rooted in colonialism. Through the entrenchment of Christianity within Africa, colonialist rhetoric masquerading as Christian values precipitates the continuity of the colonial cycle; therefore, preventing the process of decolonization from being actualized. This paper examines how a newly introduced colonial religion managed to achieve such widespread consolidation and growing reverence in a region where the ravaging effects of colonialism are ever-present and outlines the structural mechanisms behind this process.

In a continent as ethnically diverse and geographically sweeping as Africa it is of no surprise that a plethora of religions and belief systems are practiced throughout the region. However, what serves as a conundrum for many and for the purposes of this paper functions as a topic of analysis is why Christianity, a Western religion, has become the most ardently followed and psychosocially accepted religion across the African continent. This phenomenon is qualitatively mystifying for several reasons. Yet from an analytic perspec-

tive what is most puzzling is that unlike other regions of the world where modernity is positively correlated with a societal shift towards secularism, in the African context the inverse is occurring. The 15th century ingress of Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa is recent in comparison to the traditional polytheistic African traditional practice that predate Christianity by centuries (Omondi 2017). Moreover, in the Mediterranean Christianity started as a cult religion that was slowly imbued into the fabric of society through a natural process of integration (scholarblogs n.d). Comparatively speaking in the case of Africa, Christianity was exogenously imposed upon the region with an oppressive, colonial hand. When the Christian missionaries descended upon Africa, they carried with them grandiose delusions of 'the White Man's Burden', thinly cloaking their underlying exploitative and extractionist goals. Therein, European missionaries weaponized the Bible to subjugate Africans and in the same breath justify their subjugation. Under the guise of bringing 'Western respect-ability' to the 'immoral and backwards' continent of Africa, colonial powers eroded the culturally rich native African societies. This cultural genocide functioned as a catheter, enabling colonists to bleed African resources and supplant Western institutions through-out the region. Through the entrenchment of Christianity within Africa, colonialist rhetoric mas-

querading as Christian values precipitates the continuity of the colonial cycle; therefore, preventing the process of decolonization from being actualized. Taken together, this begs the question of how a newly introduced colonial religion managed to achieve such widespread consoledation and growing reverence in a region where the ravaging effects of colonialism are ever-present? Relatedly, why then have Africans chosen to adopt Christianity over their own rich native traditions it light of the fact that it is nonindigenous to the region and arguably, nonreflective of African society? In order to create a holistic picture of this contemporary paradox, this paper outlines several possible answers to these questions.

As of this year, a meta-analysis of world religions ranked Africa as the 'global center of Christianity', with more Christians concentrated in the region than in any other continent in the world (Kazeem 2019). By the year 2060 the world population is expected to increase by 2.2 billion and half of this growth is projected to occur within the African continent (Kazeem 2019). What this means is that in just over forty years the population of Africa is expected to double. Critically, what is also projected in these studies is that this two-fold increase will covary with the distribution of African Christian populations within the region (Kazeem 2019). What this census also revealed was that while Christianity in Africa is projected

to rise exponent-tially, the secular shift within Europe will continue, setting rates of Western Christianity on a record decline (Kazeem 2019). The juxtaposition between the growth of religiosity in the South versus the shift towards secularism in West carries deep historical, psycho-social and economic significance. An ongoing site of contestation across time and space has been centered around the degree of division between Church and State. The extent to which a society necessitates the division of these two forces can be described as the degree of secularism of that society. Historically, this dyadic relationship has been more pronounced in certain places and in others less so. However, like any other institution, the Church has its own set of interests that it seeks to protect, impose and advance on the society in which it operates. Religiosity and faith have always been deeply embedded in African culture; however, since the advent of colonialism in the region Africa has grown to embrace Christianity and its denominations, over its own traditional African religions. The growing devaluation of African traditions and hegemony of Christianity over all other belief systems, signifies a deep fracture in the core of African society. However, it must be underscored that it is not Christianity in its essence that is to blame for this fissure. Rather, any religion or belief system that is imposed upon a Peoples' by their oppre-

ssors should warrant the same degree of skepticcism and historical analysis that will be devoted to the remainder of this paper.

Overview of Ghana

Considered by many to be the "locus of Christianity' within Africa, 71.2% of Ghana's 29 million population, identify as Christian (CIA 2019). Due to the fact that Christianity was introduced through colonial intervention and has since achieved hegemonic religious status in the region, Ghana serves as an informative case study to analyze how and why this phenomenon came to be. Employing a historical lens, this paper seeks to analyze the longstanding effects of the religious colonization on Ghanaian society. The fact that Christianity is an imported colonial religion can hardly be understated in any analysis of its effects on Ghanaian society. Despite knowledge of critical role that Christian missionaries played in the colonial process and clear evidence of their corrosive influence within the region; rhetoric surrounding the prepotency of Christianity and demonization of African culture has become so deeply implanted in Ghanaian psyche that these colonial ideas have become internalized and self-producing. Through their extensive missionnary projects, British colonizers utilized their divide and rule strategy to undergo a process of religious imperialism to secure their present and future control over

Ghana. The forceful implementation of Christianity in Ghana and creation of missionary schools fulfilled these colonialist aims by; eroding cultural traditions, instilling false divisions in society and exacerbating pre-existing internal tensions. Through the emergence of an elite class consisting of Christian Ghanaians (who were both indoctrinated by these colonial lessons and viewed embracing Christianity as a way to elevate their status) acceptance of the Christian faith was preached by the missionnaries and 'enlightened' Ghanaians alike. In this, embracing Christianity was then widely viewed as the only way to bring modernity, reformation and 'civilization' to Ghanaian society. With ever-increasing intensity, this fallacious line of thinking is evident within the present-day conceptualization and prac-tice of Christianity in Ghanaian society. In contem-porary times this misguided assumption that Christianity alone will bring prosperity is reified by the tendency of Christian Ghanaian towards 'blind faith'. Further, dissonance towards 'challenging' the word of God is bolstered by the fear of the social and spiritual ramifications of being perceived as acting against the Church. This religious phenomenon is demonstrated by a reluctance to question or in any way 'misrepresent' the words of the Bible. This aspect of religiosity in Ghanaian Christianity is negatively correlated with conceptions of agency and positively correlated with

underdevelopment. Further, Christianity as taught and practiced in Ghana is laden with iconography that ascribes to dominant narra-tives of Western-colonial superiority and the supposed racial inferiority of Africans. As a result of religious colonialism, what characterizes the current situation in Ghana is a loss of cultural identity and developmental stagnation that hinges on this lack of Pro-African senti-ment; a principle that is severely lacking in the ways in which Christianity is embodied across the region. Since the late 1950's when forward thinking Ghanaian leaders like Kwame Nkrumah championed Pan-Africanism and necessitated the need for decolonization, much has been done to ameliorate the influence of colonization on the region. Among the first in Africa to gain their independence, Ghana was forerunner in the independence movements that swept the region in the 1960's and provided a template for the restructuring of colonial institutions and redistribution of power within society. However, notably the most ubiquitous colonial institution in Ghana remained largely unscathed by this process. In Ghana, the Church has critically bypassed the decolonial project and as a result it still retains its original-colonial form. As such, Christianity continues to pose a formidable barrier to the continuation of the decolonial trajectory. The Eurocentric principles of Christianity are largely implicated in this process

and must be both labeled and proscribed in order to imbibe the pro-African sentiment that is currently absent from Ghanaian-Christian practice. Ghana was colonized by the British who in contrast to other colonial powers, exercised a more corrosive strategy of 'indirect rule' in their colonies. While the physical presence of British colonists was not necessarily overtly seen on a daily basis in the colonies; their influence was protracted through the use of *divide and rule* tactics that effectively created a bureaucratic African elite class through which the local people were governed. This tactic was an especially effective method of expansive control; as it enabled the British to instill false rivalries and capitalize upon pre-existing internal divisions in society (Mamdani 2001).

While colonization first began in the 19th century, the first contact that the West made with Africa occurred four centuries prior for purposes of trade and Western exploration. The Portuguese, who first arrived on Ghana's Gold Coast in 1471 were of Christian faith; however, Christianity did not take hold of the region until the British missionaries descended upon Ghana in the 18th century (Thompson 2002, 9). It was at this time that Christianity became systematically weaponized as a mechanism of colonial rule in Ghana coupled under the auspices of bringing 'civility and morality' to the 'uncouth Africans'. The

Gold Coast was the first point of entry for Western powers into Ghana. It later served as a slave-holding port for the abhorrent Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade that ravaged the continent for four centuries (Thompson 2002, 9). Britain's impetus to abolish the slave trade in the 19th century was neither an act of repentance for their wrongdoings nor an act of good faith that can be linked to the 'moral Christian values' that they heavy headedly enforced upon the region. The rationale behind the abolishment of the slave trade was located in the fact that the British were aware that in order for them to permeate the interior and gain access to Ghana's wealth of resources, it was necessary to foster a semblance of a relationship with the Ghanaian people (Thompson 2002, 9). In other words, the British colonizers realized that in order to continue their colonization of Ghanaian land and open exploittation of its resources, they would have to somehow justify their presence and restructure their image in the Ghanaian mind. This was done through the mission-aries' role in the diffusion of Western-Christian principles and their polemical rhetoric surrounding the 'backwardness' of African traditional practices. In this, the British Missionary Project was a crucial advancement in colonist agenda, targeted at two goals: the "negation of Africanity" and consolidation of colonial institutions in Ghana (Thompson 2002,

1). Despite its relatively short introduction to the region, Ghana is ranked as one of the most devout Christian countries in the world and the influence of Christianity is seen in every aspect of Ghanaian society and daily life (Omondi 2017).

Literature Review

As previously stated in the above sections, this paper seeks to achieve two interconnected aims through historical analysis of the rise of Christianity within Ghana. The first aim is to broadly identify how Christianity came to achieve and continues to maintain religious preponderance within Ghana. Secondly, this paper seeks to understand why the majority of Ghanaian society has chosen to embrace the imported religious belief system over their own religious traditions?

Christianity as a Unifier

Of those who view the rise of Christianity as a positive force within Ghana, many also interpret the missionary project as the sometimes unsavory but largely necessary process in order to disseminate the word of God across the African continent and unite Africans under the common umbrella of the Christian church (Nunn 2010). This line of argument follows the commentaries surrounding '*The White Man's Burden*'. These narratives underscore the 'duty' of white Christian missionaries to 'reform the African people' by

bringing civilization and modernity to their 'backwards societies' (Nunn 2010). In line with this view, one scholar argues that "missionaries were also in a crucial bridging position. Indigenous people had little power in the colonizing state and...this group commissioned a worldwide investigation of "what measures ought to be adopted with respect to the Native Inhabitants of Countries where British Settlements are made...in order to secure them the due observation of justice and the protection of their rights, ... and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian Religion" (Nunn 2010). According to this account, the introduction of British missionaries was seen as having multiple benefits for African society. This perspective argues that these prosocial advancements are that; 1) the missionaries brought education to Africans, 2) those educated by missionaries in turn developed favorable attitudes towards Western formal education 3) missionaries created the written form of oral languages, and imported the first printing technology that began mass printing of Bibles (Nunn 2010).

A Noble Mission: Instilling Morality and Civility in Society

Another group in support of the merits of the Western missions in Ghana was comprised by from former slaves turned Christian preachers. In line with the previous argument, Afri-

can missionaries taken abroad and ordained, came to believe that Christianity was 'God's gift' to Ghanaians. This group saw Christianity as a tool that spearheaded development and brought economic prosperity to devout Cristian's who strictly adhered to the Bible (Thompson 2002, 12). However, ironically, while Christianity has continued to grow in Africa; its stronghold is waning in the very source of its inception. This has brought forth the rise in the phenomenon coined "reverse missionary projects", where-by Africans travel to Western countries in an attempt to re-vitalize Christianity in these regions (Kuo 2017). Girma Bishaw, an Ethiopian British pastor and self-proclaimed 'reverse missionary' argues for the necessity of this role given that "Britain brought the gospel to us in the past. Now, by God's providence we are here when Christianity is very much challenged and the UK churches are really declining...It's not just coincidence we're here...for me, it became a passion to mobilize the diaspora to mission and consider Britain as our own country," (Kuo 2017). While the prevalence of Ghanaian Christian preachers has increased over time, the phenomenon of indigenous Ghanaians staunchly preaching bible teachings, dates back to the Slave Trade. Fante born Kweku (later known as priest Philip Quaque) born in Ghana in 1717 was the embodiment of this concept. Taken to England and trained as a priest, Kweku was given

a new name (Philip Quaque) and became the first African to be ordained by the Church of England. (Thompson 2002, 12) When he returned to Ghana, he founded a school that by many accounts espoused an even more staunch doctrine of evangelization than the white missionaries had imposed themselves! (Thompson 2002, 12) Notably, Kweku/Quaque held and widely diffused to his young followers, the viewpoint that "the slave trade had been beneficial to the African, teaching them trade and bringing wealth that they had not known before" (Thompson 2002, 12).

Christianity: A Blessing or a Curse?

In a much different vein, others have taken up a much more disparaging view towards the influence of Christianity within Africa. To differing degrees, several Ghanaian scholars are amongst the opinion that Christianity was used as a weapon of destruction and subjugation to fulfill both short term colonialist goals and their long-term objectives of instilling shallow Western values that implicitly fostered reverence towards former colonial oppressors. As a counter to the argument that Christianity brought unity and civility to Africa; it can be argued that especially in the case of Ghana, colonial missionaries eroded the cultural foundation of Ghanaian society and supplanted Western ideals meant to disempower the African people and to

perpetuate their structural subjugation.

This viewpoint is encompassed in the term '*rule by the bible',* which holds that Christianity was weaponized as a colonial tool. One that was used to infiltrate and indoctrinate the Ghanaian mind and soul for generations to come through the supplantation of Western principles over traditional African values. This internal dissonance created a legacy of rejection and demonization of all that is considered traditionally African. As aforementioned, British colonists knew they needed to appease African people in order to get them to accept colonial presence on the ground and they achieved this through their missionary projects. Under the guise of bringing "morality" to "immoral and backwards African society" missionaries distilled a sense of superiority of whites and the West by exposing Ghanaians to capitalist and materialist ideals. (Thompson 2002, 23) As aforementioned, it was important for the colonial powers to be able to maintain power and control over the population and resources in places where they were a minority. By transferring power to the colonial evangelists, the British were able to create an elite class within Ghana that furthered the rhetoric of a 'civilized' us vs. an 'inferior' them. By strategically employing a 'divide and conquer strategy', the British were successful in creating false divisions amongst Ghanaians. As part of this strategy, the

British, instilled and exacerbated internal tension with the hope that this would detract attention from their real objective to conquer and control. Whilst Africans were busy assigning blame amongst themselves, for the problems in the region, the British colonizers could gain further allies by aligning themselves with one side or the other. In the present day, Christianity vitiates each and every aspect of Ghanaian life. Across time, there has been a salient shift away from traditional African belief systems that attributed blame and retribution across the community; towards Christian ones which reoriented the arrow of retribution for wrongdoings at the individual level. In this way, Ghanaian society suffered a formidable blow to its traditional communal societal organizational structures by the missionaries as the communal sense of responsibility for societal functioning was replaced by individualistic attribution of blame and responsibility. In Ghana, the paucity of secularism has resulted in the omnipotence of Christianity. This has fostered an environment of tongue in cheek apprehension of going against the Christian tide; as anyone who dares speak out the Church it is at risk of suffering great psychosocial, political and economic costs. Thus, the Church dictates public policy; wielding more behind-the-scenes power than any other group in society. As such, Ghanaians are compelled to give generously, and

act prudently out of fear of retribution spiritually or to avoid being labeled as castigating the Christian religion (Mamdani 2001).

