



The Consortium for Development Partnerships

Final Narrative Report for the Period 1st September 2006 – 31st December 2007

Submitted to the Africa Department
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands
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The Netherlands

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By

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CDP Final Narrative Report on the First Phase of Implementation (covering the period 1st September 2006 – 31st December 2007) Submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands

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I.0 Introduction

The Consortium for Development Partnerships (CDP) was established in 2004 as an international consortium involving many institutions in Africa, Europe and North America devoted to conducting collaborative research, capacity-building, and policy dialogue activities in West Africa. The process that led to the launching of the Consortium began earlier, but a key moment in that process was a meeting in Eerbeek in The Netherlands in July 2004. After two years of discussions and project planning workshops, proposal writing and revision, and negotiations, the first phase of actual research, capacity building, policy dialogue and dissemination activities was launched in September 2006, thanks to a generous grant from the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This report is the final narrative report of the first phase of CDP research, capacity development and policy dialogue activities, which officially ran from 1st September 2006 to 31st December 2007. Report writing, and finalisation of occasional papers and a book prepared on the basis of the findings of the research however went on during the first five months of 2008. Those activities are also covered by this report.

Background and Objectives

The challenges facing Africa in general and West Africa in particular have occupied researchers, governments, civil society and development cooperation agencies for a long time. Although there has been significant progress made since the wave of decolonisation that swept the continent in the early 1960s, most countries are still faced with the formidable challenges of poverty, conflict, insecurity, and mal-governance. West Africa in particular is a region where the challenges of economic and social development and governance have been extremely formidable. It is also the region where many positive developments have taken place. The main idea behind the creation of CDP was therefore to create synergies among institutions seeking to address the challenges facing the region through research, capacity building or enhancement (as the case may be), and policy dialogue. CDP is therefore a response to the slow pace of economic development, democratization and conflict resolution in many African countries. By pooling the resources of diverse institutions with common interests, CDP undertakes to research and make available to several African countries, and to the main regional organisation, ECOWAS, new insights into the challenges facing the region, as well as a wide range of the skills and expertise needed to achieve positive change. CDP member institutions include fourteen research centres and universities, over half of which are African institutions. The consortium thus enables individual African researchers, research institutions, institutions of civil society and regional organizations such as ECOWAS to benefit from research and intra-regional networking and international interaction opportunities hence created, while remaining principally engaged in their home countries.

Five objectives thus underpin the program. These are:

- To develop and execute policy-relevant research projects that address the most pressing developmental needs as identified by African partner institutions.
- Disseminate research findings in accessible ways to the entities that can benefit the most from them, these being outreach to international and domestic policymakers, along with private sector, community and civil society actors.
- Strengthen institutions in the region. Towards this end, CDP members work with public and private institutions to achieve the improvements needed to elevate their performance.
- Provide opportunities for African scholars and professionals to collaborate with other scholars in the region as well as with international colleagues, and expand their skills and knowledge while remaining principally engaged in their home countries. CDP seeks to contribute to strengthening the human resources available to promote development in several West African Countries, individually, while creating avenues for mutual inter-institutional learning and for the strengthening of key regional institutions of the region, such as ECOWAS.
- Establish CDP as a strong and stable international consortium able to work effectively on results-oriented projects in West Africa.

Projects of the Consortium and Coordination

At a meeting held in Eerbeek, in The Netherlands in July 2004, it was agreed that the activities of the Consortium will be organised around eight projects:

- 1) "Access to Justice and the Rule of Law"
- 2) "Decentralization and Local Governance in Mali"
- 3) "ECOWAS Capacity to Prevent Conflict"
- 4) "Entrepreneurship in Agribusiness"
- 5) "Financing Democracy in Africa"
- 6) "Local Dynamics of Conflict and Peace Building"
- 7) "Modeling Success"
- 8) "Voice and Media in Democracy"
- 9) HIV/AIDS at the Work place.

CODESRIA and the Program old African Studies (PAS) of Northwestern University in the USA were designated as joint coordinators of CDP. The project on HIV/AIDS at the work place was subsequently dropped because both CODESRIA and PAS/Northwestern University are already running successful HIV/AIDS research and policy dialogue programmes. After some discussion between CODESRIA, PAS/Northwestern University and The Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was agreed that while working very closely together, PAS/Northwestern University and CODESRIA will each have direct responsibility for the coordination of four of the projects.

CODESRIA therefore coordinated the following four (4) CDP projects during the first phase:

- "Decentralization and Local Governance in Mali"
- "Voice and Media in Democracy"
- "Local Dynamics of Conflict and Peace Building"
- "ECOWAS Capacity to Prevent Conflict"

The other four projects of the Consortium were coordinated by PAS/Northwestern University.

The four projects coordinated by CODESRIA are all broadly addressing West Africa's governance challenges from different angles: conflict dynamics and conflict prevention activities at the local and regional levels, decentralisation and local governance, and media and voice in democracy. The projects are each led by one or two institutions, with activities in different countries and on different sub-themes. The choice made by CODESRIA, in agreement with the project leaders, was to begin each project with a methodology workshop. Review workshops were also organised for each project, as well as dissemination and policy dialogue conferences.

The first CDP proposal submitted to the Netherlands Foreign Ministry for the four projects was for three years. The work plans and budgets of the various projects were designed accordingly. In December 2006, the Coordinators of the Consortium for Development Partnerships (CDP), the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, CODESRIA, and the Program of African Studies of Northwestern University (PAS), received the first instalment of a grant of 990 000 Euros from the Africa Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands for to begin research, capacity building, publications and policy dialogue activities of this newly formed Consortium (CDP).

