

# AGGN YEARBOOK 2017



2017



AFRICAN GOOD GOVERNANCE NETWORK

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## Introduction

In 2017, the African Good Governance Network continued its successful work in the 11th year. Out of nearly 70 applications, the DAAD selected 20 new fellows for the network. They not only increased number of represented countries to 25, but also brought their ideas and dedication to the network.

The ABI organised four successful junior workshops. Together with the West African chapter, a senior workshop was planned and held in Nigeria. A highlight of the year was the workshop in Brussels on AU-EU relations, which was held ahead of the AU-EU Summit and gave the fellows the unique opportunity to engage in discussions with stakeholders and decision makers ahead of the political meeting.

In 2017, the network elected a new executive committee – for the first time in an online vote – and started new activities in the field of media outreach as well as numerous fellow driven projects. The website, which also features the individual profile of the fellows, provides regular updates on AGGN activities.

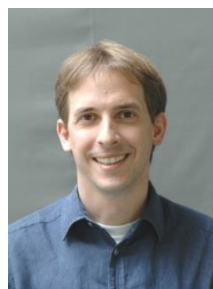
I would like to thank all AGGN fellows for the lively support of the network, especially the executive committee as well as the committee that took up the task to produce this yearbook.

Further information on the network is available at [www.aggn.org](http://www.aggn.org).

Sincerely,



Dr. Martin Adelman,  
*Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institut*  
*Network Coordinator*



## The African Good Governance Network - Structure

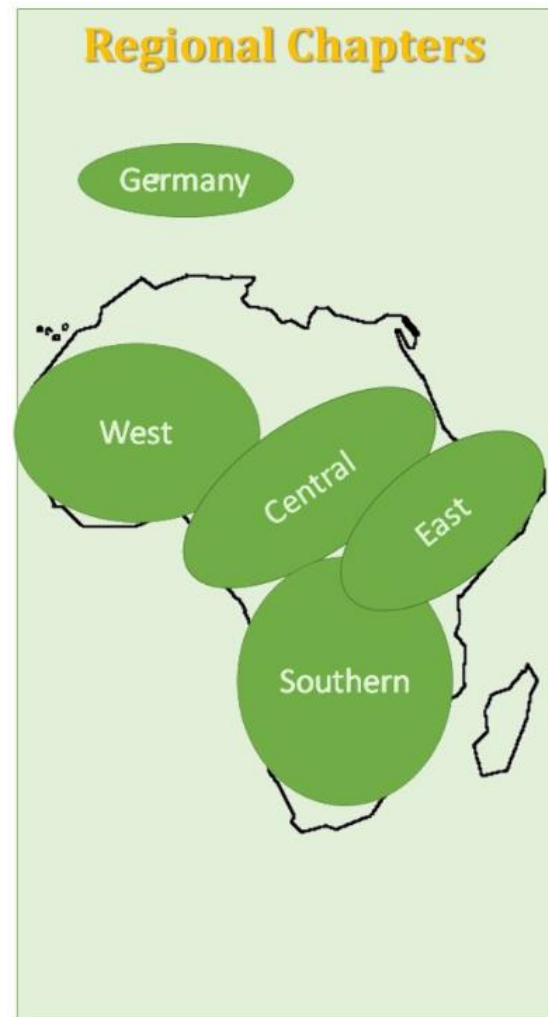


The African Good Governance Network was founded in 2007 by the DAAD under the auspices of the former German Federal President, Dr. Horst Köhler. The network aims at enhancing academic collaboration between Africa and Germany and supporting future leaders in their desire to promote good governance on the African continent.

As depicted above, the network operates on three levels: Junior fellows in Germany are offered a series of workshops around good governance themes, aiming at capacity building and networking of the fellows. On top of these workshops, which are offered by the Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institut, fellows have the opportunity to organise their own multiplier events and take part in good governance related conferences. Finally, the network connects all senior fellows through a number of communication tools as well as through Senior Fellow workshops organised by the regional chapters in Africa.

AGGN is made up of five chapters, which are situated in Germany, Southern Africa, Central Africa, West Africa and East Africa. Once applicants are selected as a junior fellow in Germany, they automatically join the German chapter. Upon return to their home country or another African country, they become members of the chapter in that region.

There are three adhoc working committees in the AGGN. There is the editorial committee which is responsible for producing a yearbook every time new fellows are accepted into the network. There is the media committee which was created 2016 with the goal to enhance the dis-semination and accessibility of AGGN activities using social media tools. The group activities are also expected to compliment other media and outreach sources of the AGGN like the Newsletter and the Year book. There is also the networking committee which follows up on projects already started by AGGN members.