Christianity: The Arm of Colonialism

In order to keep the roots of colonialism alive, colonialists knew that they would have to instate a regulatory body that included some Africans in order to maintain access to Africa's resources. The rationale underpinning this decision was that the British knew that it would be much more difficult to placate the rest of the population and protract their influence, if the face of colonialism was directly linked to the former colonial country. In the case of Ghana, British colonists were able to maintain control over Ghana with the help of a group of "African elite" that were given special privileges in exchange for helping the British maintain their administrative rule over the region. Native religions which were polytheistic were denigrated and considered uncivilized. This conscious production of an intermediary elite group more ideologically aligned with the colonial ruling power than with their fellow Ghanaians, left a lasting, structural impact on the country. (Mamdani 2001).

At the same time, the British missionaries set up schools to indoctrinate the youth and imbibe them with Eurocentric values. Through formal education administered

directly by the missionaries, youth were taught to associate Africanity with incivility, and following a colonist curriculum that ascribed to the *white = right* narrative. Many of these colonial institutions and missionary schools are still standing and in use today. Ghanaian youth continue to be taught to revere white Jesus above all else and to reject any other gods; further distancing them from Ghanaian spirituality and its communal values. Then and now, in most Ghanaian schools, English is the lingua franca and children are taught to reject their African heritage and forced to assimilate by changing their names and adjusting their values to fit to the Western-imposed model. By my father's own recount, he was given the Christian name of Francis on his first day of attending school in his local village school in Oyoko, Ghana. Thereafter, he was called Francis instead of Kwabena. Like my father, many are forced to adopt Christian names and are punished for speaking their indigenous languages, dressing in traditional ways or practicing African religions. As University of South African professors Obaji M Agbiji and Ignatius Stewart noted, "the existence of endemic poverty and corruption in Africa is sustained in part by religious complacency on the part of religious practitioners and by the instrumentalization of religion by African leaders ...which sustains and enhances the structural entrenchment of poverty and corruption

in African societies" (Agbiji and Stewart, 2015). In the later stages of colonization, it was largely not the white British who were doing preaching of the merit's Western values over African customs. Rather, the successful usurpation of Christianity on African Traditional Religion and African Christian religiosity was in part realized through "the evangelization of Africans by returnee African Christian slaves and Christian missionaries from the West" and came hand in hand with formal education and the creation of missionary schools (Thompson 2002, 11). Further, the missionaries further encouraged this cultural genocide when they refused to teach or print books in traditional Ghanaian languages furthering the notion that "all things African were inferior and evil" (Thompson 2002, 14). When Ghana gained its independence in 1957, the Nkrumah administration assumed con-trol over the schooling system, subsidizing it and making it compulsory but critically, did not change the administrative structure of these institutions. In Ghana "moral education" starts from kindergarten and children from a young age are taught to ardently follow yet *never question* the word of god. When scholar, Ty Thompson was conducting her field work in Ghana, she asked several grade school and secondary school children "what values, or lack thereof, they found in religious and moral training." the children's answers reflected a very

troubling pattern. Thompson describes each student as giving more or less the same response to this probe "Christ and morals help. Why? Because you cannot be moral without Christ. Why? *Because the church says so*." (Thompson 2002, 14). As Thompson illuminates, due to the fact that students are taught in a Eurocentric way and exposed to images that do not reflect their lived conditions "[students'] own cultural development comes to a standstill (Thompson 2002, 20). As she notes, "the values, skills, habits, and attitudes transmitted by the modern school in Africa differ in respects from those of traditional societies and in effect reproduce the subculture of the dominant societal interest group" (Thompson 2002, 20). This acts to instill a sense of dissonance in what pupils are being taught and what the current reality of their society is; such that the West is put on a pedestal whilst Ghanaian society is viewed as second class. This blind faith in the Bible is at the core of what is deeply wrong with the way that Christianity is being taught and imbibed within Ghana. Despite the rise of several different denominations of Christianity that have swept the region; the rigidity of the way in which Christianity is being practiced in Ghana has meant that religious teachings have largely remained steeped with colonialist ideology. Whilst, Christianity was brought to Africa, by the colonizing powers, their religious imperialism is

maintained now, by indigenous Africans.

Towards Blind Faith

It is no coincidence that the most devout regions in the world are also the most deeply unequal as studies have shown that there is a negative correlation between religious devotion and economic growth. Due to the lack of separation between Church and State, the Church effectively exercises a stranglehold over all systems. In these places, citizens are compelled to devote extensive efforts to support the Church, diverting time, energy and resources from other areas of development. It is a well-documented phenomenon "people are more likely to attend church in the world's most unequal countries than they are in the most equal ones" (Kazeem 2019). This begs the question "if African societies are very religious but at the same time very poor and corrupt, to what extent does religion contribute to poverty and corruption on the continent? If religion is crucial to Africans, how could its resources and actors be mobilized to liberate African societies from poverty and corruption?" (Agbiji and Stewart, 2015). Although Ghana has achieved relatively higher levels of economic development than other countries in the region it can be reasonably postulated that the lack of secularism in Ghanaian society may be preventing the nation from reaching its full potential. As a frustrated

citizen anonymously on a widely used web forum, “Ghana is the only country in the world where church services are conducted Monday-Monday, 24 hours. People don’t go to farm anymore. They would rather go to church with the hope that God will provide food” (Kazeem 2016). There are many detrimental effects related to Ghanaians’ unwillingness to critique or challenge the omnipotent role of the church. One of these being that this has left Ghanaians vulnerable to manipulation and exploitation by preachers. The Ghanaian population at large does not seem to view the church as a business with its own vested interests, as the Church has managed to convince people that even being alive is by the grace of god and has equated withholding payments to the Church to "stealing from god”. Unsurprisingly, in Ghanaian society prea-chers are among the richest in society and as it stands have been afforded unfettered access to their ‘consumers’. Relatedly, many ‘entrepreneurs’ have capitalized on the blind religious fervency that has swept Ghana, preying on worshippers through elaborate religious-based fraud schemes. Pentecostal Christianity is a Christian denomination that boasts an especially ardent Ghanaian following and in recent years religious based fraud targeting parishioners, has swept the country (myjoyonline 2014). Some concerned members of the church have even taken efforts to advocate to the govern-

ment to instate the formation of "quasi-formal regulatory bodies" to crack down on religious fraud and put an end to the rampant 'charlatan malpractice' preying on Ghanaian minds and resources (myjoyonline 2014). However, within the church the impetus for this crackdown ignores the core issues at play. The crux of the issue in the eyes of these advocates lies in the fact that due to this "proliferation of independent pastors and churches [that are exploiting the society] ...Ghanaians are becoming disillusioned with Christianity and religion" (myjoyonline 2014). In other words, many Ghanaian religious leaders view this corruption unacceptable not because members of their community are being exploited due to the manipulation of their unshakeable faith. Nor do they seem to find issue in that what is undergirding this manipulation is a perceived inability to challenge anyone that presents themselves as a religious leader. Rather, what has them up in arms is that *their clientele is being usurped* by these religious 'independent entrepreneurs' (myjoyonline 2014).

Christianity: A Testament to Learned Helplessness

Relatedly, this over-reliance on the 'god to solve all problems' has fostered a limiting perception of personal agency which has had a detrimental effect on Ghanaian society. This idea that one can 'close

their eyes and pray all their problems away' is taken literally among many Ghanaian Christians. For example, certain Christian denominations have taken to radical interpretations of the Bible to advocate against the use of life saving protections such as the use of contraception or "blood transfusions" because this is seen as against 'acting against God's natural will' (Lindley 2010). This is a double-edged sword because whilst negative things are attributed as 'punishment by god', positive advancements in society are associated with 'gods rewards to his disciples for their devotion'. As Agbiji and Stewart remark "in the face of socio-political and economic challenges on the continent, instead of Africans rising to the challenge, they resort to prayer" (Agbiji and Stewart, 2015). This argument especially rings true in the context of Ghanaian society. For example studies have shown that many believe that there is a direct link between personal health and religious beliefs such that "illness [is seen as] "a punishment from God", or that HIV/AIDS [occurs because] one had not "followed the Word of God" (Lindley 2010). It is also another widely documented phenomenon whereby the presence of natural disasters increases levels of religiosity due to the fact that many use religious coping in the face of "unbearable and unpredictable life events" (Bentzen 2019). Many devout believers are of the view that it is not climate change

causing changes in weather patterns, rather take this as a sign that God is angry and that unstoppable calamities coming, which in turn, this serves as a catalyst to intensify their religiosity (Bentzen 2019). Although this phenomenon is not unique to Africa, this effect is magnified in the region due to higher baseline religiosity as compared to other regions and is further mediated by the fact the global South is disproportionately affected by climate change. Critically, a by-product of this effect is a weakened sense of personal agency and blunted locus of control. This is related to the fact that control over ones' outcome is conceptualized as being entirely in the hands of God or some outside force. In Africa especially, this has led Christian believers to effectively put all of their eggs in 'Heaven's everlasting basket'. This colonial Christian idea was strategically enforced upon Africans to propagate the notion that 'one's reward is in heaven' and so there was effectively no need to fight back on earth. This rhetoric continues into present day, as the Church continues to imbue Christians with the idea that 'suffering is only temporary, and one will be rewarded for their servitude on earth in heaven' (Corinthians 4:17). In other words, what has become internalized is the 'divinity of meekness' which acts as a cognitive barrier to religious individuals and dis-sways them from demanding better of their circum-

stances. Thus, in line with the colonial teachings of the bible that present a demure and white-washed mage of Jesus, "good Christians" are seen as those who are compliant, pious, and above all do not question the Church or the 'word of God'. Upon reading what I had initially thought was a seemingly unrelated article about North America's over-confidence in the (flawed) yet dominant paradigm that unfettered and deregulated technological advancements will lead to equality; I had a revelation. The passage that jumped out to me read: "technology not only serves to "pacify the poor (the "losers")" in the interim with the promise of better, less complicated tomorrows; it further empowers those in power (the "winners") today" (Lloyd 2006, 205). If one replaces the word "technology" with 'Christianity' in the above passage, in the context of African religiosity and particularly, in the case of Ghana, this dominant utopian view rings loud and clear. The way in which Christianity is championed in the global South can be likened to the misguided faith held in North America, that technological advancement will solve all of our problems. In both cases, the complacency embodied in such attitudes towards change and tendencies towards inaction, serve as bulwarks to structural development in these two respective arenas. The perceived need for stringent adherence to the scripture in order to satisfy the impossibly hefty demand

of being a 'good Christian' on earth in order to reap ones' bounty in heaven, has been designed to keep the oppressed placated; whilst simultaneously casting their oppressors in a forgiving, if not sympathetic light. As scholars Agbiji and Stewart note: "religion is instrument-al" to sustain and enhance the systemic inequality in African societies (Agbiji and Stewart 2015).

Idealization of Western Colonial Ideology and its Effects on Ghanaian Self-Image

Arguably, one of the most pernicious of long-term effects of colonialism has been the impact that colonial teachings of Christianity have had on the Ghanaian self-image and sense of self.

When one thinks of Christians, this image is rarely associated with Black Africans. Why then is it that in Africa, the contemporary hub of Christianity and a continent dominated by Black Africans, does the face of Christianity, of Jesus Christ himself, continue to be portrayed as White?

Although Christianity was imposed upon Africa by white European missionaries under the guise of uniting, 'all races and creeds' under the umbrella of God, this was never the objective and rather the long-standing divisions between "black Christians" and "white Christians" has only deepened through time. I would argue that if asked what the

most practiced religion within Africa is -most Christians in the West would be slow to label the region as a majority Christian one. Why is this the case? As outlined above, there is much evidence to demonstrate that Christianity was weaponized against African population in several ways to keep them in a position of subordination. As Thompson notes: "when the missionaries told the Ghanaian that they had been formally uncivilized he believed him because he had been trained not to see himself as he was, but to see what the white man saw in him-simplicity and barbarity" (Thompson 2002, 14). Since the advent of colonialism, Ghanaians have been fed the lie that white Jesus holds the keys to modernization and enlightenment. Further, Christianity was viewed as 'liberation and salvation' from their immoral and 'backwards' past. This cultivated idealization of the West and preoccupation with the colonial teachings of Christianity is extremely detrimental to the Ghanaian psyche. Through compulsory formal education programs that were shaped by the British missionaries, Ghanaians are indoctrinated with the 'merits' of Christianity. A religion that serves to elevate whiteness on one hand and on the other demonize all that is black. Due to the omnipotence of Christianity, these principles have been passed down to younger generations in church, school and society at large. Youth are inundated with

images of a White Jesus; whereas images depicting a Black Jesus are very rarely shown. Thus, black Ghanaian children grow up in a society that teaches them to revere and never question their White savior. Naturally this has done much to further ideas of racial superiority of colonizing powers and simultaneously the supposed racial inferiority of the black population. As Thompson details, in Ghana teaching materials are laden with this harmful iconography. For example, in Ghanaian textbooks, the descent of the three wise men is taught to school children through images that portray the message that "God (a white light from the top corner of the picture) loves them so much he has sent three white men to impart upon them the proper knowledge on how to live their lives" (Thompson 2002, 14).

Christianity has been and continues to be, conflated with modernity and forward movement; although, in actuality it is what has arguably anchored Ghana's development. Thus, what Ghanaian Christians have been led to believe will bring them salvation is the very thing that is maintaining their social disempowerment. In the Western world this understanding has long been realized in regard to the development of their own societies. As Agbiji and Stewart note; "secular modernism has succeeded in distancing religion from the socio-economic and political spheres in the developed world (Clarke &

Jennings 2008:1). However, despite the influence of secular modernism in Africa, such separation has not left a lasting imprint on African societies, where religion continues to play an important role in socio-economic and political life." (Agbiji and Stewart, 2015).

In trying to embody Eurocentric values as an effort to assimilate into a Western colonial world-system that was structured to keep Africans relegated to the periphery Ghana has become embroiled in a self-maintaining model of subjugation. The decolonial project, development of Ghana and the needs of Ghanaian youth are all deferred by Ghana's preoccupation with Christianity because as black feminist activist Audre Lorde famously stated, "the masters tools will never dismantle the masters house" (Lorde 1997).

Conclusions

As human rights activist and anti-apartheid leader Desmond Tutu famously decreed, "when the missionaries came to Africa, they had the Bible and we had the land. They said, 'Let us pray.' We closed our eyes. When we opened them, we had the Bible and they had the land" (Unknown).