The grant was meant to cover an initial period of one year of CDP activity (1st September 2006 to 31st August 2007). It was equally shared between PAS and CODESRIA, and CODESRIA, each one of whom has signed an agreement with the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and has the responsibility to manage half of the grant (495 000 Euro), disbursed in three instalments.

In anticipation of the reduced grant and time frame, the projects had undertaken revisions of the work plans and budgets. The proposal submitted to the Foreign Ministry on behalf of the four projects under its coordination reflected these changes.

For the four CDP projects that CODESRIA was coordinating, the first instalment of 293 206 Euro was received on the 2nd of December 2006. The second instalment of 158 672 Euro was received in July 2007.

Activities began a few months later than was planned, in part because the funds were received only in December. In recognition of this, and to allow the projects to complete the activities planned for the first phase of implementation of CDP, the Ministry kindly agreed to extend the contracts signed with PAS and CODESRIA to 31st December 2007.

This report discusses the activities carried out during the period of implementation that began in September 2006, the research and capacity building strategies put in place, and the policy dialogue conferences held, and it presents the outputs from the first phase of activity and the dissemination strategies. It also discusses the governance of CDP and CODESRIA's engagement with the project teams and monitoring of, and support to the various activities.

2. Preparatory Activities: Planning, Reviewing Proposals, Contracting and Disbursement of funds

The gestation period of CDP was long. The philosophical foundations, rationale, organisational structure and activities were all agreed upon at the Eerbeek meeting of July 2004. Thereafter, the projects went into a long period during which proposals were written (first for planning workshops, and then for research, capacity building and policy dialogue activities), planning meetings were held, and proposals written and submitted to the joint coordinators of CDP. The proposals reviewed and comments sent to the authors with suggestions as to how they could further strengthen their proposals. Contracts were signed with the project leaders once the proposals were found to be strong enough.

In the mean time negotiations were being held with the Foreign Ministry in view of securing funding for the Consortium, and agreeing on the contractual arrangements. This went on until the beginning of December 2006 (i.e. almost two years and a half after the Eerbeek meeting), when the first instalment of the grant was received.

Upon confirmation of the grant from the Foreign Ministry of the Netherlands, following a meeting held in The Hague in September 2006, CODESRIA re-opened discussions with the coordinators of the four projects that the Council is coordinating, and provided guidelines to each one of them for developing activity plans and budgets that would fit within the new time and funding frames. The discussion on proposals and activity plans was also one major aspect of the methodology workshops that were held.

Upon receipt of Euro 293 206 on the 2nd of December 2007, CODESRIA drew up sub-grant agreements (contracts) that were subsequently signed with the project coordinators. These contracts specified the amounts that each team will receive, activities to be carried out, the timelines and the reporting procedures. The amounts allocated covered several designated activities, and specific steps to be followed, each corresponding to a specific stage in the research-capacity development-dissemination-policy dialogue process. The shared, ultimate aim and, indeed, commitment, is that of undertaking high quality research and related activities, and producing some results within the period covered by the contribution agreement, while paying attention to issues of accountability.

By the end of January 2007, all the four CODESRIA coordinated projects had received and signed detailed contracts with CODESRIA that clearly outline the terms and conditions of mutual engagement between CODESRIA and the project teams within the framework of the Consortium. Appended to each contract was a detailed outline of the budget. Copies of these contracts are available at CODESRIA.

Project coordinating institutions in turn were required to sign sub-agreements the other institutions hosting research teams before any transfer of funds was made. CODESRIA has copies of the sub-agreements that the project coordinators have signed with their research teams. This was the case with the Voice, Media and Democracy and Local Conflict projects. The same rule was applied to the individual researchers who were members of the team of the project on ECOWAS Capacity to Prevent Conflict: they too have had to be contracted by the project coordinator, the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD-Nigeria, now called CDD West Africa), based in Abuja.

Funds were then disbursed to all four projects, in several instalments, in accordance with the terms of the contracts that CODESRIA signed with them. The first instalments that were paid to the projects covered the costs of holding the methodology workshops (for the Project on ECOWAS capacity to Prevent Conflict, it was a planning and methodology workshop), and enabled the projects to begin their research and capacity development activities.

3.0 Review of the Activities of the Four Projects Coordinated by CODESRIA

3.1 Overview of Activities

Attached to this report are the narrative reports of each one of the four projects.

As has been mentioned, each one of the projects was approved on the basis merit, i.e. the quality of the proposal they submitted to the Joint Coordinators of CDP, CODESRIA and PAS/Northwestern University (PAS/NU). Each of the proposals has had to go through several reviews.

3.1.1 Methodology Workshops

As has been mentioned, each project began its activities with a methodology workshop, which was, in truth, both an orientation and a capacity building workshop, for part of what was done during the workshops was to help members of the project teams clarify theoretical and methodological issues, and determine appropriate data collection and analysis techniques.

Then followed a field data collection phase and a review of available documentation of relevance. Given the rather exploratory nature of the first implementation phase of CDP, the fieldwork carried out by the projects couldn't be as extensive as the researchers would have wished to make it. However, enough data was gathered to enable the teams of researchers of each project to write good research reports.

3.1.2. Review Workshops

The draft research reports were all tabled for discussion in review workshops to which some stakeholders were invited. The review workshops helped in examining the quality of the data collected by ensuring that the data collection and analysis were properly done. Furthermore, by critically reviewing the draft reports, the review workshops helped improve the quality of the outputs of the research, bring out the policy relevance of the work done, harmonise the frameworks and perspectives within each project, and highlight important lessons for policy. CODESRIA identified external resource persons and contracted them to participate in the workshops with a view to helping raise the quality of the outputs to the highest possible levels. The resource persons were experts on the issues that the projects were working on. For purposes of continuity, the same resource persons who were identified for the methodology workshops were invited to participate in the review workshops and help strengthen the research reports. CODESRIA was represented by a member of our Secretariat at the review workshop of the Project on Local Dynamics of Conflict and Peace Building workshops, but for reasons having to do with the timing, were not able to participate in the review workshop of the project on Decentralisation and local Governance, held In

Mali on 15-16 August—because the dates suited the members of the team of this project, we preferred to let the project team go ahead and hold the workshop rather than persuading them to postpone it just to enable us to participate.