## Executive Committee 2018



### **President**

Dr. Jane  
Ayeko-  
Kümmeth



### **Vice-president**

Lydia Radoli



### **Secretary**

Eileen Bogweh  
Nchanji



### **Vice secretary**

Charles  
Gwellem  
Anchang

## Executive Committee 2017



### **President**

Dr. Serawit  
Bekele Debele



### **Vice-president**

Lucy Njuguna



### **Secretary**

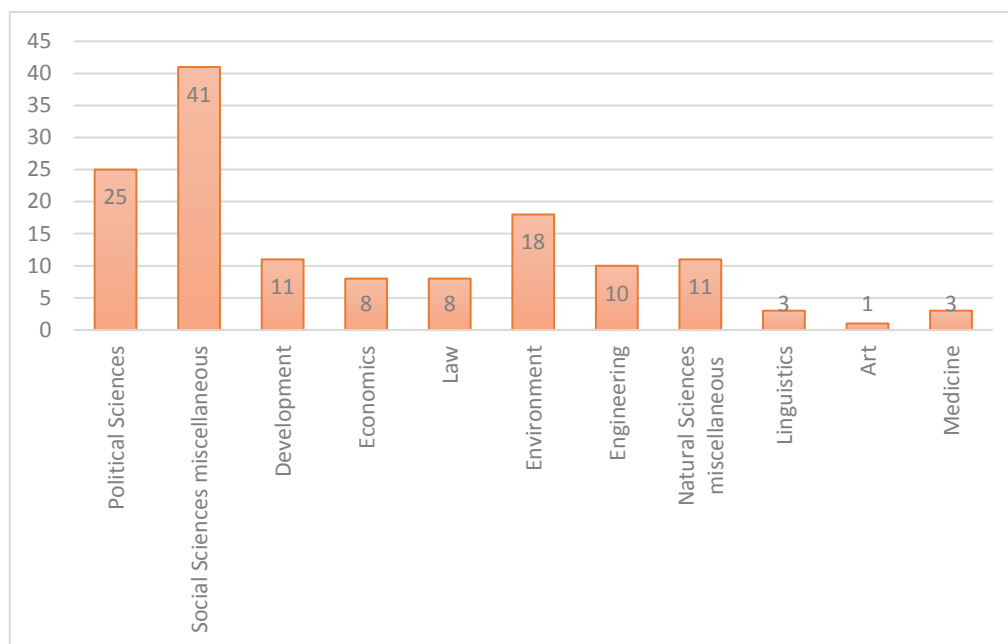
Eileen Bogweh  
Nchanji



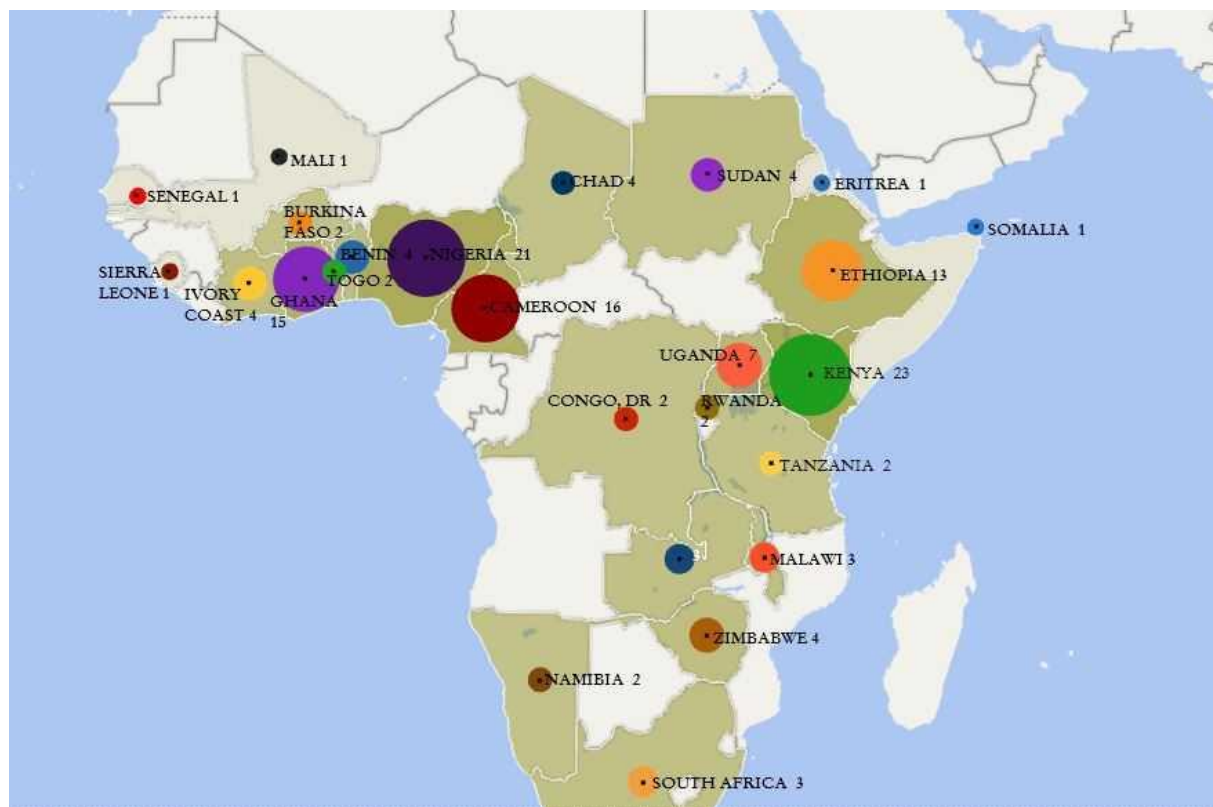
### **Vice secretary**

Sisay Negeri

## Academic Background of AGGN Fellows



## Home countries of AGGN fellows



## Impressions and Expectations by AGGN members



**Sandra  
Delali  
Kemeh**  
*Ghana*

My impressions about the AGGN are that it is a network of African scholars who are united in the belief that good governance is what would accelerate and enhance development on the continent. I have also seen that members are from diverse backgrounds and so learning outcomes would be rich and exciting. I am moved by member's enthusiasm to make meaningful contributions to good governance through their various endeavours. I have a firm conviction that this would have a ripple effect on development on the continent, thus being part of this network is a step in the right direction for me in my vision to be a career diplomat.

I expect that I would contribute and engage with other members of the network to make meaningful contributions to the network and subsequent extension to the continent. I also expect to share and improve upon my knowledge on all aspects of good governance issues with members based on our experiences. I hope to forge lifetime friendships with colleagues for

future counsel on governance issues and other opportunities on the global scene and in our respective countries.



**Prosper  
Simbarashe  
Maguchu**  
*Zimbabwe*

The African Good Governance Network has so far proved to be an enlightening and inspiring experience that will no doubt significantly expand my understanding about a region of the world that I previously thought I am very familiar with. I learned so much I did not know in a short period, not only from the variety of influential speakers that we had the opportunity to meet but also from interacting with the other fellows. AGGN has provided me with a new lens, through which to view the African region; a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities the continent faces; a more nuanced context for the African good governance dynamics.