While the virulence of Ghanaian Christianity can be conceptualized through sever-al different lenses, each intersects with Ghana's colonial history in important ways. Having analyzed

the aforementioned arguments, to answer these interrelated questions of how and why Christianity achieved such great prominence in Africa, this paper concludes that the religious colonialism of Ghana and structural reformation of Ghanaian institutions by the British missionaries promoted the lack of secularism in society, that to date has enabled the Church to escape the ongoing decolonial project in Ghana. Thus, it can be argued that latter view towards the pervasive influence of Christianity holds a more compelling thesis than the colonial rhetoric, that Christianity 'saved' or brought civility and morality to the 'backwards' Ghanaian people. Arguably, what should be highlighted are the ways in which religious colonialism violently infiltrated Ghanaian society and how the British missionaries utilized Christianity as a tool to instigate a cultural genocide. As a result of the pervasive indoctrination by Christian missionaries and their extensive divide and rule tactics, Ghanaians were separated from their communal traditions and instead developed a sense of blind faith in Jesus. As such, British colonists were able to institute self-serving hierarchies of power within Ghanaian society. This enabled them to achieve their goals of implementing an extractionist system through which even in the postcolonial period, afforded them protracted access to the resource-laden veins of Ghana. The Global phenomenon of religio-

sity as a coping mechanism has been linked in several critical ways to societal stagnation and underdevelopment globally. In the context of Ghana, due to the omnipotence Christianity as characterized by the lack of secularism in Ghanaian society, this effect is magnified, and Ghanaian Christians are especially exposed to abuse and exploitation by the Church. Additionally, this overreliance on God to solve all of life's problems and conviction in the principle of 'meekness' has normalized the idea that the payoffs of devotion on earth will *only* be experienced in heaven. Which in turn, has bred a culture of acceptance in the face of oppression and loss of personal agency in Ghanaian society. Lastly, this paper argues is the most pernicious impact that religious colonialism has exerted is its effect on the Ghanaian psyche. As practiced in Ghana, Christianity teaches its followers to idealize Eurocentric values. Through the maintenance of Western-colonial ideology, Ghanaian Christians are taught to demonize all things African and revere all things Western. This is demonstrated by the lack of Black Christian iconography and preponderance of the whitewashed image of Jesus disseminated in Ghanaian society. Arguably, this has led to a sense of societal dissonance, because although Christian Ghanaians are among the most devout followers of this religion, they are annexed in an impossible position. As a majority

black population, Ghanaian Christians are unable to fully assimilate or find representation in this colonial religion imposed upon them *because* to be Black and African is inherently antithetical to the values that Christianity preaches. In the long term this internalized colonial mentality has delivered the deepest, and most lethal cuts to African society as it enabled the cycle of colonialism to keep perpetuating. Thus, the growing fervency of the Christian wave that has swept the nation, has arguably hindered Ghana from reaching its full potential. However, as mentioned, Ghana is home to a young and resourceful population. There is hope that as the youth in Ghanaian society become more introspective and begin to question the status quo, this may catalyze a more extensive process of decolonization. This is arguably the most crucial step to restore a strong, pro-African self-view. In order to move forward we must grow to see the value and beauty of our own land and of ourselves and begin to reject the insidious falsehoods preached by a Christian legacy targeted at protracting the colonial project in Ghana. Thus, in order to see sustained transformation and reclamation in the process of decolonization, we must now focus on the decolonization of the Ghanaian mind through the decolonization of Christianity.

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The Effects of Underdevelopment on Health: An Analysis of the Spread of Ebola in Sierra Leone and Liberia

By ***Harmata Aboubakar***

Abstract: In 2014, a global turmoil occurred due to the Ebola outbreak, in West Africa. Liberia and Sierra Leone, remain affected by this threat despite global eradication efforts. These regions have been the worst hit by the Ebola epidemic due to their poor healthcare infrastructures, damaged as a result of the 14-year civil war. This paper examines whether underdeveloped institutions undermines both countries' ability to effectively tackle Ebola epidemics, thus affecting the population's health. This paper concludes that underdevelopment in both countries has a significant association with the prevalence of the virus.

The Ebola virus is a communicable disease that has emerged in West Africa. After an initial direct contact with infected rodents, the waterborne virus was transmitted from human to human (Howard, 2005). Although discussions surrounding the virus have decreased, many sub-Saharan African countries remain heavily affected by this threat despite global eradication efforts. While the outbreak began in Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone are two countries that have been the worst hit by the Ebola epidemic (Coltart et al. 2017). This is due to their

underdevelopment, specifically referring to their lack of adequate transportation and healthcare infrastructures, which have been damaged as a result of the (neo-)colonial legacies and the 14-year civil war they have experienced. This paper examines whether Sierra Leone and Liberia's underdeveloped institutions undermines both countries' ability to effectively tackle Ebola epidemics, thus affecting the population's health. Hence, an analysis of the association between health and development, specifically regarding the working-class population, will be made through this case study. A focus will be placed on the damaged health institutions fraught by colonial legacies. This research is important since an understanding of the ways in which underdevelopment can lead to poor health may be useful in terms of political and economic changes in these countries of interest, and in underdeveloped nations as a whole.

Liberia and Sierra Leone's Civil War and the Roots of Underdevelopment

In order to understand the state of underdevelopment in Liberia and Sierra Leone, it is important to understand the effects that colonialism and the years of civil war had on these regions. Throughout the continent of Africa, colonial rulers have failed to develop democratic institutions in their colonies. Hence,

upon the end of colonial rule, Sierra Leone and Liberia were transferred these ineffective, colonial means of governance and power structures (Meredith, 2014). This includes the use of ethnic tactics to govern their systems, resulting in tensions and inciting wars, as will be explained. Until 1980, Liberia was governed by a one-party political system. This allowed the same group of elites to continuously use patronage based on ethnicity to monopolize their power and disfranchise the indigenous people by using them as forced labour (Davies, 2005). Interestingly, sustaining a dysfunctional health sector was a control mechanism used by dictators and previous colonial rulers (Lahai, 2017). Through time, the political leaders, ignoring the long-term implications of their acts, ensured that the population remained unhealthy, poor, and uneducated; believing that a weak and ignorant population will prevent uproars against the political authority (*ibid.*). This form of repression was accomplished through budget cuts in social services (*ibid.*). The majority was thus marginalized without access to either basic education, health services, nor employment. The systematic oppression of Liberians, based on ethnic divisions created during colonialism, fuelled insurgencies and what was deemed Africa's bloodiest civil war.

This civil war heaved adjacent countries, such as Sierra Leone, into the

conflict. Since Sierra Leone gained independence from its former colonial rulers, the diamond fields were the country's most valuable asset (Meredith, 2014). The lack of stable democratic rule caused its illegitimate leaders (and rebel groups from neighboring countries) to take hold of the diamond industry and spread the revenue to "a few people through politicised ethnic lines", leaving the country bankrupt (Davies, 2005). In order to resolve the instability that the countries were faced with, and to eliminate poverty, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund offered aid in the form of conditional loans: the developing countries were required to implement Structural Adjustment Programmes (Harpham, 2001). These austerity programs aimed to stimulate the national economies, while cutting public expenditures in education and health care, among others. In both countries, the illicit government failed to pay professionals, including teachers and health care workers, causing social systems to collapse, and causing the country to gravitate towards destruction (Meredith, 2014). Furthermore, though peacebuilding missions have been implemented, there has been excessive emphasis on building the state at the expense of improving social services. For instance, The United Nations has poured a great sum of money into Liberia's justice reform and security sectors, rather than subsidizing its welfare and health

infrastructures (Boas and Stig, 2010). Hence, these countries experienced increasing inequality, debt, poor governance and under-development.

Thus, as a result of colonial rule and civil wars in West Africa, which engendered "nepotism, corruption, mismanagement by the elites", Sierra Leone and Liberia experienced "an economic downtrend and under-development" (Davies, 2005). Development is defined by Amartya Sen as "a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy" (1999). These freedoms include education, health, economic growth, transparency of the government and politics, etc. (Sen, 1999). Underdevelopment, throughout this paper, will thus refer to the lack of these freedoms; when political, economic and social institutions fail to enable a climate which expands and supports individual freedoms. In the next sections of this paper, the effects of underfunding health will be explored to understand how under-development has affected both countries' ability to effectively tackle the Ebola outbreak.

The Underdevelopment of Health-Care Institutions

The corrupt governance and the mismanagement of funds in both states resulted in low spending in the Health sector, henceforth catalyzing the outbreak of diseases. A major issue which facilitated the spread of Ebola was the lack of

health care facilities to treat infected patients. For example, Sierra Leone "had only 1,264 public and private health facilities, and 23 government hospitals" (Lahai, 2017). Also, regarding funding, the budget of the *Ministry of Health and Sanitation* in these regions was "below the recommended standards of a number of international public health governance frameworks" (*ibid.*). For example, in 2012, the Liberian and the Sierra Leone governments spent $20 and $16 per person per year on healthcare, respectively, which is "below the minimum of $86 recommended by the World Health Organization to provide essential health services" (Kaner and Scha-ack, 2016). Government health funding affects the amount (and adequacy) of health workers, medicines, equipment, and hospitals present in a country. Hence, as will be seen in the next subsections, underdevelopment of the health sector affects these countries' ability to protect their population from epidemiological outbreaks.

The lack of Health Care professionals

Underdevelopment, including underfunding, is clearly exposed when considering the shortage of health care workers (HCWs). Numerous health professionals, such as doctors and nurses, have resigned from their positions because of the lack of adequate pay and the unsafe environments they were forced to work

in. In fact, the relative risk of HCWs to acquire Ebola was 100 times higher than the general population (Lahai, 2017). Over 221 nurses and 11 specialist physicians, including the country's single virologist, have lost their life during the outbreak, since they did not have any basic training in modern Western medicine (*ibid.*). To fight against the unsafe working conditions and the lack of hazard pay they were owed, medical employees went on strikes to force the government to increase funding and to develop medical facilities (Coltar, 2017). The unsafe working conditions, which include the absence of adequate safety equipment, will be explored in depth in the next sub-section.

The lack of developed institutions (e.g. lack of job and income security) forced HCWs to seek work elsewhere. For example, in Liberia, nine out of ten medical doctors were leaving the country to search for safer work environments (Mulbah, 2016). As explained by Mills (2008), Sub-Saharan African countries were losing their HCWs who were provided with valuable work opportunities oversees, in high-income countries. There was an evident brain drain in West Africa: "over half of the doctors born in Sierra Leone and Liberia now work in Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries" (DuBois, et al., 2015). The departure of HCWs and their medical knowledge

furthered human resources loss and the weakening of health systems, hence affecting the developing nations' ability to swiftly tackle epidemics (Mackey and Liang, 2012). As a result, in Liberia, "the system for training medical personnel had collapsed, and only 168 physicians remained in the country" (Mulbah, 2016). Thus, the health facilities in Liberia and Sierra Leone were understaffed. During the Ebola outbreak, Sierra Leone had about 5.5 million people, a life expectancy of 40 years and a ranking of 177 out of 187 countries in the Human Development Index, and "only one trained virologist medical doctor" (Lahai, 2017). The HDI is a development statistic which takes into account the following indicators: life expectancy, education and per capita income (Somers, et al., 2007). The fact that this indicator is at such a low level, especially compared to other countries, clearly illustrates the depth of the country's underdeveloped state, hence providing an understanding of the underlying causes of medical professional's deaths. Pre-outbreak, HCW capacity was "already critically low at approximately one or two HCWs per 100,000 population" (Coltart, 2017). Understaffed health care systems meant fewer people could receive treatment when contracted by diseases. This is because of the increase "in the number of patients per physician" (Mills et al., 2008). For example, due to a low availability of HCWs,

families were forced to "care for patients at home, putting them and their contacts at risk of infection" (DuBois, et al., 2015). This inaccessibility of health care is a clear example of the way in which underdevelopment affects health.

Hence, due to underdeveloped health care institutions, medical faci-lities could not adequa-tely ensure the health of the countries' civilians and HCWs were not receiving adequate pay, forcing them to work in unsafe conditions and, in many cases, to seek work overseas. Not only was there a lack of health professionals available, there was also a lack of clinics and hospitals, which decreases the ability for one to receive treatment and improve their health.

Protective Equipment, Beds and the Delivery of Health Services

Due to the war, hospitals and clinics were looted of medical equipment and drugs, and many buildings were burned down (Mulbah, 2016). By the time the war ceased in Liberia, only 354 of its 550 health facilities were operational (*ibid.*). The health facilities' medical shortages placed workers at risk of contracting viruses from infected patients. These shortages include "the inadequate number of beds, personal protective equipment (PPE), disinfectant and basic medical supplies" (DuBois, et al., 2015). For instance, both countries "struggled to provide the necessary bed capacity to isolate and treat all confirmed,

probable, and suspected cases of Ebola" (Coltart, 2017). Hence, over-crowding increased the potential cases of infection and health issues. Also, the poor (and destroyed) health infrastructures meant that there was a "lack of electricity and running water in some health facilities" (Obeng-odoom and Bockharie, 2018). The absence of running water makes it difficult to ensure effective infection control, proper sanitation and hygiene. Finally, many medical centers did not have protective gear, such as gloves. One reason for this was logistical failures, which sometimes caused the failure of supply distribution to medical centers. For instance, in 2014, "60,000 pairs of gloves [were] in a central warehouse in Liberia, but no gloves were available in health centers (DuBois, et al., 2015). Another issue pertaining to warehouses, was that these buildings often lacked uninterrupted power supplies. Therefore, the *National Drugs Services* in these countries were unable to store medication (Mulbah, 2016). Since cold-storage facilities were under-developed, Sierra Leone's facilities had on average 35% of the required essential drugs in stock in 2011 (DuBois, et al., 2015).

Delivery of health services was also problematic because of the underdeveloped transportation and communication networks. "Surveillance and early-warning systems were extremely weak, with limited capacity to detect

and respond appropriately to events such as the Ebola outbreak" (Mulbah, 2016). It was critical to have "fast and accurate laboratory diagnosis, yet in rural West Africa both laboratory and human resource capacity was limited" (Coltart, 2017). Diagnostic confirmation often took days, because "in some settings, clinical samples had to be transported across large geographical areas with poor transport infrastructure" (*ibid.*). Since the transportation of diagnostic samples (including individual blood test analyses) was hindered, the transportation of infected patients to hospitals was delayed as well. As such, the lack of adequate transportation services suspends the health treatment of infected victims Ebola.

Conclusion

To conclude, underdevelopment of health sectors in Liberia and Sierra Leone does seem to have a significant association with the prevalence and widespread nature of the Ebola virus. As shown throughout this paper, underdevelopment tends to increase the risk of having an unhealthy population. The issues that permeates both countries today are outcomes of the colonial era and the intermittent civil wars, which lead to underdevelopment. Underdeveloped health institutions and poor financing resulted in the lack of protective equipment, impro-per training of health care workers, limited sanitizations, poor transportation and communications systems,

as well as income and job insecurity for health care workers. These issues, both pertaining to social sectors, create propitious conditions for the spread, incidence and prevalence of diseases.

As the fastest growing continent in terms of demography, Africa has a very important human capital, especially in terms of labor and economic development. A healthy population is thus required to ensure the countries' national development, by inciting a more productive labor force, increasing national power (more robust soldiers), and increasing population happiness and well-being. This can be accomplished by developing health institutions as demonstrated throughout this paper. Better health-care infrastructures and adequate funding are a few optimistic solutions recommended to potentially cease the vicious cycle of poor health and underdevelopment in Sierra Leone and Liberia, and ultimately, in various countries in Africa and around the world.

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Where I am From

*A Poem by **Sukoluhle Bhebhe***

I am from books, and music,

From blue doors to waterfalls.

I am from hot weather and rainy weather,

From the sweet smell of jasmine flowers, and from sugar canes in the back yard.

I am from “no phones at the table” and sheet music,

From Bhebhe and Hlazo and Mzikazi too.

I am from Sabbath school and Amazing Grace.

I am from the dinner table and family bonding.

From moving and moving.

I'm from Zimbabwe, from Silobela and Harare.

I’m from Zambia, from Birdcage Walk and Kudu Road.

I’m From Tunisia, from Berge du Lac and El Aouina.

I’m from Côte d’Ivoire, from Deux Plateaux, and Cocody.

I’m from Canada, from Port Hope to Montréal.

But above all,

I am from the sky where memories lie in my heart, where family tradition never parts.