The projects took advantage of the extension of the contract with the Netherlands Foreign Ministry to do further work on their reports; they therefore decided to hold their review workshops in October.

In the case of the Project on Local Dynamics of Conflict, two review workshops were organised, one in Bamako, in June 2007, which was a mid-term review workshop and one in Abuja in October 2007. The second review workshop was held on the back of a policy dialogue conference that was jointly organised by Projects 5 and 6 (Local Dynamics of Conflict and ECOWAS Capacity to Prevent Conflict).

The external resource persons identified for the methodology and review workshops also stayed in constant communication with the projects in between workshops as well. This was in addition to the monitoring and support being provided from the CODESRIA Secretariat itself.

3.1.3 Dissemination Seminars and Policy Forums

As a way of further engaging policy makers and other stakeholders, in addition to inviting these actors to methodology and review workshops, the projects also organised policy forums where researchers who do not belong to the project teams, policy makers and activists were invited to hear the teams present the provisional results of their research, and discuss ways of making the findings available and useful for policy purposes and advocacy. The policy forums were held in Abuja, Nigeria, where the Projects on Local Dynamics of Conflict and ECOWAS Capacity to Prevent Conflict held a joint policy forum in October 2007, Ouagadougou (Voice and media in Democracy, 27 December 2007), and Bamako (Local Governance and Decentralisation, 28 December 2007).

3.1.4 Reporting and Outputs

The projects submitted regular progress and activity reports (particularly workshop and Policy Forum reports), and narrative and financial reports to CODESRIA. Some of these reports have been attached to the previous reports that CODESRIA submitted to the Foreign Ministry. They also submitted drafts of the research reports, and later the final revised research papers, as well as papers synthesising the various team reports. The synthesis reports were useful in bringing out the key findings of the various country teams of the projects that involved several teams that worked in several countries. The project on ECOWAS Capacity to prevent conflict submitted an edited book manuscript as its final product, and the manuscript has been submitted to CODESRIA's Publications Department who have launched the publication process, beginning with external peer review. The papers that came out of the work of the other projects are being processed for publication as Occasional Papers that will be published both electronically and in print versions. The electronic versions will be posted on the CDP pages of the CODESRIA web site.

3.2 Project by Project Review

3.2.1. Decentralization and Local Governance in Mali and Burkina Faso

This project looks at decentralization and local governance reform in Mali and Burkina Faso. Decentralization has become an important component of the governance reform processes in the region. Whether or not it has made local governance more democratic and, whether the decentralization processes and the institutions born out of them have become rooted and owned by the local communities, are some of the questions that this project seeks to answer. The project team has chosen to focus on the involvement in, and ownership of the decentralization processes by the local, particularly the rural, communities. The initial focus was on Mali as a case study. Burkina Faso was added as a second case study upon the insistence of CODESRIA that adding at least one case to that of Mali was necessary to make it possible for the studies to be done in a comparative perspective, and to create the conditions for experience sharing and mutual learning. The project is hosted by Point Sud in Mali, who is also leading the Mali study, and the study on Burkina Faso is being led by the Centre for Democratic Governance in Ouagadougou.

Coordination of Project – Dr. Moussa Sissoko- Point Sud, Centre for the Study of Local Knowledge.

Team Members:

- Senior Researchers –
 - Dr Moussa Sissoko
 - Dr. Moussa Djire (Mali)
 - Dr. Bréhima Kassibo (Mali)
 - Pr. Augustin Loada (Burkina Faso)
- Young Researchers-
 - Mrs. Rokia Traore (Mali)
 - Bourema Toure (Mali)
 - Mamadou Oulale (Mali)
 - Hamidou Togo (Mali)
 - Mrs. Dabre Gisele (Burkina Faso)

- Resource persons:
- Théa Hillhorst, Senior Research Fellow, Royal Tropical Institute (KIT), Amsterdam
 - Mr. Ousmane Sy, former Minister for Decentralization, Mali, Coordinator of the African Network for the Re-foundation of Governance, and President of the Board of the UNDP-African Union initiated Africa Governance Institute.

The team held its methodology workshop in Bamako on 19th and 20th of March 2007, and its review workshop, also in Bamako, on the 15th and 16th of August 2007. Prior to the holding of each of these workshops, the researchers involved in the project submitted short individual proposals (for the methodology workshop) and draft research reports (for the review workshop) to Point Sud, the coordinating institution; the research reports were forwarded to CODESRIA. The proposals and reports were made available to all the members of the project team in ahead of the respective workshops for which they were prepared. Information about the participants and the issues

discussed in each one of the workshops is contained in the previous narrative reports submitted by CODESRIA to the Foreign Ministry.

During the four months or so that followed the review August 2007 workshop, the activities of the project consisted of revising and submitting the revised the research reports of the Mali and Burkina sub-teams to CODESRIA, holding one policy dialogue conference in Bamako, preparing a synthesis report and final financial and narrative reports of the project.

As has already been noted in our previous reports, this project has a very important capacity development side to it, both in terms of the involvement, training and mentoring of young scholars: five (5), out of a team of nine (9) and two resource persons, and in terms of strengthening the capacity of Point Sud as a research and policy advocacy centre. The young scholars are co-authors of the research reports.