My expectations for the AGGN are based on its mantra for its fellows namely to 'promote processes of democratisation by accompanying the economic and political transformation in their home countries' (AGGN, the emphasis is mine). I hope that the AGGN will assist me in contributing to this noble aim in my small way through the



promotion and popularisation of fundamental principles of good governance. It is also my fervent hope that this platform will assist me in sharing ideas with peers on critical good governance issues currently eluding the continent at such a time when much needs to be done to address these issues.



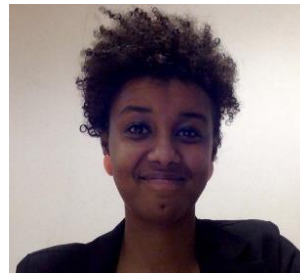
**Rangarirai  
Chikova**

*Zimbabwe*

AGGN has provided me with a platform on which I am networking with like-minded people and creating contacts for my future research and professional work. The interactions I have done with other fellow Africans and German professionals and the trainings I have received so far, have surpassed my expectations. My ability to identify problems in Africa and contribute to the crafting of solutions has been enhanced. The diversity of the membership has given me the opportunity to learn from other country's experiences. Visits to Germany Institutions have also widened my career prospects.

My expectations from the network are opportunities to learn and enrich my knowledge and professional outgrowth and ultimately contribute to good governance

and promotion of social justice in Zimbabwe and Africa as a whole. I also expect to gain extensive competences, continue to interact with like-minded people and establish contacts for my future academic research and professional work.



**Eden  
Yoseph**

*Ethiopia*

It has been refreshing and inspirational to be in a company of passionate, like-minded fellows from the continent. Also, the diverse academic backgrounds of the network members and the differently themed workshops have enhanced my awareness of the different issues in Africa.