Urbanization in South Africa: Gentrification exasperating Xenophobia

By ***Khadijah Banfield***

Abstract: In recent years there has been a significant increase in international investment in order to promote efforts to urbanize growing African cities. As many occupy land informally, the displacement of lower income groups to better profit on land demands has risen. This is particularly evident in the South African city of Cape Town. This phenomenon is a contributing factor to the exasperation of the recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa due to clashing cultures and inadequate urbanization planning. An analysis of gentrification in the African context demonstrates that it is far less class based than it is ethnically based. The prevalence of urbanization and how urban planning harms the disenfranchised; evidence that gentrification is ethically/ culturally based using the case study of Bo-Kaap in Cape Town; and a demons-tration of how a new form of gentrification, "studentification", are methods in which xenophobic attacks in South Africa are further agitated.

In the past few years as urbanization efforts have increased in major African cities

such as Lagos, Kinshasa, and Johannesburg, international investment has risen. In order to promote these investments properly and further urbanize the surrounding areas, certain groups with informal land rights have been displaced. These forms of displacement are often voluntary as these developments increase the cost of living for lower income groups yet are seen as quite affordable for wealthier groups. This increases the property value to one which is closer to central city living. This disadvantages lower inco-me groups as they cannot sell the land they have inhabited for generations as they do not have formal land rights and are often cast out. Many of which do not desire to leave as they hold strong cultural ties to these areas. This process is called: gentrification.

There is evidence that gentrification in South Africa is evident, yet we have to evaluate how this affects both the current inhabitants and those who are being integrated into these gentrified societies. More importantly, are these tensions leading to larger social issues. I will argue that the gentrification phenomenon has increased due to the urbanization of major cities in order to attract foreign investment which in turn has exasperated xenophobia in South Africa due to a forced clashing of cultures

and the insufficient urbanization planning. In order to demonstrate this progression, I will first discuss the prevalence of urbanization and how urban planning harms the disenfranchised.

Secondly, I will discuss methods that gentrification is ethically and culturally based using the case study of Bo-Kaap in Cape Town. Finally, I will attempt to demonstrate the subtle yet serious ways in which urban planning and gentrification can lead to xenophobia using the new form of gentrification: studentfication. While most of the studies concerning gentrification relate to class issues, this study is different from all others as it adds an element of cultural divide to then explain the way in which these cause tensions.

Literature Review

The term gentrification was coined by Ruth Glass in the early 1960s (Kotze 2013). Glass observed that working class spaced in London were being invaded by the middle class (Kotze 2013) for cheap ad then remodeled into more "expensive residences" (Kotze 2013). This process inflates rental property prices and forced displacement of "low-income earners unemployed" (Kotze 2013) residents. This displacement occurs as rent prices increase and surrounding services (Kotze 2013) are

developed to cater to the wealthy middle class. The popularity of gentrification around the globe is due to "elements of the global capitalist classes" (Kotze 2013, p125), thus neo-liberal ideals (Kotze 2013). Gentrification "influences the quality of life and welfare of different social groups both in material and non-material outcomes" (Kotze 2013, p125). Thus, the effects of gentrification are diverse.

Arguments supporting the influx of higher income middle class folk to areas primarily occupied by lower income groups is the idea that it will "promote home ownership" (Kotze 2013, p125) and this will eventually will further encourage "independence, entrepreneurship and community pride" (Kotze 2013, p126). However, this is a contentious and problematic argument as these encouraged benefits are aimed at the elite and is not meant for the benefit of the working classes (Kotze 2013). In general, inner city areas have "historically been and area of invasion and succession" (Garside 1993, p30). These areas were primarily occupied by lower-income people who settled here until they were able to afford to relocate in suburban communities (Garside 1993). Working class communities benefited from living in the inner cities as it allowed

them access to “affordable housing, close proximity to places of work and school, and public transportation” (Garside 1993) as well as a community of similar cultural groups as most inner-city residents were immigrants. This provided a network of support where language, culture and religion were shared (Garside 1993). Thus, the process of gentrification is a visible component of a social transformation within a city (Garside 1993). Furthermore, gentrification is a shift in the traditional invasion and succession were reversed as the inner city poor and the working class were then displaced by young affluent families moving inwards from the suburbs to the inner-city areas (Garside 1993). The ideology of the state is that which is “aimed at the provision of consumption and service provision” (Garside 1993). This then reinforces the contention of the state as these jobs are not accessible to the working-class poor. The process of gentrification to shift sector work from industrial base to service employment (Garside 1993). This means that far more skilled and educated workers enter these spaces. This leads to visible class divisions. The following represents the general trends of gentrification around the world. They usually inter-sect with class relationships. However, this differs

in the African context, particularly in South Africa where a history of apartheid has complicated all factors of life.

Foreign capital is always in search of investment opportunities in African countries and the popularity of these areas are dependent on the square meter price per property (Watson 2013). South African property prices are "four times higher" (Watson 2013, p224) than countries such as Kenya and Tanzania, increasing popularity of wanted to earn South African property. This process of urbanization and achieving a "modern infrastructural ideal" (Gandy 2006, p.377) is called making a satellite city. Yet, given the colonial histories of African countries, they were left unprepared for "accelerated urban population growth" (Fox 2014, p200)

Societies in unofficial settlements suffer as well. In major cities who are undergoing these transitions to more metropolitan satellite cities, they often seize land outside of the city where property costs are less expensive while relatively close. This area of land is termed "empty land" (Watson 2013, p228). These empty lands (Watson 2013, p228) are unofficial settlements of individuals who cannot afford the rising living cost of these large cities of these satellite cities.

These groups of individuals form communities are often successfully evicted be-cause these residents are often residing here unofficially, thus they do not hold land titles (Watson 2013) nor are they given any form of compensation (Watson 2013).

These areas are called inner cities and South Africa's inner cities are mostly made of non-white communities (Garside 1993). South Africa has a particularly interesting component when it comes to the gentrification phenomenon. The process of "invasion and succession" (Garside 1993, p30) in inner cities which was evident in other cities around the world was disrupted in South Africa due to the apartheid legislation which "enforced racially exclusive residential areas for each designated 'population' group" (Garside 1993, p31). Thus, there was no mass immigration and families remained within their lower social classes and in the same regions for generations.

Country Introduction: South Africa

South Africa, a country in the southernmost part of Africa, is home to over 57 million people (Worldo-meters 2019) and is currently governed by the African National Congress party run by President Cyril Ramaphosa.

South Africa was colonized by the British in 1806 and gained their independence from Britain on May 31st, 1910. In 1948, the pro-Afrikaner National Party came into party and apartheid was implemented (Anon 2019), yet the idea was created by the white government in the 1930s (Mhlongo 2019). Apartheid, "was the sanctioned racial segregation, and political and economic discrimination against" non-white South Africans by the white minority (The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica 2019). This was made possible by the Population Registration Act" (The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica 2019) which classified citizens into 4 racial groups (The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. 2019): Bantu (Black Africans), Coloured (mixed-raced folk), White, and Asian (Those of Indian and Pakistani descent). Aparth-eid ended in 1994 which resulted in a black majority government led by anti-apartheid activist Nelson Mandela.

A fundamental part of the success of the apartheid for so long was the forced physical removal of native South Africans from their homes into cramped areas outside of white suburbs with little to no public services or economic prospects (Fröhlich 2019). These areas are called townships and have led to "contri-

buted to high levels of poverty, lack of social structures, no public services and intense spatial inequalities" (Fröhlich 2019). Years after apartheid these issues still exist in South Africa (Fröhlich 2019). The wealth gap in South Africa is still disproportionate even a generation after the end of apartheid and the beginning of the ANC (Burke 2018)

Unprepared Urbanization

Urbanization is not the issue. Urbanization and spatial advancement are natural processes which occur with population growth and a general movement from an economy which is primarily manufactured based to one which is more sector based. This is evident as the attempted adoption of anti-urbanization policies in order to focus on rural development has been unsuccessful (Fox 2014). The issue is that these urban plans do not consider the populations they are displaying and inconveniencing. Urbanization works best when it betters the lives of those already living in the region being urbanized. For example, when apartheid ended in Soweto and black South Africans were no longer constricted to where they can live, many stayed in Soweto and decided with their new-found wealth to develop and urbanize Soweto. This is a

method which does not take away from the community; it is built to advance all members of the community. This is a Soweto which "commands level of respect" (Mhlongo 2019) and was built by Soweto residents for Soweto residents. Unfortunately, South Africa's land distribution today still "mirrors" that of the Apartheid era (Fröhlich 2019) as about half of black South Africans still live in townships and slums. (Fröhlich 2019). Meaning land reform is still a fairly contested issue which remains on the roaster for political change (Fröhlich 2019), yet change is slow. This issue of informal land rights are exasperated by various neoliberal policies made to foster more urban development in South Africa; however, provide a negative change of spatial inequalities (Fröhlich 2019) as groups of individuals in townships and slums are forcibly removed to provide opportunities and high-end developers outside of major South African cities such as Cape Town and Johannesburg (Fröhlich 2019). Neo-liberal ideals have led to the process of urbanization moving from the global north to the global south. This is also relevant in the gentrification context. Gentrification has "transferred" (Kotze 2013, p125) from Western regions developing regions. Gentrification allows for certain groups, those

of higher economic classes to profit while others, those from lower economic classes suffer (Kotze 2013). Given the apartheid legacies, ill-feelings remain, especially if this new group been advantaged historically.

Ethnic/Culturally Based Gentrification

Consider Bo-Kaap in Cape Town as an example of a region which historically houses lower-income households. This area became populace as the emancipation of slavery led to immigration outside of the cities (Kotze 2013) before the implementtation of apartheid. The Bo-Kaap is an inner-city of primarily working-class residents formally known as the Malay Quarter (Kotze 2013) in South Africa (Kotze 2013). This area holds many decrepit, yet colorful and culturally relevant houses (Kotze 2013) and mosques. Capetown in particular is an area which is flourishing in terms of economic growth and tourism in comparison with other regions in South Africa (Burke 2018); it is considered prime real estate at the center of the city (Burke 2018)

There is a significant Muslim population living in in this part of Cape Town. Thus, this area is intriguing as it has social and historical value. The Cape-Malay people were able to inhabit this area

even during the apartheid because they represented the Cape Malay people. There are no real ethnic differences which would differentiate these people, other than they do represent a primarily Muslim population. Yet they were able to use this difference to resist forced evictions during apartheid as they were considered a separate group even though it was technically considered a "controlled area" meaning there is no designated particular race group (Garside 1993). There is often a sense of cultural heritage that is part of the social groups who occupy this space. This cultural heritage can also be profitable as it attracts tourists. This is the case in Bo-Kaap, Cape Town whose colorful houses are an important cultural heritage which actually attracts tourists (Kotze 2013) despite its run-down and older aesthetic. Although, it is important to consider the commodification of the "run-down state" of these areas. Yes, it can provide important foot-traffic and revenue; however, these are still communities who deserve livable and affordable homes. Their cultural relevance is put at risk when a new housing development plan which included modern renovation and increase housing prices (Kotze 2013). The preservation of a neighborhood's cultural identity is important

here as it is the mostly Muslim residents who are affected by the rise in property prices and experience a demographic shift as new non-Muslim members are buying homes. These types of tension lead to a collective discontent. Evidence of social unrest is in the protests and even the burning of tires in the streets of Bo-Kaap (Burke 2018). Although, this area in particular is not only about commercial value, it is about "identity and history and destiny of [Cape Malay] people" (Burke 2018)

Studentification: Where Gentrification Intersect and Urbanization

A new wave of gentrification is studentification. This process relates to the mismanagement of urban spaces and urban planning and adds to cultural tensions in a way which surpasses class. Studentification is the process where students inhabit parts of a suburb or town in an area near higher education facility such as university and the original residents of are gradually displaced due to this (Donaldson et al. 2014) This causes an issue where at a certain point only the needs of the student subculture is catered for (Donaldson et al 2014). This

phenomenon occurs when accommodation shortages on university campuses force students to "find accommodation in the private sector" (Donaldson et al. 2014, S176). Similar to the issues of urbanization where there is a shortage in affordable housing, there is also a shortage in the supply of accommodation by higher education institutions in Africa (Donaldson et al. 2014). Additionally, the private sector is using this to provide accommodation to this niche market (Donaldson 2014, et al.) as they know that students are desperate.

Students have specific "demographic and social characteristics (Donaldson et al, 2014) which makes them a gentrified group. They are "predominantly young, come from middle-class backgrounds, have no dependents" (Donaldson et al 2014, S177). In terms of demand and supply, students are flexible tenants and they do not have "all the preferences and requirements that a family would have" (Donaldson et al 2014, p177). Yet, most of these students are also international, meaning they are also of different cultures. Most students are from different countries on the African continent and from affluent families which can often cause further discontent for the primary residents of these neighborhoods.

Apartheid legacies and Xenophobia: Not Simply Class-Based

Xenophobic attacks often happen in areas where residents are suffering from poverty and limited forms of advancements. It is important to remember that it has only been 25 years since the end of apartheid and unequal structures still exists all around the country. Given this recent history, the sensitive issue of race is always relevant.

Evidence that gentrification is an exasperator of the recent xenophobic attacks is the issue of land reform (Fröhlich 2019), naturally history of apartheid and colonialism in South Africa. This is evident as formal land rights in South Africa after apartheid have not are rare, especially for those who venture outside of the townships. This is more evident for those suffering extreme poverty. Feelings of discontent will rise as foreigners are able to afford and obtain these land rights, additionnally making it more difficult for native South Africans. While this is not a justification for xenophobic behaviors yet serves to as evidence to how newcomers can aggravate an already tense community. There is a strong cultural relation when it comes to gentrification.

Gentrification influences more than just quality of life, there

are strong elements of cultural discontent which is historical in nature and here lies the issue of xenophobia. Gentrification in the South African context however differs from that of other parts of the world where class is the main component; however, in this context, different races and ethnic groups play a part as well, meaning gentrification can exasperate xenophobic attacks.

Conclusion

The gentrification phenomenon has increased due to the urbanization of major cities in order to attract foreign investment which in turn has exasperated xenophobia in South Africa due to a forced clashing of cultures and the insufficient urbanization planning. In the case of South Africa, gentrification is far less class based than it is ethnically based, contributing to the increase in xenophobic attacks. This has been demonstrated by a discussion of the prevalence of urbanization and how urban planning harms the disenfranchised; evidence that gentrification is ethically/ culturally based using the case study of Bo-Kaap in Cape Town; and finally a demonstration of how urban planning and gentrification can lead to xenophobia using the new form of gentrification: studentification.

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Authority and Antibiotics: A Case Study of Public Health Policy, Institutions and Infrastructure in Contemporary Lesotho

*By **Ann Dickie** and **Victoria Flaherty***

Abstract: We will examine the way in which public health policy, institutions, and infrastructure have been influenced by Lesotho's independence, and have exhibited the social upshots of these changes. This is an apt topic to discuss due to the drastic restructuring procedures that occurred in the public health sector since October 4th, 1966, which has included the continued influence of foreign actors on Lesotho's public health sector. This situation highlights the complexity of independence, and the manner in which colonial influence can extend beyond occupation. We will investigate the policy, institutions, and infrastruc-ture of public health with a comparative analysis of programs before and after independence, as well as use public health as a proxy to study the deeper social change in Lesotho as they transitioned to self-rule.