The list of research reports produced by this project is the following:

1. Prof. Augustin Loada: «Appropriation de la gouvernance budgétaire par les acteurs au Burkina Faso» ,
2. Madame DEMBELE Rokia TRAORE : « Appropriation des instruments de la fiscalité à travers l'élaboration du budget : l'exemple de la commune rurale de Kalabancoro, Mali »,
3. Bouréïma TOURE : « Appropriation des instruments de gestion des ressources naturelles par les acteurs locaux de la commune de Madiama, cercle de Djenné, Mali »
4. Soumaïla OULALE : « De la légitimité coutumière à la légitimité démocratique à travers l'appropriation des instruments de la décentralisation dans la commune rurale de Nyansanari , Mali»
5. Amadou TOGO : « Citoyenneté et gestion foncière dans la commune de Bancoumana , Mali»

These reports are being processed for publication by CODESRIA as Occasional Papers that will be both in print and posted on the CDP web pages of the CODESRIA website.

3.2.2. Voice and Media in Democracy

This project looks at the status, place and roles of the media in democracy. The relationship between media and democracy is a complex one, for inasmuch as there is no democracy without a strong and independent media, the latter too can thrive only in democracy. The media landscape in West Africa has been undergoing deep transformations since the wave of political liberalizations of the late 1980s and early 1990s. The growth and diversification of media outlets is tremendous.

Traditional media such as the written press, radio and TV have not only grown in numbers but also been undergoing transformations, as community radios, and internet based media are also developing. The project looks more specifically at *the contribution of the media to the construction of democracy, paying particular attention to the audiences, content and impact of the media*. The aim is to understand how the spectacular expansion of the communications sector has not only been an expression of the democratization process, but also consolidates this process, by informing and giving voice to citizens. It also seeks to get a finer understanding of the audiences of the media, while looking at problems of access. The project was to be carried out in five countries: Burkina Faso, Ghana, Benin, Cote d' Ivoire and Nigeria. As has been explained above, in the end studies were carried out in only three of the five countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, and Ghana.

Coordination of Project – Prof. Augustin Loada (Burkina Faso)

Team Members

- Prof. Augustin Loada (Burkina Faso)
- Prof. Nestorine Sangare (Burkina Faso)
- Prof. Serge Balima (Burkina Faso)
- Prof. Euloge GBAGUIDI (Benin)

This project also held methodology and review workshops, as well as a policy forum.

Several difficulties were encountered in the implementation of this project.

First, initially, it was supposed to be jointly coordinated by an Institution of the University of Ghana, Legon, that option was eventually dropped and the project was coordinated by one institution, the Centre for Democratic Governance (CGD) of Burkina Faso, headed by Augustin Loada..

Secondly, the composition of the project team was changed after the methodology workshop, with the members of the Ghana Team (Karikari and Gadzepko) and one of the members of the Nigeria team (Wale Adebani) withdrawing for reasons having to do with their own unavailability. Attempts were made to replace those who pulled out. New researchers were even identified. The Ghana study was now to be carried out by Gilbert Tietaaah of the University of Ghana Legon's School of Communication Studies, and the Nigeria Study by Professor Ayo Olukotun of the University of Ibadan. Dr Olukotun sent an outline of the study he was doing in Nigeria but it took Tietaaah much longer to produce an outline for the Ghana study. In the end, neither the Ghana study, nor the Nigeria study were carried out, for the new set of researchers suddenly ceased to communicate with the Project leader, and with CODESRIA.

The studies on Burkina Faso, Benin and Côte d'Ivoire were completed and final reports submitted to CODESRIA during the last quarter of the year. The Cote d' Ivoire report has had to be reworked to raise the level of the quality. The CODESRIA Secretariat worked hard and very closely with the project coordinator, Prof. Augustin Loada of Burkina Faso, to keep the project on track. With the extension of the deadline for the submission of the final report on this phase of CDP to the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the decision was taken to postpone the holding of the review workshop so as to leave more time to the researchers to complete their research and write good reports. The review workshop was finally held in Ouagadougou in October 2007. a copy of the report of that workshop was appended to the previous narrative report submitted by

CODESRIA to the Foreign Ministry. In December 2008, a policy Forum was held in Ouagadougou where the project team presented and discussed the results of the project with an audience of policy makers from Government and civil society.

Attached to this report are the final narrative report of the project and a synthesis of the findings of the project. The project has produced the following research reports that are being processed for publication as Occasional Papers:

1. Presse audiovisuelle et construction démocratique au Bénin : de la nécessité de deux niveaux de lectures des mutations en cours.

By Jean Euloge GBAGUIDI, Ph.D, Maître Assistant des sciences de l'Information et de la Communication, UAC/ Bénin (team leader) ; Avec la participation de : Clémentine LOKONON, doctorante, Maxime AHOTONDJI, Journaliste TV & Léa YEMADJRO, Journaliste c3

2. Les médias et l'expression démocratique : une analyse de contenu des quotidiens burkinabè

by Pr Serge Théophile BALIMA, Pr Augustin LOADA & Dr Nestorine SANGARE/COMPAORE, all of whom are Enseignants-chercheurs à l'Université de Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso

3. Médias et consolidation de la démocratie en Afrique : traitement de l'information sur la crise ivoirienne avant et après la signature des différents accords ,

by Yahaya DIABI Professeur des Universités en Sciences de l'Information et de la Communication, Doyen Honoraire de l'Unité de Formation et de Recherche en Communication et Art de l'Université de Cocody (team leader), and KONE Siaka, Etudiant en Thèse Unique de Doctorat en Communication, option : Communication pour le Développement, TOURE Pohpinan E., Etudiante en Thèse Unique de Doctorat en Communication, option : Communication pour le Développement ; DOSSO Boubakary, Journaliste à l'Agence Ivoirienne de Presse ; COULIBALY Daoda, Journaliste-Correcteur à Fraternité Matin,