I expect to improve my soft skills and knowledge on good governance through the thematic workshops. I would also like to use the network to collaborate on projects and hold academic discussions about governance and development in Africa with fellows of AGGN and affiliates. I look forward to executing planned projects, making stronger networks and contributing to projects of *Governance and Development* in Africa.



**Eniola  
Boluwaduro**  
*Nigeria*

workshops. Second, the AGGN has continued to help mobilise fellows' ideas by offering material, financial and workforce resources for educating small and large groups. I desire to see these support systems continue.

I sought membership of the AGGN because the skills training the Network offers will help develop my leadership and academic skills. Being a member will also connect me with other young African academics whose thirst for a change in Africa's governance comes from a place of great motivation. More so, these other young academics are individuals from various nationalities, with different ethnic and academic backgrounds. Members' diversities mean that fellows will continuously cross-fertilise ideas that will empower them to garner and utilise ideas for directing the affairs of their various countries, from their spheres of influence.

I have two expectations of the AGGN: skills training and resource provision for empowering the fellows. I must say that these two expectations are already being met because first, the AGGN continues to offer regular workshops where issues bordering on good governance in Africa are discussed from the perspective of how fellows can contribute, in their little way, in solving Africa's problems. I have benefitted immensely from one of these

## AGGN Junior Fellow Workshops

**Junior fellows' workshop in Bonn, 1<sup>st</sup> April - 5<sup>th</sup> April 2017**

### **INTRODUCTION AND INTRA-STATE CONFLICT**



Fellows visiting the old Bundestag in Bonn

The African Good Governance Network's conference on *Intra-State* conflicts was held in Bonn between 1<sup>st</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> April 2017. It started with an introductory session with the 20 fellows selected for this year. The theme of the conference could not have been timely, with a backdrop of a series of perennial and ongoing conflicts around the world (including but not limited to civil wars,

insurgencies, acts of terrorism and ethnic violence). There is also an increase in the spate of conflicts spanning from different levels of religious fanaticism and extremities. For example, the Boko Haram insurrections in Nigeria, and rising of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. While speakers and fellows in the conference debated whether religious conflicts are more vicious than non-religious ones, they underscored that conflicts are undesirable and can lead to a breakdown in levels of decades of social, political and economic gain. For instance, conflicts in the Middle East, South Asia and pockets of Africa continue to push people from their homelands in search of safe havens. Fellows discussed these issues with eminent scholars, such as Prof. Dr. Andreas Hasenclever and Prof. Dr. Andreas Mehler.

Since 2015, massive outflows of displaced people from conflict torn countries - Yemen, Syria, Afghanistan, South Sudan and Nigeria led to a movement of people to seek refuge elsewhere. In what is now dubbed a "migration crisis" - the escalation is attributed to a flight from conflict or persecution, with the hope to get protection across international borders. Critics of the crisis have maintained that the entry into EU borders through irregular means has exacerbated the crisis. However, in the crisis, loss of human life, the disintegration of economic and social structures have not gone unnoticed.

Speaking on the Intra-State conflict workshop, Eniola Boluwaduro a 2017 AGGN junior fellow and a PhD English Linguistics scholar at the University of Bayreuth noted that Intra-

State conflicts surface in various aspects in African states. In most cases, they normatively tend towards a political undertone which illuminates the question of good governance. She added that the conflicts might have positive and negative effects on good governance, as they could encourage peace-keeping and dialogue among social and political actors.

Conversely, Intra-State conflicts may foster a continued culture of violence among partisan members of the state, thereby, establishing various political allegiances that engender the general development of the state. Nevertheless, Eniola holds the opinion that conflict is a valuable tool for resolving differences, and if managed correctly, could have an enormous impact in encouraging peace and fostering state growth. Whereas the topical theme was spread across conference activities, key on the agenda was to usher in a team of 20 new fellows accepted to the AGGN in January 2017. On the list of highlights was a visit to the former Bundestag, which in 1949 served as a provisional parliament in Bonn. The new fellows had a chance to glimpse at the city that rests on the banks of the Rhine.



In between the sessions, the newly formed *AGGN media project* captured snippets of the event. In an interview, Dr Martin Adelman, the coordinator of AGGN and executive manager of the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute (ABI) noted that AGGN was at the heart of the institute responsible for selecting

speakers, and themes related to planned conferences and workshops. The institute hosted at the Albert-Ludwig's University of Freiburg specialises in comparative development studies, in the areas of governance, conflict and natural resources. ABI's thematic areas also include teaching, research and consultancy. Reiterating the idea behind the foundation of AGGN, Dr Adelman noted that many talented African scholars who have completed their studies or still studying in Germany, apart from acquiring technical knowledge, required aspects of good governance as future leaders in Africa.