The topic that our group has chosen to examine in regard to social change in contemporary Lesotho since the colonial period is public health

policy, institutions, and infrastructure. Before Lesotho gained its independence in 1966, public health services were administered by British colonial structures. During the transition to local governance, Lesotho public officials created politically independent bureaucracies and policies in the place of colonial entities. (Manton, 2018) Since liberation, public health has seen several phases of development, marked by political instability, regime changes, an increase in foreign funding, and the special needs stemming from being a primarily rural enclave country encompassed by South Africa. By examining the changes that the public health sector has undergone, we will punctuate the transition of Lesotho from colonial rule to independence and bring social change to the forefront of the discussion on public health.

Public health in Lesotho is largely funded by external foreign aid and private for-profit organizations, which has both helped and hindered the efficacy of health institutions and the quality of health infrastructure (Aerni-Flessner, J, 2014). Organizations and states that have contributed economic aid include the United States, the World Bank,Republic of Ireland, the United Kingdom, the European Union, and Germany (Aerni-

Flessner, 2014). This topic is of pertinence due to the fact that administrative and policy decisions are still affected by the legacies of British colonization in public service administration (Pffeffier, 2010). The influence these foreign actors have on public health in Lesotho points to continued colonial legacies and influence, making this an important topic to discuss when examining social change from the perspective of pre- and post-independence.

Due to a myriad of issues, public health in Lesotho has struggled under the weight of the HIV/AIDs crisis and the rise of drug-resistant bacterial infections (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016). These crises are illustrated by the facts that Lesotho has the third highest per capita rate of HIV/AIDS in the world (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016) and the highest rate of tuberculosis per capita (World Bank Data, 2017). Policy was heavily influenced by international agencies such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United States' Agency for International Development (USAID). (Manton, 2018) Thus, although control over policy and bureaucracy was put into the hands of local civil servants, they utilized foreign literature on planning and budgets to shape their institutions and plans. (Hirschmann, 1987) This complicated the process of change and made health institutions relatively weak in the

period following colonial occupation, making foreign aid and private actors important health-care providers.

Methodological Approach

Our approach will be heavily informed by course material related to considerate anthropo-logical practices through which to engage with colonial legacies in Africa. Through relying on concepts and ethnographic methods dis-cussed in the course, we will ensure that we keep the subjects' agency and context at the forefront of this paper. Moreover, we will use specific perspectives to inform our research, such as gender-based analysis, the implications of the urban-rural divide, and inquiring into all of the colonial and cultural roots for Lesotho's public health system. This relates to the warning against savior-approaches explored by C.S. Archambault, be-cause we will ensure that we are not imposing normative western narratives into our research without unders-tanding deeper socioe-conomic and cultural conditions within the health sector. (2011).

Through our examination of this topic, we will also be guided by the course content such as Mahmood Mamdani's exploration of post-independence African the context of colonial legacies, particularly in South Africa. (1996) We will further use Mamdani's work to discuss the type of

colonial rule utilized in Lesotho, as he provided strong descriptions of colonial institutions and methods of ruling, informing our process as we dissect the legacy of colonialism in Lesotho's public health institutions, infrastructure, and policy. (1996) This approach will be further informed by the concept of decomposing modernity, established by James Ferguson, which provides an anthropological lens through which to view African development in the neoliberal global order (2006). We will also carefully traverse the loaded language and concepts developed by western organizations and academics by challenging the idea of presenting the world in a linear binary of time before and time after colonialism. (McClintock, 1992) Furthermore, we will avoid situating the entirety of political and cultural nuance as part of the linear path of "colonialism" and "post-colonialism", which serves to remove agency and history from the residents of Lesotho (McClintock, 1992). We will also discuss the issues with the term "development" as presented by Arturo Escobar and keep these Western constructs in mind when examining social change in Lesotho. (1991) This will serve as a guide in our research when considering the shift in health policies, institutions, and infrastructure in Lesotho from pre- and post-1966.

We believe we will come into contact with scholarship that builds on

the ideas discussed by Damibisa Moyo related to the impact that foreign aid can have on prosperity in the African context. (2009) By using the intellectual frame-work provided by Moyo, we will use a critical analysis to see how foreign aid has actually served to weaken public health infrastructure in Lesotho. Thus far in our research, we have learned that it is often external groups with Christian goals that provided aid. Further, the British crown and many American NGOs give money and resources to assist the state of healthcare in Lesotho. (Loewenson, 1993). This can be negative and positive, but it has unfortunately generally stun-ted the ability of Lesotho to distribute money effectively, as foreign aid often comes with conditionality. This has led to the overpopulation of out-patient care facilities, as there is a lack of autonomy for the Lesotho health officials to determine where funding goes. (Holdsworth, 1993)

Structure

We will structure our research using the methodology we have laid out into three main content sections that will effectively examine the context, evolution, and consequences related to our chosen topic. We will begin with a discussion of important concepts and terms related to colonialism and define them to ensure clarity throughout the paper and make our approach clear. After introducing the

history and context of Lesotho and its public health policy, infrastructure, and institutions, especially pertaining to the transition from the British colonial powers to independent governance within the health sector. We will then turn to our first section, which will describe the establishment of public health administration after the end of British colonial rule in 1966. This will examine how reform was impacted by foreign aid, internal initiatives, and grassroots health care. Much healthcare in Lesotho is done by lay health workers (LHWs), who are untrained professionals who work to ease the impact of HIV/AIDS on their communities. (Joseph, 2012)

Our second section will focus on how policies, institutions, and infrastructure evolved alongside medical developments, administrative practices, and public health issues facing society in Lesotho. We will then explore how foreign aid has impacted the infrastructural efficacy in the health sector, which is informed by class content on foreign aid's impact on 'development' in Africa. (Pffeffier, 2010) This will be a nuanced discussion on the longstanding effects of colonialism in Lesotho, and where neocolonialism can still be seen today.

The third section of our essay will examine the consequences of social change in the public health sphere that has

occurred since the colonial period. This section will use anthropological concepts to show how colonial legacies and Lesotho's independence have affected how political (in)stability, the presence or lack thereof corruption, and public health outcomes. Based on the literature we have consulted thus far, we expect to gain an understanding of how continued economic dependence on predominantly Western countries and institutions has or has not contributed to problems in public health institutions, infrastructure, and policy in Lesotho which has lead to some of the highest rates of HIV/AIDS and tuber-culosis per capita in the world, as discussed previously. We will conclude by tying our three substantive sections together to provide the audience with a comprehensive understanding of social change in regard to public health policy, institutions and infrastructure in Lesotho since the colonial period.

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Québec Undergraduate Security Conference Research Paper: The dichotomy between normative goals of UNAMID and local realities in Darfur

By ***Maelys Chanut***

Abstract: The United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID) epitomizes the first operationalization of the responsibility to protect (R2P) norm in the security agenda of the United Nations and was initially framed as a success. The international civil society advocacy under the "Save Darfur" coalition played a primordial role in the mission's establishment and successfully challenged the realist assumption that the states' self-interestedness trumps the moral imperatives for humanitarian intervention. However, this paper shows that, at the time of operationalization, the mission's effectiveness was inhibited by the dichotomy between these normative demands and the local realities of Darfur. The normative demands of the international civil society, influenced by the new R2P norm, were instrumental in the creation of UNAMID, but this led decision-makers to ignore the local realities of Darfur, primarily characterized by Khartoum's obstructionism and the structure of the hybrid mission. This has not only hindered the effectiveness of UNAMID's practical implementation but also contributed to the alienation of the prospect of peace in

Darfur. The case of Darfur reveals that implementing R2P faces practical and structural constraints because activities are not framed according to the local realities.

The dichotomy between normative goals of UNAMID and the local realities in Darfur

On July 31, 2007, the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1769 formally established the United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID). The peacekeeping operation has been on the ground for 12 years, as one of the largest and most expensive mission ever deployed (Henke 2019). Its core mandate is the protection of civilians, alongside the provision of security for humanitarian assistance and the support and the effective implementation of agreements (Lanz 2015). But, as these objectives remain for most parts unattained, the effectiveness of the mission is questionable. What accounts for UNAMID's mixed record since its implementation?

UNAMID was created by the international community in response to the violence that plagued Darfur's region of East-Sudan since 2003 opposing rebel groups, principally the Sudanese People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA /M) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), to progovernment militias, principally the Janjaweed, an armed group composed of Arabs herding tribes. Although the dissatisfaction principally stems from the

historical marginalization of Darfur from Sudanese political and economic life, divisions between the non-Arab and mostly non-Muslim majority of Darfur's population and the Arab minority have been exacerbated by the government divide-and-rule tactics and by the decreasing availability of arable land due to desertification (De Waal 2007).

In this paper, I will argue that the dichotomy between the normative demands of the international civil society and the concrete requirements for a sustainable peace in Darfur hindered UNAMID's effectiveness. Firstly, I will analyze how normative demands of the international civil society, influenced by the new R2P norm, were instrumental in the creation of UNAMID. Then I will show that this led decision-makers to ignore the local realities of Darfur, primarily characterized by Khartoum's obstructionism and the structure of the hybrid mission. Finally, I will demonstrate how this has not only hindered the effectiveness of UNAMID's practical implementation but also contributed to alienating the prospect of peace in Darfur.

The normative demands of the international civil society

UNAMID came about principally as a result of the international civil society pressure to protect human security. The concept of human security arose in the international system at

the end of the Cold War and has been increasingly recognized since the responsibility to protect (R2P) was embraced by the UN membership at the 2005 World Summit (Badescu and Bergholm 2009). It emphasizes a people-centric approach to security rather than a state-centric approach: citizens' security has to be protected by the state. Failure to do so constitutes a threat to international peace and security and militarily intervention is thus possible under Chapter VII of the UN Charter (Silander 2013). R2P is rooted in a fundamental paradox between the moral imperatives for intervention and the realist assumption that states will never act without some self-interests (Silander 2013). This is the traditional argument used to explain the failure of peace-keeping operations, with the main example being the failure of the UN to prevent the Rwandan genocide. Thus, some have argued that the lack of will of great powers is what explains the limited achievements of UN actions in Darfur (Frieden et al 2016).

However, the international civil society and non-state actors can help overcome this paradox; indeed, international activism has been the driving factor behind the creation of UNAMID troops. It is the persistent lobbying of the Save Darfur movement, "arguably the largest international social movement since anti-apartheid," that pushed the UN to respond to Darfur's crisis (Lanz

2009). The political aim of the movement gradually shifted from establishing a UN support of AMIS (the African Union mission on the ground since 2004), to sending a UN peacekeeping mission in Darfur to protect civilians. By 2007, more than 160 faith-based, advocacy and humanitarian organizations gathered under the "Save Darfur Coalition" to shape government policy through public pressure (Mamdani 2009). The Save Darfur Movement's demands became gradually included in the political agendas of the United States, France, and the United Kingdom. More specifically it led the former US Secretary of State Powell to acknowledge that the Darfur conflict constituted a genocide in 2004. In 2007, President Sarkozy and Prime Minister Brown jointly co-wrote an op-ed piece in The Times, reaffirming their determination to "Save Darfuris" (Lanz 2009). Thus, UNAMID's mixed record cannot be explained by the traditional paradox of R2P, namely the realist assumption that national interests determine states' actions and discredit the moral imperatives for intervention. However, UNAMID was constrained by another paradox that became salient when R2P was operationalized: it stems from the dichotomy between normative demands and local realities.

The Save Darfur movement's normative demands oversimplified Darfur's situation. The

principal motivation behind the Save Darfur Coalition was to prevent another Rwandan genocide from happening. Indeed, it is only in March 2004 at the 10-year commemoration of the Rwandan genocide, when then UN under-secretary of Humanitarian Affairs declared that "the only difference between Rwanda and Darfur now is the number involved," that the international community started to mobilize, influenced by media campaigns and opinion leaders' interventions (Jumbert and Lanz 2013, 198). However, framing the conflict as a genocide simply opposing Arabs to non-Arabs overlooked the underlying complexities of the opposition of tribes with homeland and those without, impacted by long-lasting colonial legacies and competition over scarce resources. This oversimplified anti-genocide rhetoric impacted the movement in several ways (Mamdani 2009, 71). First, it focused on external intervention to solve the conflict, rather than on domestic processes (Lanz 2009). Secondly, it favored military over political strategies to solve the conflict (Mamdani 2009). And lastly, it led to over-targeting the Sudanese government (Duursma and Müller 2019). Some argue that the framing of the conflict in oversimplified terms is explained by the neocolonial logic in which it is rooted, where the movement reflects the global hegemonic agenda of the US as "the humanitarian face of the war on terror" (Mamdani 2009). Others

argue that the movement had genuine good-intentions as they defended the compelling cause of R2P and that the oversimplify-cation was inevitable when "blindly projecting liberal norms on a complicated world" (Lanz 2009, 670). Either way, framing the Darfurian situation as "a genocide that had to be prevented" is what impaired Save Darfur's rhetoric after being what accounted for its success in mobilizing support and thus in implementing the peacekeeping mission.

The fragility of Darfur's peace agreement shows that the main motivation behind the mission's implementation was the normative demands of the Save Darfur movement and not actual peace. In general, peacekeeping missions are implemented to support the enforcement of a sustainable and comprehend-sive peace agreement; thus, the head of the UN Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) Jean-Marie Guehénno was reluctant to deploy UN peacekeepers to Darfur until 2006 (Lanz 2015). In 2006, the government and the SLA signed the DPA which paved the way for UN Security Council Resolution 1679, which recommended that "concrete steps be taken to effect the transition from AMIS to a United Nations operation" (Lanz 2015, 782). However, the DPA was drafted by a handful of individuals under extreme time pressure: it was drafted in three months and did not fully develop the concepts required for peace because of the

assumption that peace-talks would continue (de Waal 2007). The fragility of the peace agreement reflects the particularity of the international response to the Darfur crisis: the peace agreement wasn't the primary raison d'être of the deployment of UN troops, but it was drafted to legitimize it. The peace agreement "satisfied the political requirement of having a political framework that would provide direction to UN peacekeepers," without bringing tangible peace (Lanz 2015, 782). Thus, by focusing on the R2P norm, the normative demands of the international civil society paradoxically gave the peace agreement a secondary place in the peacekeeping mission's objectives.

Local realities and constraints

The normative demands of the international society pressured the UN to take action, and the framing of the conflict as a genocide imposed military intervention as the only answer to Darfur's crisis. This political imperative of deploying a peacekeeping mission pressured the UN to ignore the local institutional context of the Darfurian crisis, thus constraining the strategic implementation of the mission.

Initially, the implementation of a UN peacekeeping mission in Darfur was opposed by Khartoum. President Bashir argued that the international force had a hidden agenda of regime

change (Mamdani 2009), in the context of the US invasion of Iraq and the general reluctance to allow the UN in a Muslim country. China opposed the resolution too, putting forth the argument that it violated state sovereignty. As an alternative to a UN-led peacekeeping mission, Kofi Annan introduced the idea of a hybrid mission, jointly operationalized by the UN and the AU, emphasizing on the "predominantly African character" of the mission (Lanz 2015, 782). From 2006 on, it is the "quiet diplomacy" employed by Ban Ki Moon that convinced Khartoum to give its consent for UNAMID (Gowan 2011, 402). Thus, Khartoum's obstructionism was artificially resolved by the creation of a hybrid mission and by Ban's diplomacy. This had several problematic implications.

Firstly, Khartoum's reluctance was never completely overcome and this impeded the mission's effectiveness. As the UNAMID force started to form, President Bashir found ways to impede its development. For instance, he delayed the deployment of authorized military personnel by withholding hundreds of visas for UNAMID staff or preventing the importation of necessary equipment (Lanz 2015). Additionally, peacekeeping forces were victims of armed attacks, some of them traced back to government-affiliated militias with the intent to intimidate the peacekeepers (Lanz 2015).