3.2.3. – Local Dynamics of conflict and Peace Building

"Why do some societies fall into patterns of armed conflict and others not? How are armed conflicts in Africa related to patterns of national and international governance? How do they relate to wider forces in the world? And, most importantly, what can be done to aid their resolution?" These are some of the questions that this project has been seeking to answer. West Africa has been a conflict ridden region for some time now. However, much of the literature stops short of looking at the local dynamics of conflict and peace building, and the multiple ways in which dynamics at the local level are both over-determined by, but also feed into regional and global dynamics and processes. It was therefore decided from the outset that a particularly valuable approach to studying violent conflicts in West Africa would be to concentrate on local contexts that are too often overlooked both in the academic literature and in the calculations of international policymakers. The key point, however, is not only to explore some of the complexities of local sites of conflict but also to investigate the crucial relationship between local configurations and national and international ones.

The central objectives of the project were:

1. to analyse the local context of conflicts and peace building using selected case studies.
2. to produce of policy recommendations for the resolution or prevention of conflicts and possible models for conflict management.

The lead institutions of the project are the African Studies Centre of Leiden, and Igbinedion University, Benin City, Nigeria—the latter came as a replacement of Point Sud who is already coordinating another CDP project. The project is therefore coordinated jointly by personnel of the African Studies Centre, Leiden, and of Igbinedion University. It has four field projects, in Nigeria, Ghana, Mali, and Côte d'Ivoire, led by:

- (1) Igbinedion University, Nigeria, studying violent conflicts in the Niger Delta of Nigeria;
- (2) the University of Ghana, Legon, studying local conflicts in Ghana;
- (3) Point Sud in Bamako and the University of Frankfurt, studying the effects on Mali of wars in nearby countries, including Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire, that have generated flows of refugees including people with actual experience of warfare and that have stimulated the smuggling of weapons.
- (4) Centre de Recherche et d'Action pour la Paix (CERAP) et Chaire UNESCO pour la Paix (Université de Cocody, Abidjan), studying the local dynamics of the conflict in Côte d'Ivoire, focusing on the influence that representation and dynamics of the conflict at the national level have on the local level. In the case of Côte d'Ivoire a key concept will be *l'Ivoirité*.

Coordination of the project - *Dr. Mirjam de Bruijn (African Studies Centre) and Prof. Eghosa Osaghae (Igbinedion University – Nigeria)*

Team Members

- Dr. Mirjam de Bruijn (The Netherlands)
- Prof. Eghosa Osaghae (Nigeria)
- Prof. Joseph Ayee - Ghana
- Dr. Alex Frempong - Ghana
- Mr. Rodrigue Fahiraman Kone – Ivory Coast
- Mrs. Adeline Gnahoua – Ivory Coast
- Prof. Augustine Ikelegbe – Nigeria
- Prof. John Amoda – Nigeria
- Dr. Richard Asante – Ghana
- Dr. M. Kamara – Mali
- Dr. Bolaji Olarinmoye – Nigeria
- Dr. Lwazi Lushaba – South Africa

External Resource Person: Dr. Oka Obono, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

The methodology workshop that was held at the end of February set the agenda for the months that followed. The four research groups adapted their research proposals to the discussions we had and they started with similar methods of research to do their fieldwork. For all the research teams an important contribution was expected to the reflection on methodologies in difficult/conflict circumstances, next to the execution of their research.

As was decided during the workshop the project had a meeting in Côte d'Ivoire (on April 28) where Bakary Camara of Point Sud, Mali, and Mirjam de Bruijn, the project coordinator, based at the ASC in Leiden, were present to discuss with Ivorian team each others work. One reason to do so was the absence of the Ivorian team at the methodology workshop held in Nigeria. Another important reason was to have more exchanges between the research teams, which was expected to help the comparison between the case studies. The Malian team was also eager to go to Côte d'Ivoire as their case study is narrowly related to the problems in that country.

Another meeting was held between the Ivorian team and the Ghanaian team. This meeting did not work out as planned due to time constraints and communication difficulties. Nevertheless Rodrigue Kone of Côte d'Ivoire visited the Ghanaian team and both profited from this exchange.

Thus the fieldwork was executed in the period from mid-March to mid-June. The Mali and Ivorian teams started writing up results earlier than the other groups but all the teams agreed that there was not enough time to do all the work necessary for a full research report within the time frame that was originally set for the Project. The extension of the deadline for reporting helped allow the teams to improve their reports.

A review workshop was held in Bamako, Mali, at the end of June 2007 workshop. This workshop, hosted by Point Sud, discussed the first research findings between the groups. During the workshop it became clear that all research groups have interesting results, although the writing of the reports was at different stages, and the comparison between the country cases is very promising.

The whole process through which the four research teams and the coordinating institutions went for this sub-project of CDP has indeed created the group, with a feeling of shared identity. It is clear that the combination of the different cases inspires each of the groups to have a new and innovative look at their own case study. This process that could be seen as being part of the capacity building aspect of the programme should be taken a step further.

Masters and PhD students, mainly from Mali, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, who participated in the various research groups have been of incredible importance for the research. In turn the students themselves, especially those who have participated in the workshops, have learned a lot. The same counts for the junior and senior researchers in the project. This is also a result that should not be neglected.

After the mid-term review workshop, the teams completed the data analysis exercise that they had begun, and thereafter drafted their research reports.

As has been mentioned above, a terminal review workshop was held in October, on the back of the policy dialogue conference that the Project team held in Abuja.

The policy dialogue conference was a joint initiative of Project 5 – Local dynamics of conflict and Project 6 – ECOWAS Capacity to Prevent Conflict, and the discussions were centred on the key policy issues posed by their research.

There were plans to hold country level dissemination workshops and seminars but those seminars were not held after all.

Project 5 has produced two synthesis reports: one by the Ivorian team which carried out five studies, and one overall synthesis report written by the project leaders, De Bruijn and Osaghae, respectively of the African Studies Centre and Igbiniedion University.

The Four Studies of Project 5

The research reports produced out of the four country studies are the following:

1. Youth, Land, Ideologies, Discourses in, and Representations (Perceptions) of the Conflicts in Cote d' Ivoire (Dynamiques et Représentations des conflits en Cote d' Ivoire)

This team was made of young researchers only, the leader himself, Rodrigue Kone of CERAP, being a doctoral student at the University of Bouake, working with Prof. Francis Akindes. Yet this team demonstrated the highest degree of commitment and seriousness, and presented the most interesting set of studies. They submitted a short synthesis report and five case study reports, the shortest of which was 38 pages long, on the following themes:

- i) Ideologie politique et conflit en Cote d' Ivoire: une analyse du discours politique sur l' Identite nationale, by Yao O. Emma, Centre de Recherche et d' Action pour la Paix (CERAP), Abidjan, 49p.
- ii) L' idee de patrie dans la comprehension de la participation des jeunes a la dynamique conflictuelle en Cote d' ivoire ; by Fofana Moussa, CERAP
- iii) Mediations des ideologies politiques dans la crise ivoirienne : le role des espaces de discussion de rue a Abidjan ; by Silue N. Oumar, CERAP (?) ; 45p.
- iv) Perceptions croisees entre autochtones et etrangers en Cote d' Ivoire : le cas de la Population de Meagui dans l' Ouest ivoirien ; par Kouadio Chantal, Chaire Unesco pour la Paix, Universite de Cocody, Abidjan ; 38p.
- v) Tutorat et Conflits fonciers ruraux dans l'Ouest ivoirien : le cas de Fengolo dans la Sous-Prefecture de Duekoue ; by Goualibi Anicet Paterne, Chaire Unesco pour la Paix, Universite de Cocody, Abidjan ; 42p.

These reports are full of very valuable ethnographic material on the institutions regulating the relationships between immigrants and host populations, particularly as they pertain to land issues, based on two good case studies in the western region of Cote d' Ivoire; on the youth movements such as that of young patriots, and on the street " Sorbonnes", "Agoras" and "Parliaments" of Abidjan.

2. Migration et tensions sociales dans le Sud-Mali

By Bakary Camara (team leader), Bakary Traore, Elie Dicko and Moro Sidibe, all of Point Sud (56 pages, single space, including biblio).

This study looks at tensions surrounding the return and re-settlement of Malians who had returned to Mali after the outbreak of the Ivorian civil war. Malian returnees from Cote d' Ivoire were estimated at 200 000, out of an estimated total number of 1.5 to 2 million Malians present in Cote d' Ivoire at the time of the outbreak of the civil war. Returnees settled in several regions and in the cities. The paper described the main issues that arose in relation to the re-settlement of returnees: housing, access to land, and schooling for the children of returnees, the role of government and international agencies, and the organisations of the returnees themselves. The aim was to understand why with a massive return of Malians there were still no conflicts in Mali as a result.

The role of institutions such as the *chefferie*, and that of 'Malian hospitality' have been key in helping avoid conflict from breaking out.

3. Local power Struggles, conflict and conflict resolution in Ghana: the case of land conflicts

By Joseph Ayee, Alex Frempong and Richard Asante, University of Ghana Legon

This study examined land conflicts in Ghana, the main aim being to explain why violent conflict has been avoided in the two regions studied: the Afram plains, where a massive influx of 'non-natives' could have provoked violent conflicts over land, and suburban Accra, where the state has seized land for purposes of urban development. In both cases, mechanisms for resolving disputes peacefully were put in place, thus helping to diffuse tensions.

4. Local Conflicts in Niger delta in Nigeria

Eghosa Ossaghae, Augustine IKELEGBE, OLARINMOYE O. O., and Lwazi LUSHABA

The emphasis in this study was on the contextual issues and the role of youth in the conflict in the Niger Delta. The context is that of the crises in the delta, but also in the whole of Nigeria, youth unemployment being one important aspect of these crises, but also one of massive proliferation of small arms. The larger political content is that of the unequal distribution of resources and power in Nigeria that is at the heart of the debate on federalism, and the fate of ethnic minorities in the Nigerian federation. The study therefore highlights the role of the youth as key actors in the struggle for democratizing access to resources as well as for local autonomy (for some, it is a struggle for independence), and the effective democratization of the Nigerian federation. It analyses the responses of the federal government to the crisis in the Niger Delta, particularly the demobilization processes and the attempts to create jobs for the youth.

Apart from the members of the project teams, the methodology and review workshops of Project 5 were also attended by scholars (e.g. from Universities based in the cities where the workshops were held: Benin City, Bamako and Abuja), government officials, and representatives of civil society organisations. In a number of instances, the workshops also had good media coverage.

Project 5 has produced seven (7) research reports and two (2) synthesis reports. The research reports are being processed for publication as Occasional Papers.