UNAMID was thus limited by the tenuous host-state consent, that was overlooked at the time of implementation because of the normative demands of the international community dictated the political imperatives of a UN mission.

The attitude of then UN Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon towards UNAMID is yet another manifestation of the Save Darfur pressure to promote R2P without considering the complexity of the local context. Ban took office on 1 January 2007 and his success in implementing the UNAMID mission, to which Kofi Annan was personally committed, was a crucial early test of his abilities (Gowan 2011). The political imperative to implement a peacekeeping mission led him to neglect a more in-depth assessment of the operationalization of the mission. Paradoxically, Ban's general attitude towards peacekeeping arguably signals "a deeper skepticism about the operational effectiveness of peacekeeping" (Gowan 2011). Guehénno's description of peacekeeping as the "aspirin of international security" underlines the generalized doubt amongst UN officials about the effectiveness of peacekeeping. This explains how peacekeeping could be used as a tool to respond to international civil society's demands but not genuinely to solve the crisis. This explains, in turn, the neglected assessment of the mission's operationalization and of the constraining institutional context.

Lastly, the solution of a hybrid mission faced structural challenges that impeded the mission's effectiveness too. Hybridity is used to describe the modular, multi-actor structure of peacekeeping operations that brings multiple institutions to cooperate in a joint endeavor (Tardy 2014). Beyond the burden-sharing rationale, hybrid peacekeeping operations are implemented on the assumption that diverse sources of strategic inputs will enhance the comprehensive-ness of crisis management policies (Tardy 2014). However, hybrid peacekeeping missions are structurally limited by several factors. Firstly, they require excessive coordination, which has often been hard to attain in the case of UNAMID. The political divergence of the two institutions has led, according to Annan, to "two sets of strategic guidance as to implementation of the missions' mandate" (Tardy 2014, 109). Secondly, hybrid missions can undermine the political coherence of the international response because of complex administrative and procedural frameworks. For instance, UNAMID has arguably brought more administrative inertia than it has brought political coherence (Thardy 2014). Furthermore, hybridity threatens the mission's accountability and ownership. Whereas the AU's ownership was limited because of structural and financial reasons, the UN has de facto relinquished some of its control over the UNAMID implementation, for example with

the appointment of a joint UN-AU head of mission. Furthermore, the mission struggled to secure more needed material and was affected by the lack of coherent training.

Thus, the UNAMID peacekeeping mission was weakened by Karthoum's obstructionism, by the general skepticism surrounding peacekeeping effectiveness and by the precarious hybrid mission's structure.

Consequences on the mission's effectiveness and the Darfur situation

I will now analyze the effect that this had on the practical implementation of the mission by assessing its accomplishments and its limitations, and then the broader impact that the mission had on the Darfur situation.

Firstly, the mission brought about limited developments for disarmament and ceasefire. De Waal (2007) argues that these two concepts are central requirements for peace in Darfur. However, they remain insufficiently addressed. For instance, the DPA failed to incorporate all armed groups in the agreement. Furthermore, the ceasefire plan was drafted early and the changing context, especially the arrival of new rebel groups on the field, changed the requirements for a successful peace agreement. The question of disarmament of Janjaweed militias posed a real challenge when the DPA was drafted, as imposing disarmament by force would not only be dangerous but also naïve (De Waal 2007).

Thus, the DPA charged the Sudanese government with the responsibility to disarm militias, and the UNAMID role was to "monitor, verify and promote these efforts." Consequently, the peacekeep-ing operation was deployed without addressing the modalities of arms control.

Secondly, the achievement of the core mandate, the protection of civilians, was partly defective. The mission adopted the Darfur Protection Strategy, which focused on protection by presence (Lanz 2015). This strategy aimed at deterring armed attacks against civilians and was partially successful, as it drastically increased the political cost of carrying out atrocities such as those that happened in 2003-4. The number of civilian causalities substantially dropped with AMIS and remained relatively low when UNAMID took over (Mamdani 2009). However, this strategy also recognized that only half of Darfur's eight million inhabitants was accessible to UNAMID, because of the size of the territory, the instability of the conflict, the inadequacy of the equipment and the limited number of military personnel (Lanz 2015). UNAMID also failed to rightfully address some attacks perpetuated by govern-ment-affiliated militias, not accurately reporting massacres and downpla-ying their ethnic charac-ter (Lanz 2015). Thus, UNAMID's broken promises left many Darfuris disappointed. Local perceptions of the

mission's effectiveness were very suspicious and differed in many ways from UNAMID's official discourse (Müller and Bashar 2017). This shows the low level of trust between the local populations and UNAMID peacekeeping forces and the dichotomy between the UN discourse and the local experienced realities.

Finally, international involvement has complicated the conflict in Darfur. Principally, the fact that international attention was overwhelmingly directed towards the government's role in the conflict was not conducive to conflict resolution. This is illustrated by how the indictment of President Al Bashir by the ICC has arguably exacerbated Khartoum's obstructionist policies (Duursma and Müller 2019). Furthermore, as the government's legiti-macy was questioned internationally, the posi-tion of rebels' groups was strengthened domestically. The rebel cause was solidified by becoming a "globalized rebellion" and this promoted maximalist demands on their end (Jumbert and Lanz 2013). This echoes with De Waal (2009) analysis that as politics in countries with weak states institutions are characterized by competition over patrimony, conflicts in these states are resolved by elites bargaining. Imposing onerous peace settlements is unlikely to succeed because they will only be used as instruments in the hands of political actors, such as the government or the

rebel groups (De Waal 2009). This brought UNAMID in a paradoxical situation. Because peacekeeping forces changed the relations of power established among the different local actors and because they are drawn in the calculations in this competition for power, mediating peace seems impossible without international involvement. Thus, although UNAMID's effectiveness can be questioned and although it made peace less likely, it created a situation where it cannot withdraw without danger of further violent conflict. Thus, instead of implementing normative demands international institutions should frame their activities according to the local realities.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have shown that UNAMID deployment came as a result of the international civil society's normative demands for R2P and that military intervention was imposed as the only solution by the anti-genocide rhetoric of these demands. This political imperative to send peacekeeping troops led the UN to overlook national constraints and local realities of Darfur's situation. This, in turn, explains the limited achievements of the mission especially concerning its core mandate, the protection of civilians. More importantly, the pursuit of normative goals by UNAMID changed the power distribution among local actors and this antagonized the prospect

of peace, as well as the exit strategy of UNAMID. Thus, this peacekeeping mission was not restrained by the fundamental paradox of R2P that opposes realist assumptions to moral imperatives, but instead it was restrained when R2P was operationalized, by the dichotomy that emerged between normative goals and local realities.

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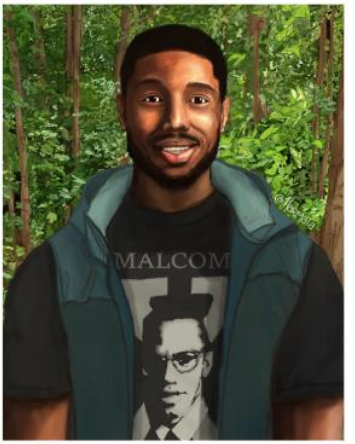
Digital Illustrations

*By **Harmata Aboubakar***



Top right and bottom left illustrations based off photographs taken by Alexander H. and Manny Jefferson, respectively.

Assessing the role of Islam in 19th-century East African history

*By **Tilila Sara Bakrim***

Résumé: Islam in 19th century East African history played a major role, whether it is to define the "coastal" identity – the Swahili identity – as a legitimization to assert their culture over the interior population, or to promote a cultural and religious exchange in the hinterland by deeply transforming the social beliefs, relationships and practices.

Swahili have always seen themselves as distinct from interior population, which is why many Swahili population trace their ancestry to the Arabian Peninsula, from "Shirazi" (present-day Iran). The Swahili civilization widely spread along the Eastern coast of Africa, characterized by Islamic influences coming from the Indian Ocean World roughly since 1000 CE. In fact, the classic historical and historiographical narratives suggest a barrier between the Swahili coast on one hand, the dar al-Islam (the Muslim community) marked by a maritime and urban mercantile culture (from South Somalia to Northern Mozambique), and the East African interior on the other hand, the Dar al-Harb (the Pagan community) characterized by its rural subsistence economy (roughly around Buganda (present-day Uganda),

Lake Tanganyika down to Lake Malawi). There have been many historiographical debates concerning the concrete role of Islam in nineteenth-century East African history. Because of the lack of sources, some historians affirmed that Islam had little impact in this region or, when it has been acknowledged that Islam did have an impact, the interior region was often qualified as 'semi-Islamized'. Therefore, I will contest this statement and argue in this essay that Islam in the nineteenth century did in fact contribute to construct the "coastal" identity, distinct from the interior of East Africa, but the Islamization of the region also led to cultural changes and exchanges with the interior populations.

First, Islam contributed to construct the Swahili identity and distinguish it from East Africa interior. The arrival of the Omanis in the Swahili coast defined a significant part of the Swahili identity, even more when the Omani sultan moved his capital to Zanzibar in 1833. Subsequently, Omanis (mainly Ibadhis, a sub-branch of Kharijite Islam) and pre-existant Swahili population (mainly Shafi'is, branch of Sunnism) developed broadly cooperative relationships. Zanzibar became since then the historical, geographical and religious center of Eastern Africa. Moreover, Islam of the Zanzibar sultanate contributed to empower the Swahili coast as a major political center, Georges Gayet argues. Indeed, the Zanzibar sultan wanted

his place to be a center of Islamic learning with Somalia and Comores, so he developed Islamic education and gave more opportunities for its inhabitants to go on the Hajj (The Sunni Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca, also one of the five pillars of Islam). Therefore, the Swahili were expressively influenced by Omani culture, which led to the emergence of the concept of Ustaarabu, 'to assimilate oneself to the Arabs, to become an Arab, to adopt the customs of the Arabs.' Hence, Arabic learning became important for the construction of Swahili identity and amongst the elite, this identity was oriented towards the maritime rather than the mainland. Abdul Sheriff emphasizes the role of Islam in the maritime aspect of East African history. In fact, the cultural dynamics of the Indian Ocean world has been shaped by the Muslim merchant communities – mainly the Swahili for East Africa – that transformed the ocean into the so-called "Islamic lake", a truly global world in which East Africa played a major stand.

This Islamic identity legitimized the domination of the Swahili over the interior population, known as Washenzi ("barbarians"). Knut Graw explains the multiple processes of negotiation and debate characterizing Muslim life along the East African coast. One of the most notable features is that Islamic identity legitimized the domination of the coastal over the interior population

with the widespread use of the Swahili language – associated with the language of Islam due to its Arabic influences. In a nutshell, what Graw wants to capture is the process of "how along the East African coast Islamic identities are negotiated through a constant dialogue with a larger Islamic world". Another relevant example of the Dar al-Islam domination over Dar al-Harb is the ivory and the slave trade with the interior. The Islamic legal norms were likewise informed by the family-commercial networks of Omani immigrant families who, as Muslim entrepreneurs, began with coastal Swahili to look for ivory and slaves in the country (since it is illegal for a Muslim to be enslaved). Coastal populations employed specific terms for the slaves they captured, referred as Watumwa, meaning "someone who is sent or used" (which scholars have translated to "slaves", even though there were various degree of servitude) in opposition to the Waungwana, the "freeborn" (the coastal population). In the meantime, they established their first Islamic sites of worship in Tabora (today's central Tanzania) and contributed to its spread in the hinterland until they really questioned new converts' ways of living (social relati-onships, ritual practices, etc.).

Consequently, Islam also contributed to a cultural change in the region: it created multiple zones of contacts within the whole East African region by spreading the religion

through trade and progressively assimilating interior populations to the dominant Swahili culture. These cultural changes, shaped by the interaction between Islam and pre-existing belief systems, led to an "Africanization of Islam". The first coastal traders arrived in the region of Lake Tanganyika around 1830, and in order to build trust between them and their followers, they tried to provide their slaves with prestigious goods and rights such as kanzus (expensive clothes), guns, etc. In this context, some of them gained some standing and started to conceive a Waungwana identity, the respected terms for coastal people (for instance, many Sufi priests appeared in Tabora and Ujiji). Furthermore, claiming to be Waungwana was synonym to a conversion to Islam, even though Swahili and Omani traders did not have any proselytizing intentions. Nonetheless, the adaptation of Islam in various interior contexts is crucial to understand the cultural change provoked by the coastal population. By converting, they necessary challenged their ways of life (mainly around Lake Tanganyika). Philip Gooding evokes many examples of cultural changes. Firstly, the main religious influence was on the pre-existing spiritual beliefs of these new converts: they adapted coastal beliefs in zimu ("spirits") to the belief of the spirits' existence around Lake Tanganyika (called "mizimu"), which was not antithetical to Islamic

faith, like older histories would suppose. Secondly, the ngwana interior became Muslim by practicing the circumcision, eating halal meat, praying and for most of them fasting during Ramadan. Thirdly, they adopted the Swahili language, considered as the language of Islam. Thus, coastal traders living in the interior recognized that coastal forms of Islamic beliefs were re-adapted to the interior context. In addition, J. Spencer Trimingham theorises the nature of Islam's interaction with Bantu religious beliefs: he argues that the chieftaincy systems rested upon supernatural authority, the "doctrinal and confessional simplicity", the tolerance of local beliefs, the absence of elaborate ritual and the element of mystery in worship are all contrary to the orthodox doctrine of Islam.

It is worth mentioning that interior populations in the nineteenth century have mostly been considered as 'nominal' Muslims rather than 'fully-fledged' ones, although there was a real process of integration to Islam. This is due to the fact that coastal culture was still dominant, and this adapting process caused a bit of eruption on the coast (Swahili and Omani still defined the interior population as Washenzi). Their conversion to Islam was seen as heterodox or blasphemous. Thus, the new converts contested their designation as 'nominal' Muslims. For the East African interior, the adoption of new material,

cultural and religious practices represented an integration to the coastal religion and, by extension, the coastal society. However, there were no mosque in the interior of Africa and a further distance to Mecca (where pilgrims usually go for the Hajj). With this absence of opportunities, the main inspiration of Islam for interior populations remained the coast, which can be one of the reasons why a new faith developed in interior East Africa and underlines the diversity of Islamic forms in the Indian Ocean World. According to Harvie Conn, we should remind, however, that conversion is a long process of social and cultural evolution. In other terms, the influence of Islam spread by the coastal merchants had an effect on the local culture and vice-versa: the local (interior) culture had an effect on traditional Islamic patterns.

To sum up, Islam in nineteenth-century East African history played a major role, whether it is to define the "coastal" identity – the Swahili identity – as a legitimization to assert their culture over the interior population, or to promote a cultural and religious exchange in the hinterland by deeply transforming the social beliefs, relationships and practices. This phenomenon asserts the fact that the interpretation of Islam in nineteenth-century Eastern Africa is a result of a constant dialogue between the coast and the interior. Furthermore, it is part of a larger dynamic in the whole Islamic world

where each region has its own practice of Islam incorporated in its local culture, stretching from the Middle East across the Indian ocean to Indonesia

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A Discourse on the Developmental Path of Rwanda

*By **Govindi Dyal***

The overarching issue this essay will be analyzing is surrounding the topic of politics of identity. Generally speaking, the term politics of identity was coined as a result of the colonial imposition of identity on the local community. This led the local community to question their background and existence. Politics of identity is the result of a settler-native binary which was initiated by colonial powers and forced onto the local community, causing an identity crisis. As scholar Mahmood Mamdani detailed in his academic article entitled "Indirect Rule, Civil Society, and Ethnicity: The African Dilemma", a creation and imagination of the so-called "native" is then formed as a direct result of the settler-native binary. This paper will look at the specific example of Rwanda by analyzing the historical, cultural and social background that, inevitably, led to the Rwandan Civil War and, more specifically, the Rwandan Genocide in 1994. This paper will demonstrate the crucial role post-colonial nationalism, media, and fictions of ethnicity played in the development of Rwanda as a country, and how these factors led to the horrific genocide of the Tutsi population. In order to fully comprehend these micro factors, a detailed account of the pre-colonial context of Rwanda will be provided,

followed by an outline of the Belgian colonial era in Rwanda, demonstrating the disruption this caused to the course of Rwandan development. Ultimately, this paper will display how the colonial disruption was the leading factor to the modern-day fragmented political, social and cultural state of Rwanda.

One of the smallest countries situated on mainland Africa, Rwanda is packed with a rich history that has shaped the course of its growth and development. This complex history can be framed in terms of the concept politics of identity. The term politics of identity was coined as a result of the colonial imposition of identity on a local community. As a result, this led the local community to question their background and existence. This paper will look at the factors that have been used to politicize identity by, either the colonial power or the government in place. These include, but are not limited to, post-colonial nationalism, media, and fictions of ethnicity. This paper will look at how these concepts shaped the cultural and developmental growth of Rwanda, which culminated in the Rwandan Civil War and the Rwandan Genocide in 1994. This paper will take the reader through Rwanda's history dating back to pre-colonial times all the way to the twentieth century, in an attempt to demonstrate the impact politicizing one's identity has on the state of a nation. Ultimately, this paper will display how

colonial disruption was a contributing factor to the internal strife that led to the Rwandan Civil War, Rwandan Genocide, and in turn, a fragmented political and cultural nation, making this a case of developmental concern.

Post-Colonial Nationalist State of Rwanda

This paper begins by analyzing the relationship between post-colonial nationalism and politics of identity. Post-colonial nationalism was discussed in detail by scholar Mahmood Mamdani in his article "Indirect Rule, Civil Society, and Ethnicity: The African Dilemma". Mamdani outlined two forms of governance that were present during colonial times: direct rule and indirect rule (Mamdani 1996, 145). He stated that direct rule was achieved by forming a centralized foreign authoritative presence in the colonized lands, which were headed by colonial officials in order to establish a single, legal order (Mamdani 1996, 145). This was accomplished by means of domination and reintegration of the "native" according to colonial, or "modern", law (Mamdani 1996, 146).

While direct rule did exist in colonial nations, it was indirect rule that Mamdani claimed was most commonly experienced in colonial nations. This a type of governance was conducted through mediated rule. Therefore, the vast majority of those living in colonized lands were controlled by their own

people (Mamdani 1996, 146). With the blessing of the colonial power, pre-established local elites and native institutions were integrated into society, thus solidifying their position as leaders. As a result of the colonial power maintaining their control over local leaders, a Janus-type affair was created (Takamura, Sept. 18). The settler-native binary created two sets of laws: one surrounding equal right for the settler, and another that allows for ease of control over the "native" (Takamura, Sept. 18). Consequently, this led to legal dualism, which ensured the settler's position over the "native's" (Takamura, Sept. 18). This was accomplished by the native institutions ruling the country under customary laws. This binary resulted in the construction of the "native" because of the two rules of law that were developed under indirect rule. The idea of the "native" was used to establish cultural supremacy of the settlers over the natives.

The outcomes of the settler-native binary and legal dualism were drastic because it characterized the post-colonial period in terms of the re-imagination of the "native" (Takamura, Sept. 18). Tensions began intensifying as the question of who is "native" became a common discussion because every group wanted to be recognized as the "real native", as it was associated with the moral superiority (Takamura, Sept. 18th). As a result of these combination of

factors, it can be concluded that the overall outcomes of post-colonial nationalism were exclusionism, violence, and conflict (Takamura, Sept. 18).

This concept can be applied to Rwanda. Traditionally, Hutus were farmers while Tutsis were those who tended to livestock (Beauchamp 2014). Due to the fact that livestock was worth more, the Tutsis became the local elites and established a monarchy to solidify their position of power prior to colonial times (Beauchamp 2014). However, it was not until the Belgian occupation that commenced in 1916 (BBC 2018) did these class divisions soon turn into ethnic divisions that were contested and manipulated for political gain. The Belgians openly favoured the Tutsis which can be seen with colonial authorities choosing Tutsis alone to obtain training to become future administrators in order to gain better jobs (Jefremovas 1997, 97). It was admitted by the Belgian administration that they selected candidates that they believed would be best suited to carry out the agenda of Belgium (Jefremovas 1997, 97). This was accomplished under legal dualism because native institutions were governing the entire nation under customary laws (Takamura, Sept. 18). With the support of the colonial power behind them, the Tutsi monarchy solidified their status as the local elites and excluded the Hutus as a result (BBC 2018). It can be concluded that the Tutsis

had the moral high ground as they had already established a monarchy and were then supported by the Europeans over the Hutus. Tensions began brewing amongst the Hutu community as the want to be acknowledged as the "real native" intensified (Takamura, Sept. 18).

In response to the exclusion that the Hutus were experiencing, they established a rival political party called Parmehutu in opposition to the Tutsi monarchy (Commonwealth). The goal for Parmehutu was to unite all Hutus by reinforcing the fear of exclusion and suppression felt under colonialism (Commonwealth). Led by Gregoire Kayibanda, Parmehutu was responsible for provoking the Hutu Revolution which occurred in 1959 until 1960 (Commonwealth). During this time, Parmehutu was accountable for the deaths of approximately 20,000 Tutsis and were the reason why many Tutsis fled to neighbouring countries, like Burundi and Uganda (BBC 2011). Eventually, Kayibanda took office on the cusp of Rwanda's independence (Commonwealth). Systematic violence and strife targeted towards Tutsis were a daily occurrence under this regime (Commonwealth). It was only until Kayibanda was overthrown in 1973 by Juvenal Habyarimana that systematic violence briefly seized (Commonwealth).

Meanwhile, Tutsi refugees in Uganda had formed an organization, first called the Rwandese

Alliance for National Unity, now known as the Rwandese Patriotic Front and commonly abbreviated to RPF (Commonwealth). The sole mission of the RPF was to mobilize exiled Tutsis to combat against the divisive policies targeted towards them during post-independent Rwanda, demonstrating the want to regain their status as the superior group and the "real native" (Takamura, Sept. 18).

The politicization of identity is evident in the nationalist state of post-colonial Rwanda. This is demonstrated through the example of the Belgian implementation of the Tutsis into positions of power and providing the Tutsi communities with the opportunity to receive a well-rounded education. Formally institutionalizing the Tutsis as the local elites was a way to demonstrate who were worthy enough to follow in the footsteps of the European powers. This social hierarchy stemmed from the system of legal dualism and settler-native binary and therefore, indirect rule. Placing Europeans at the top of the hierarchy, the Tutsis were directly below, excluding the Hutu community based on the simple fact that the Belgians had a preference for the Tutsis. The construction of the "native" was then used as a political tool to assert the dominance of one ethnic group over another. Thus, dividing a nation based off of the identity of who's the "real native" became an engrained problem for the state of Rwanda and shaped the course of its

development, as this was the start of governing the nation through means of discrimination, exclusion, and eventually violence. All of which are the results of a post-colonial nationalist state.

The Rwandan Media

Another key tool closely tied to politics of identity is the use of media. Media is important for regime change, either to destabilize an authoritarian regime or to strengthen it. Media is manipulated in authoritarian regimes to convince the public that their government is a trustworthy representative of its citizens. Believing that the media is trustworthy leads to an increased consumption of altered and targeted news, giving the regime a clear path to persuade the public. This power allows the regime to perpetuate ideas that have been institutionalized throughout the history of the nation in order to shape the public opinion into believing a limited and specific idea (Takamura, Sept. 20). Daniela Stockmann described these ideas in her article "Media Commercialization and Authoritarian Rule in China". Stockmann stated that there was a lack of attention placed on the role and influence of media until the 1960s when political scientists began to analyze the effects media had on destabilizing authoritarian regimes and the potential role media could play to strengthen these same regimes (Stockmann 1997, 2). She continued to support the claim of the media's

growing influence in a nation's political landscape by discus-sing studies that have been conducted to show that there are a variety of ways the media can be manipulated to restrict the press, freedom, and access to information (Stockmann 1997, 3).

The media played a crucial role in the tensions between the Hutus and the Tutsis, specifically during the Rwandan Civil War that took place in 1990 and terminated with the start of the genocide. President Habyarimana, the Hutu leader at the time of the civil war, led propaganda campaigns across the nation to exaggerate and emphasize the ethnic divide and tensions between the Tutsis and Hutus (Lower and Hauschildt 2014, 2). The underlying goal of these propaganda campaigns was to instill one important feeling into the Hutu community, the sense of fear. Thus, the aim of the media outlets is to remind them of the suppression and exclusion that they were victim of during those years of the Belgian occupation to create a sense of panic and uneasiness amongst the Hutu community. The messages that were produced were circulated around the nation to mislead the public into succumbing to this feeling of fear. To make it believable, the government orchestrated a staged, public attack on the capital city of Kigali in October of 1990 that they claimed was conducted by Tutsis, when in fact it was not (Lower and Hauschildt

2014, 2). This was the attack sparked the Rwandan Civil War (BBC 2018).

Rwandan news outlets such as the Kangura, Radio Rwanda, Radio Mille Collines were the key tools used by President Habyarimana to propagate the idea that the invading RPF had the intention to eradicate the entirety of the Hutu ethnicity (Lower and Hauschildt 2014, 2). These media platforms used their power, with the support of the government and the fact that there were no alternate news sources to spread this message (Lower and Hauschildt 2014, 3). An example of this can be seen from the newspaper Kangura, as they published an article entitled the "Hutu Ten Commandments", one of the most widely circulated propaganda documents based on anti-Tutsi rhetoric (Lower and Hauschildt 2014, 3). This document can be paralleled to the Nazi's portrayal of European Jews during the Second World War (Lower and Hauschildt 2014, 3). It was documents like the Ten Commandments that brain-washed the Hutus into believing the Tutsis were the enemy. It was the power of the media that helped to produce this mentality that led Rwanda to the horrific genocide of 1994.

An easy way to perpetuate colonial ideas is by manipulating the media. As a result of there being a lack of a variety of news outlets and a government who controlled the news and had a specific message that

they wanted to circulate creates a perfect environment to propagate colonial ideas that concern the politicization of one's identity. The media is an excellent platform to perpetuate ideas about a community in order to benefit the one's own agenda. Doing this is a form of discrimination used to treat people of a distinct identity differently. Again, this demonstrates that those in power are using identity as a political tool. This is evident during the Habyarimana regime, as he staged fake attacks in order to solidify the idea that this group of people are a harm to the majority of the society, simply based on their identity. Discrimination against an individual or a group is easily perpetuated in a society such as Rwanda because there are no alternative news outlets. Thus, the politicization of identity is an easy tool that can be manipulated because of the colonial past and the discrimination that occurred and was targeted to the Hutu peoples. This inherently weaves inequality into the foundation of the nation's ideology, resulting in an unsafe environment for many to be themselves. As a result, the use of media has the ability to shape the future of the country and if news outlets solely report false reports, the media has the ability to be detrimental to the develop-ment of the nation as a united and safe place for all.

The Reality of Ethnicity in Rwanda

Fictions of ethnicity is a concept used to institutionalize ethnicity (Takamura, Sept. 20). This was accomplished through the practice of three key tools: state apparatus, history, and media, which created what is called, politics of exclusion, an idea that is closely related to fictions of ethnicity (Takamura, Sept. 20). Politics of exclusion is a discourse that is constructed around the binary of "us" – the good – and "them" – the bad (Takamura, Nov. 15th). In other words, it is the development and construction of the fear and undesirability of the other (Takamura, Nov. 15). By creating this binary, systematic violence along with other physical forms of power ensue. Scholar Villia Jefremovas comprehensively detailed the use of ethnicity and politics of exclusion in her article "Contested Identities: Power and the Fictions of Ethnicity, Ethnography and History in Rwanda". She claimed that ethnicity served as a political ideology to normalize the ideas of politics of exclusion which have helped powerful actors control their nation (Jefremovas 1997, 96). This sentiment was echoed by Mahmood Mamdani, who stated that ethnicity is not real because it has been socially constructed by the colonial power as an attempt to control the "native" while simultaneously conquering and dividing the land (Mamdani 1996, 147). Ultimately, the goal of crystallizing ethnicity into the government was to dominate, subjugate, and eliminate a specific

group of people (Takamura, Sept. 20).

Arguably, ethnicity is one of the most significant concepts used throughout the development of many colonized countries, and the same can be said for Rwanda. Since ethnic divisions are engrained in the history of Rwanda, a trend among all, if not most, of their political leaders have used ethnicity as a weapon to rally a group of people to manipulate and convince them that the other group is inferior to them. However, this did present a problem for the leaders, as the ethnic differences between the Hutus and the Tutsis were not dramatically different. Both of these groups of people share the same language, culture, religion and history. Nevertheless, there is evidence that proves that the Belgians thought the Tutsis were "natural rulers". As a result, they hand selected Tutsis to work in the government to further the agenda of the colonizer while simultaneously removing hundreds of Hutus from their governmental positions, showing a preference for Tutsis (Jefremovas 1997, 96). The only reason for this, and all other preferential treat-ments that the Tutsis received over the Hutus, were based on the fact that the Belgians believed that the Tutsis were "natural rulers" (Jefremovas 1997, 96). This institutionalized the notion that those from a Tutsi ethnic background were entitled to superior treatment, education, and jobs. It was not until the Belgian occupation was the

concept of ethnicity, a racial ideology, imposed on the communities (Jefremovas 1997, 103).

Following the precedent set by the Belgians to use ethnicity as a political tool, Hutu political leaders began using the "Hamitic Hypothesis" as the basis for advancing their personal goals. The "Hamitic Hypothesis" was present in both colonial and post-colonial times. This belief was formulated around the idea that the Tutsis originated from Ethiopia and had invaded Rwanda, thus, not making them Rwandan. However, in actuality, Tutsi genealogy is rooted in eastern Rwanda (Jefremovas 1997, 93). This demonstrates the perpetual cycle of using ethnicity as grounds for political advancement. Inevitably, this form of racial ideology simply continues to divide the nation according to this socially constructed concept. This proves problematic for the development of the nation, as the country cannot advance. Rather, it strengthens divides that are detrimental to the progression of the country in terms of unity, peace, and development.

Ethnicity was used as a tool throughout the course of Rwandan history. Institutionalizing the Tutsis as the local elites created an unhealthy environment from the start and produced a precedent that made it seem as though it was acceptable to use one's ethnicity to determine the kind of job, education and way of life one can have. Invariably,

ethnicity was manipulated to the extent that it created a fragmented society that would become the foundation for later problems. Politicizing one's ethnic background creates a toxic environment where people begin to question their own background, who they are, and their worth based off of identity, which leads to discontent with their way of life. Mobilizing a group of people by using one's ethnicity is a form of politics of identity because the perpetrator is using identity as a way to determine who is worthy enough to be a part of society. One's ethnicity may never have been something that was of importance to the growth and development of a society, however after colonial times, and in the case of Rwanda and its occupation under Belgium, one's ethnicity became an important role because it was the one thing that they could not change. Thus, it created doubt, a question of self-worth that became the main tool for political gain. As Mamdani stated, the social construction of ethnicity may be a fiction, however its impact on society, politics, and culture is reality and affects the development of the nation. Therefore, leading an entire community to question their identity.