3,4. – ECOWAS Capacity to Prevent Conflict

The aim of this project was to analyse the regional dynamics of conflict and peace-building in West Africa, paying particular attention to the different ways in which conflict transcends national boundaries, and to the multiple roles that the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, has been playing in regard to the conflicts, peacemaking and peace building in the sub-region. Under the ambit of ECOWAS, the states of the region have established a mediation force, ECOMOG, that has played leading roles in the search for solutions to the civil wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and Cote d'Ivoire. The results have been a mix of successful mediation in some cases, failures and demonstrations of ineptitude in other cases, and the

aggravation or creation of new tensions in yet other cases. The reasons for these contrasting outcomes are many, and each case need to be examined in the specific context of the conflict and the actors involved.

This study, by focusing on the regional dynamics of conflict and peace-building, was aimed at increasing our understanding of some of the factors that, beyond the 'national' level, strengthen or weaken state institutions, and of how the whole question of the 'national' state, national and social boundaries, and political processes are over-determined by regional and global processes, while being the objects of intense renegotiation among the various actors involved. It also, by taking the region as a level of intervention, has the potential for coming up with useful insights as to how to strengthen ECOWAS and other bodies such as the African Union in their efforts to deal with governance, development and peace at the regional level.

The overall objective of the project was to help increase the scientific understanding of how regional institutions that are inter-state in nature have worked towards conflict resolution, peace-building and regional integration.

Project Coordination:

- **Dr. Jibrin Ibrahim, Director, The Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD), Abuja, Nigeria;** - **Dr Said Adejumobi, The ECOWAS Commission (Secretariat)'s Governance Programme;**

- **Prof. Adebayo Olukoshi, CODESRIA;**

CDD, ECOWAS and CODESRIA are jointly providing the scientific leadership of this project, and CDD is the administrative host and main anchor of the project-in addition to Dr. Ibrahim, the CDD team also includes Mr. Dauda Garuba and Ms. Stella Amadi, and the CODESRIA team includes Adebayo Olukoshi, the Executive Secretary, **Ebrima Sall**, and **Bintou Diallo** (who has replaced Roseline Achieng in the project team). In the course of the year 2007, Dr Adejumobi left the ECOWAS Secretariat and moved over to the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) in Addis Ababa, but he continued to participate in the activities of Project 6, in close liason with the ECOWAS Secretariat. In addition to Dr Adejumobi's role in the project, the ECOWAS Commission (Secretariat) continued to be directly involved in the work of Project 6, and one of the senior officials of the ECOWAS Commission, Dr Abdul-Fatau Musah, is one of the contributors to the book, with a chapter on "ECOWAS Regional Responses to Conflicts".

The launch and methodology workshop for this team was held in Abuja on the 9th of February. The launch/methodology workshop set the stage for the subsequent research and policy dialogue activities.

Following the workshop, several scholars were commissioned to carry out studies on aspects of the research agenda that would needed to be covered. The research agenda was been outlined as follows:

- 1) Comprehending the West African Region
- 2) Governance and Conflict-Generation Mechanisms
- 3) The Demography/Conflict Nexus
- 4) Interventions in Regional Conflicts
- 5) Gender Dimension and Conflict

Methodology Meeting: 11th August 2007

A one-day methodology meeting was organised by the Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) to discuss the outline of the book that the CDP ECOWAS project is coming up with. The meeting was attended by authors commissioned to write chapters of the book, based on the identified research themes at the Planning meeting on 9th February, 2007. The meeting had a fruitful deliberation where it was decided that the themes of the book project be limited to two (instead of the five themes identified at the 9th February workshop) :

- Comprehending Conflicts in West Africa and ECOWAS,
- Institutional Responses to Conflict in West Africa.

This was a significant re-focusing of the project. Far-reaching decisions were also reached on methodological issues, while timelines and sundry matters, especially as they relate to honoraria to authors of the book chapters, were also settled.

The discussions led to a common position that the project as conceptualised was imperative and very appropriate to what ECOWAS needs, adding that it is worth undertaking.

Following the discussion, the following outline was adopted for the book that this project plans to bring out (the names of the authors of the different sections are indicated):

Introduction – Thomas Jaye & Stella Amadi

Theme I: Comprehending Conflicts in West Africa

- The Dynamics of Conflicts and Crises – *Funmi Olofinakin*
- Internal and External Dimensions of Conflict – *Boubacar Ndiaye*
- The State and Democracy Nexus and Conflict – *Said Adejumobi*
- Natural Resources and the Dynamics of Conflict – *Abiodun Alao*
- Social Vulnerability and Conflicts – *Mohammed Kuna*
- Demography, Environment and Conflicts – *Kwesi Aning & Andrews Atta-Asamoah*
- Youth and Conflicts: Regional Security Threats and Potentials – *Augustine Ikelegbe & Dauda Garuba*
- Diaspora and Conflicts in Conflicts – *Musa Abutudu & Crosdel Emvedo*
- Women and the Construction of Gender Roles in Conflicts – *Awa Ceesay Ebo*

Theme II: ECOWAS, Institutional Responses to Conflicts in West Africa

- ECOWAS and Regional Responses – *Abdel-Fatau Musah*
- Human Security and Institutional Responses – *Olawale Ismail*
- Civil Society and Regional Intervention – *Emmanuel Bombande*
- Institutional Responses to the Gender Dimension of Conflicts – *Benetta Tarr*
- Reflections on our Knowledge of Peace-making – *Ishola Williams*
- Consolidating Regional Security: Security Sector Reform and Beyond – *Thomas Jaye*

Conclusion: Projecting into the Future – Thomas Jaye & Stella Amadi

The manuscript of the book has been completed and submitted to CODESRIA. In the end, a few of the contributors dropped out and in some cases were replaced by others. The final manuscript has 13 chapters, three (3) of which were co-authored by two people. The total number of contributors to the book is 17 people, some of whom are senior staff of the ECOWAS Commission (Secretariat).