Conclusion

Some may say that the course of Rwandan development was doomed from the inception. The Tutsis had already established a kingdom in pre-colonial

times, thus displaying their dominance over the Hutus. It could also be said that had it not been for the Belgians, the Hutus might never had realized their worth as a community that had the right to fight for a leadership role. Nevertheless, as the evidence shown above proves, one's identity was never looked upon as a weapon to use against another individual. It was the institutionalization of ethnicity and social divides that led to a state that ended up basing their entire governmental platform around this socially constructed idea. Had it not been for the manipulation of social divides, the controlling of media or the institutionalization of ethnicity, the history of Rwanda may not have been plagued with bloodshed and massacre. Rather, if the country was given a fair chance to develop on its own, it could be in a state of peace and unity today.

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A Hair Story

*By **Dajou Cottrell***

Thesis: Throughout history Black cultures have used hair in ways that transcends the binary function of aiding appearance and protecting the skull. Through the various contexts outlined in this paper, Black hair becomes a symbol of empowerment, identity, spirituality and a tool of communication[1]. In order to grasp Black culture, it is important to understand the subtleties of Black hair in its many roles.

In over the course of 2018 - 2019, Dajou Cottrell analyzed artifacts from North America, and Africa (West, South and Central) in the Redpath Museum, and the American Museum of Natural History. Primary data collected for this paper was conducted through first-person ethnographic interviews with members of the African Diaspora in Montreal and Toronto.

Hair as Identity

The attitude towards hair in the community of the Ashanti people of Ghana, and the natural hair movement, shows how hair can become an expression of how people see themselves. The various examples outlined below shows how black hair transcendences itself to become an expression and depiction of one's identity.

[1] Only *two of these topics are presented in this journal.*

The Natural Hair Movement is a social movement that, "encourages people to move away from societal norms, to accept and love themselves as they are" (hairunruled, 2018). In this movement, hair becomes identity, as people are encouraged to remove chemical alteration from their hair and begin to accept their hair as it naturally grows and to accept themselves. Black women who wear natural hairstyles (Black hairstyles without chemical alteration), have experienced judgement based on the way their hair looks (hairunruled, 2018). This movement is a source of empowerment for anyone who has been judged for the way their hair looks or who has felt that they cannot wear natural hairstyles due to negative perceptions of their hair in the past. The Natural Hair movement runs through social media, or through social gatherings like 'Curlfest' which encourages black people to proudly claim their natural hair. Participants of the movement will form Facebook groups posting tutorials on various ways to style natural black hair. Various stars like Lupita Ngong'o and Issa Rae are open supporters of this movement. The Natural Hair movement conveys the message that natural hair is an essential part of a Black person's identity, while also stating that love and acceptance of your natural hair, is a form of self-love. The movement expresses hair as identity

since it shows that the way we depict our hair expresses how we see ourselves.

In the Ashanti tribe in regions of Ghana, Togo, and Cote d'Ivoire, when a person dies, their family keeps part of the deceased's hair as a memento. This hair symbolically maintains the presence of the lost loved one. Upon someone's death, the spouse and close family members shave their heads and place their hair in a pot along with the hair of the deceased. This pot is to be protected and kept in a secretive safe place, as the hair could be exposed to witchcraft if left in the wrong hands (Seiber, 2000 p. 153). Hair or pieces of hair in the pot symbolize a physical and spiritual extension of the family and the deceased (Seiber, 2000 p. 154). The tradition of keeping a loved one's hair in a pot to mark their presence is a form of hair as an extension of a person.

'Hair as Identity' describes how hair can be representative of how one sees themselves. Through various stylings of hair, it can also portray what a person wants to express to the world. In examining the Natural Hair movement, it shows how hair can be a symbol of reclaiming identity, and what that means for Black culture. The Ashanti traditions of safeguarding hair of lost loved ones, shows how a person's hair can represent them, and become an extension of

who they once were. To summarize, this section shows how hair has the versatility to function in different capacities depending on the context.

Hair as empowerment

This section will evaluate how the acceptance and education contributes to Black people regaining power in the sense of self-empowerment. The perceptions of African hair have a history of instigating negative bias against Black people in the US and Canada. This section seeks to illustrate the way that public perceptions of hair have restricted black people from obtaining certain positions or being allowed in certain spaces. It will also explain how reclaiming natural hair is being used as a way for black people to become self-empowered in their identity and themselves. In examining western society and its connection to natural hair, this section examines how hair has defined African Americans' place in society.

There have been cases, in North America, where the way a black person chose to wear their hair has defined where they could be employed or how they were treated. The New York Times article 'New York City to Ban Discrimination Based on Hair', states, "It isn't difficult to find black women or men who can speak about how their hair has affected their lives in both subtle and substantial ways, ranging from veiled

comments from co-workers to ultimatums from bosses to look 'more professional' or find another job" (NYTimes, 2019). Cases have emerged like that of Avery, who is 39 and wears braids to work. Avery's supervisor has told Avery repeatedly that she should "do her hair," when her hair was already in a combed natural hairstyle (NY-Times, 2019). Avery's supervisor has also made comments, such as "straight is better," implying that Avery should have a perm in order to 'look appropriate for the office (NYTimes, 2019). Consider also a case such as my interviewee A.C., who has lived in Canada her whole life and experienced the segregation of roles based on her hairstyle.

A.C. remarked, *"I went to an interview with my Afro in the late 80's, only to be told during the interview that the interviewer's only comment was that they were unsure if my look matched the office environment. Despite having all the qualifications, I did not receive the job."*

These statements made towards Avery and A.C stem from a place of racism. A racist view that natural hair is woolly, unruly or unclean and therefore should not be worn in a place of work. The comment made towards Avery that "straight is better" only reinforces the idea that people with straight hair are more professionally

groomed that those with natural hair. To further understand this issue, it is important to examine the history of African Americans' hair in the context of North American history. During slavery, the hair of a field slave was looked down upon as being woolly or unkempt. In the 19th century wigs were considered the societal standard for posh and elegance. House slaves were given wigs from their master since it was the appropriate house uniform. After the emancipation of slavery, many African Americans sought to straighten their hair to fit into the American workplace. Time's magazine article 'The hatred of Black hair goes beyond ignorance' says, Madame C.J. Walker, the first Black female millionaire, made her fortune selling products meant to straighten black hair as a way to help black people get ahead in society by fitting in aesthetically (Time, 2017).

The perspective of Black slaves as having unruly or dirty hair is a viewpoint that has been maintained many years after slavery. Even in modern times, the reaction African American/Canadians receive when they wear their natural hair (or any type of protective braiding hairstyle) is a reaction of judgment, discrimination, and in some degree disgust. These perspectives of Black hair helped to shape the biases that A.C. and Avery must

consider when they apply for a job. A study held in February 2017 showed that in comparison to white women, Black women feel more anxiety about their hair and are twice as likely to feel pressure to straighten it in their workplace (Time, 2017). The study found that many people "show implicit bias against Black women's textured hair" (Time, 2017). The judgment of natural hair is based on a lack of understanding. By not having the experience of tending to Black hair, it is not possible for people of other cultures to inherently understand the methods needed to tend hair. The same can be said for Blacks attempting to understand white hair. R.B was born in the Caribbean and spent most of his childhood learning about hair from his father, who was a barber. As he grew up and went to college, he mostly helped his friends style their hair, friends who were either of African or Arab descent. It was not until he had entered school to become a professional hairdresser that he took the type to learn how to style white hair.

R.B: *"When I first entered into school to study hair, I had no idea how to work with white hair. I had to learn and take classes, or practice with wigs before I was ready to color a white person's hair,"*

Learning and understanding is important when experiencing and co-existing with different cultures. The main issue

with the bias towards Black Hair is based on a lack of understanding. Therefore, there needs to be an education on how much work goes into the intricacies of styling and maintaining black hair for Black people and people of other ethnicities. Education brings cultural awareness; cultural awareness can help decrease the amount of discrimination that Black people endure about their hair.

Many Black people in North America have associated natural hair and Afros with black empowerment. They have also found themselves undergoing societal pressures because of natural hair movements. The Time article, 'The hatred of Black hair goes beyond ignorance', provides an example: "when I started college, I faced a whole new set of pressures: I joined black student organizations where chemically processed hair was seen as a throwback to the era of white suppression. In order to be a card-carrying progressive, you had to embrace your natural hair" (Time, 2017). In the '60s, Afrocentric movements like the "Black Panther" saw Afros as a symbol of black empowerment.

A.C. commented: *"Growing up in Canada during the 1960s-70s, I admired the Afro, but wearing the hair came with setbacks, because of the political connotations it had to the Black Panther Party movement.*

For jobs or within your friend groups, if you wore an Afro, it was like you were trying to make a statement."

A.C.'s statement delivers the examples of a switch, from feeling the pressure to straighten your hair to fit into society, to feeling pressure to wear natural hair to fit in with your community. So, what is the power that has been taken away? It is the power of choice. With the expectations of the community and of society, Black westerners emerge in the world of the internet fighting for the right to choose their hairstyles without ridicule.

As of February 2019, New York announced a law that states it is illegal to discrimi-nate against a person based on their natural hairstyles. This law helps address the discrimination in school and in the workplace, that has caused black people in the past to be refused jobs, or to be expelled from school. Time's magazine article 'The hatred of Black hair goes beyond ignorance', states "in March 2014, the U.S. Army issued a new policy that banned traditional black hair-styles, including corn-rows, twists, and dreadlocks. The regula-tions even described these styles as 'unkempt' and 'matted'." After months of backlash and a letter from the provides an example: "when I started college, I faced a whole new set of pressures: I joined black student organizations

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R.B. said, "*a lot of people do not know how to style natural hair. They may have never been taught how, and now to make the switch from perm to natural hair seems too difficult."* However, R.B mentions that *"people are beco-*

ming more accepting of their natural hair, since the internet is providing lessons to people about how to braid hair".

R.B comments on how salons in Montreal are putting more effort into educating the public on Black hair.

R.B: *"The Inhairitance Hair salon in Montreal offers their services to teach people about natural hair braiding and styling. Since services like this exist, I believe that people will start to learn more and more about their hair."*

This section displays how hair has transcended its functionnality by becoming a tool for power. Initially negative connotations like "wo-olly" took power away from Black people, in a form of verbal degradation. However, in the 21st century with the New York City law, the internet, and the natural hair movement, hair can transcend its functionality by becoming a tool to regain power as a community, i.e. self-empowerment. Whether a black person's hair is permed, in cornrows, or in an afro; the empowering part of it is that the individual has the right to choose what kind of hair they want to wear. As indicated during slavery and post-slavery time, the way Black people wore their hair (at times) was influenced by what was deemed acceptable in their workplaces. Now Black people are taking the right to choose that for

themselves. Society is moving towards the greater presence of black hair, and more diversity in media [see image below from (comedy central, 2018)]. Below is an interview between Daily Show host Trevor Noah and actress Lupita Nyong'o, discussing the importance of the portrayal of black hair in Black Panther. The interview shows how movies like "Black Panther" work to redefine the perception of Black to be positive and beautiful. "Black Panther" is an example of how media representation of proud black hair can be used as a tool to help a community regain empowerment within themselves. Simply because it shows the children of tomorrow the way to accept their hair, and by implication-accept themselves.

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selves. Simply because it shows the children of tomorrow the way to accept their hair, and by implication-accept themselves.

Conclusion

The purpose of this essay was to highlight how African hair can transform its functionality depending on context. In 'hair as identity', hair was shown to be a form of self-expression. Within the Asante tribe, hair became the spiritual relation between a person's presence and being. The natural hair movement displayed how hair can express an identity, in correlation to a culture and to express accepting one's heritage. In 'hair as spiritu-ality', it is evident how hair can become a symbolic connection to religion, as well as a transfer into a new spiritual beginning. Overall the study of hair demonstrates how hair can be used as an avenue to gain an understanding of the dynamics and relations of Africans as well as African diaspora communities around the globe. Viewing the transcendence of hair from an anthropological perspective, displays how hair can be an expression of one's connection with your culture. A good visual is provided by Lupita Nyong'o in her interview with Allure, regarding her hair. "Now I love my hair. I love it because I've also been able to really embrace the stuff it can do. It's like

clay in the right hands. Clay can be dirt in the wrong hands, but clay can be art in the right hands." – Lupita Nyong'o. (Michelle, Lee & Condé, 2018)

Black hair is like clay, and much like clay, the shape and purpose of the hair is determined by the artist. The appearance of hair can transcend function and deliver meaning for both the context it is viewed in as well as the expression of cultural pride. Part of culture is built around the understanding and sharing of a common language. As displayed in this paper hair is something that can be understood and used to communicate messages. This paper argues that understanding the versatility of hair is important for understanding Black identity. Through the study of African hair, anthropologists can under-stand the historical communicative dynamics that exist within African cultures as well as understand the power Black hair holds in characterizing African culture in the present.

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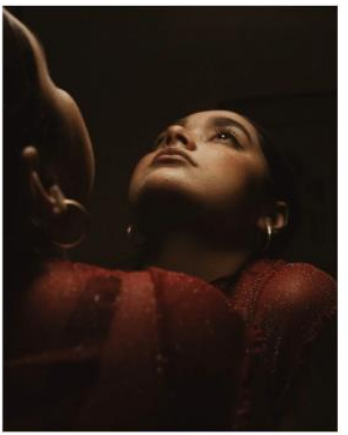
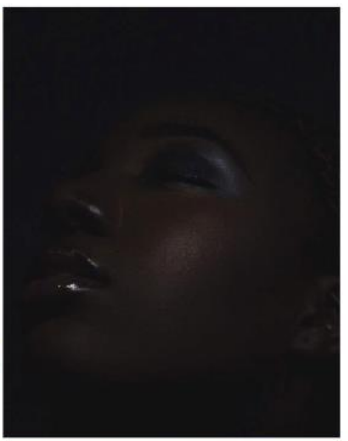
Photographs

*By **Deedslovesyou***



Cover Art ***by Fatima Aboubakar***

About the Cover Art

The cover art of this journal was illustrated by a Montreal-based artist named Fatima Aboubakar. She is a respiratory and anesthesia therapist with family origins from Chad, Africa.

Designed on the cover's background is a Moroccan-styled textile motif, an African Berber heritage that has since been influenced by Islamic and Arab cultures through time. The beige and grainy background color as well as the green and yellow motifs represent the colors of the African savannah.

The black, African, woman in the forefront is wearing a traditional sub-Saharan garment, with many African flags printed on the fabric. She represents the "Motherland". She wears golden jewelry, representing the wealth of Africa, in terms of resources. The jewelry also represents the beauty, intricacy, diversity and value of African people, cultures and traditions.

The cowrie shells on the necklace illustrates the continual presence of African history and traditions in modern Africa. Cowrie shells were once used in trade as a form of currency. They currently have spiritual, symbolic and divine significance in many African cultures.

Finally, the golden circuit design drawn on her face represents the era of technology – i.e. the "modern" theme of this journal. The woman is looking forward, metaphorically showcasing the continent's on-going strive for everlasting growth.

كل فكر يرى الحقيقة من جانب
ويكشف منها عن جزء
- طه حسين

"Every thought sees the truth
from one side and reveals part of it"

- Taha Hussein