As has been mentioned in the previous section (on Project 5), a joint Policy Dialogue Conference was co-organised by this project (ECOWAS Capacity to Prevent Conflict) and Project 5 (Local Dynamics of Conflict and Peace Building). The conference was held in Abuja in October 2007.

The theme being considered by the leaders of this project under Phase II of CDP is the following: ECOWAS and Post-conflict Reconstruction in West Africa

On the whole the four Projects have fulfilled their mandates and have generated not only quite a sizeable number of manuscripts that are being processed for publication, but also valuable insights into the dynamics of conflict, peace, democracy and development in West Africa that will hopefully be found useful by the policy communities of, and those working with the region.

4.0 Capacity Development Strategy

The research, writing and review processes also involved a lot of mentoring of junior scholars by the more senior ones. As was noted in our previous report, all the projects have included younger scholars (Young fellows) in their research teams. Moreover, these younger fellows as an imperative are located within universities or research centres/think tanks. This is in a bid to not only augment individual capacity, but emphasis is also placed on building a sustainable institutional capacity that will sustain knowledge production. Apart from the methodology workshops, part of the capacity development has taken place in the review workshops held in June and August, and that will also be the case with the other workshops currently being planned.

5.0 Policy Dialogue Conferences

One of the main components of the activities of all the projects is the dialogue with people from the policy communities. The involvement of such people in the planning and, as far as possible, in the actual research and review processes as well, and not only as end consumers of research, is therefore encouraged and, in many instances, facilitated by CODESRIA. Towards this end, all the teams have identified policy makers in government, or regional organisations, and members of the civil society with whom they will work as partners. This makes the research process somewhat, if in a limited way, participatory. The review workshops were attended by some policy makers and members of civil society organisations.

As has already been noted, policy dialogue conferences were organised by each one of the projects, and they brought together key stake holders especially from civil society organizations,

government and regional organizations, and donor agencies together in an exercise of interpreting the different results from the field in terms of what policy lessons can be drawn from them.

6.0 Publications and Dissemination Strategies

We are in the process of publishing occasional papers from the research reports produced by the various project teams. In most of the projects, there will be both synthesis volumes and stand-alone individual team publications. In order to be able to put the results of the work of the Projects on the public domain fairly quickly, CODESRIA is publishing occasional papers from the reports of three of the projects. The fourth project (Project 6, ECOWAS Capacity to Prevent Conflict), the choice made by the project team was to produce a book, and that is what they have done. The book manuscript is being processed for publication. The book is titled: ECOWAS and the Dynamics of Conflict and Peacebuilding, edited by, Thomas Jaye & Stella Amadi.

Dissemination has so far mainly been done through presentations in the workshops and policy forums. The occasional papers and books will be disseminated both through the web and by been launched in the countries covered. Other dissemination strategies being explored include the following:

- a) Organising international and country level policy forums and dissemination seminars
- b) Developing policy briefs from the results obtained from the research projects.
- c) Web based dissemination; regularly updating the CDP Web page on the CODESRIA website, electronic newsletter, etc.
- d) Video recording of the meetings which is then shared with local television/radio channels. All the methodological and review workshops and the policy dialogue conferences enjoyed huge publicity in the local settings, thereby informing the populace of the existence of the Consortium.
- e) As has been noted already, publications are another form; research reports are being processed and will be published as occasional papers and, in a few cases, as books.
- f) Translation; the West African context is a *mélange* of both Francophone and Anglophone speaking nations. It is thus of uttermost importance that important communication be availed and translated in the two languages to enable a better understanding. The translation of the key documents produced by the projects is however yet to be done.

7.0 Fundraising Efforts

CODESRIA has submitted proposals to the West Africa Office of the Ford Foundation (based in Lagos), the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) and the ECOWAS Commission (Secretariat) for additional support to Phase II of CDP (from 2008). The Executive Secretary of CODESRIA has had several discussions during missions to these institutions, and with the Director of OSIWA in Dakar. Two Foundations, OSIWA and Ford Foundation have already committed to giving fairly large grants to CODESRIA for CDP; Ford Foundation has already disbursed \$100.000 to CODESRIA.

8.0 Project Monitoring and Support

8.1 Steering Committee Meeting

The Steering Committee is comprised of representatives of the fourteen CDP member institutions and the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Two meetings were held. The first one was held during the planning and preparatory phase; it was hosted by CODESRIA in Dakar in November 2005. The second Steering Committee meeting was initially scheduled to be organised by PAS/NWU, but for reasons having to do with the calendar of activities of PAS/NWU, the meeting was again hosted by CODESRIA, in Dakar, on 2-3 November 2007. The Steering Committee discusses issues related to the activities and governance issues of CDP, as well as the state of funding.

8.2 CODESRIA Coordination Unit

The CODESRIA CDP overall coordinating unit has placed a high emphasis on the scientific coordination of projects. As has been noted above, CODESRIA identified external resource persons for each project and has facilitated the participation of these resource persons in the activities of the different projects for which they have been identified.

CODESRIA also made the resources of the CODESRIA Information and Documentation Centre available to all the projects.

Finally, the CODESRIA Secretariat was in regular contact with the project coordinators and worked very closely with the latter, providing not only the administrative and logistical support needed, but also contributed to the strengthening of the teams and enhancement of the quality of the research. Staff of the CODESRIA Secretariat participated in the methodology and review meetings and policy forums of the various projects and was actively involved in identifying researchers for case studies under some of the projects. For instance, the Head of the Research Department participated in the review workshop of Project 5 on Local Conflict and Peace Building, held in Bamako on 29-30 June, and a member of our Secretariat also attended the other review and policy dialogue conferences that were held in October and November 2007.

Appendixes (see attachments)