“Most AGGN scholars go ahead to become influential in their professional positions, and naturally adhere to principles of good governance. If positioned in key sectors in Africa, the scholars could engage in initiatives towards a mindset change of how social, political and economic affairs in Africa are governed”, he explained.

Dr Adelman hoped that AGGN fellows would continue to be strong links to positive impacts in Africa, as well as fostering Africa - Germany relations. “Almost all the individuals who are

in the programme have succeeded to build up careers in Africa, some at universities as lecturers and professors, others work with international organisations, some have placement in government institutions”, narrated Dr Adelman. He added that although the success and impacts are not monitored, it is the small actions and resolves of the AGGN’s fellows for instance, “not taking or giving a bribe” that determines if impacts of good governance principles have been made.



On the other hand, AGGN fellows engaged at different levels in their professional and personal life endeavour to practice lessons from AGGN. Simon Kwabena Dankyi, a 2016 fellow, Political Scientist and PhD scholar at Goethe University-Frankfurt, argues that practical issues addressed in the AGGN are vital in dealing with socio-

economic and political challenges in the home countries.

“In my view, Intra-State conflict can affect good governance when influenced by political, ethnic and religious differences; it can lead to divisions, anarchy and impunity, which in turn threatens good governance”. Simon believes that Intra-State conflicts provide an opportunity for internal and external opportunists to exploit a country’s resources. This could result in injustices, a breakdown of national cohesion due to mistrusts and suspicion.

The conference key pointers arguably highlighted that while it was difficult for development and governance to thrive in a state of anarchy, peacebuilding work was essential to foster global peace.

Approaches to peacebuilding perspectives in the conference were deliberated through brainstorming sessions, case study presentations, empirical evidence and conflict management skills.





## **Liberia: From Conflict to Peacebuilding Lessons - Lydia Radoli**

When conflicts break out, brokering peace and fostering national cohesion is usually a challenge that takes considerable efforts from social and state actors and the willingness of parties in the conflict to uphold a ceasefire. Liberia is not a perfect example of peace after conflict; arguably it is the struggles to patch up disintegrating social and economic state that presents a lesson for peacebuilding efforts. Liberia, founded in 1947 by former slaves from the United States of America, was poised on finding lasting liberty, freedom from enslavement, from social-economic, and political restrictions. The resolve of the former slaves and freeborn Africans in the USA was to find liberty in aspects that touched on peace, freedom and justice.

### **Liberty at test**

In 1822, an estimated 15,000 freed slaves and freeborn blacks and Afro-Caribbeans migrated to Liberia. After the 1862 American civil war, won on the premise of freeing enslaved black people, the USA recognized Liberia's independence. The new nation's name, coined from "liberty", was befitting for a state whose founding father William Tubman (1944 to 1971) was a free black man.

On the other hand, Liberia still stands a test of peacebuilding initiatives, recording considerable peace after a decade of civil and political strife. The country's stability was recently shaken with an outbreak of the deadly Ebola in 2015. The disease spread across Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone. Ebola claimed up to 11,300 lives mainly in Liberia according to Liberian and international press. It nearly secluded inhabitants as pariahs between domestic and international borders. However, Liberia's history of a 14-year civil war, military unrest and a scope of dictatorial leadership continues to threaten the very foundations of liberty.

In their 2015 report, *Links between peacebuilding, conflict prevention and durable solutions to displacement*, the authors argue that peacebuilding interventions in Liberia are hurdled with political interferences and systematic judicial infringements of the process. They attribute conflict to political exclusion, economic marginalization, ethnic hostilities and intense disagreements over resource distribution.

The most evident, was the political anarchy between Charles Taylor's – National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPF) and Samuel Doe's – Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). The above conflict spurt into a civil war culminating into atrocities - wide spread killings, abductions, torture rape, displacement and untold human rights abuses. People displaced in the conflict fled their rural areas to the capital Monrovia, consequently causing a lot of strain on urban structures and institutional capacities. As most urban areas, Monrovia was spilling over with housing, water, sanitation and jobless youth. The displacement also affected rural agriculture, as farmers scared for their lives sought refuge in cities. The recourse of displaced people and Liberian Diaspora's, desire to live cohesively and improve their conditions in a brokered peace process was a ray of hope in the shadows and cloud of disaster that had characterized the Liberia of Taylor and Doe.

### **The road to peace**

Following Samuel Doe's military coup in 1980, and the execution of President William Tolbert and 13 of his aides, a wave of civil conflict set in. According to the International Crisis Group, Liberia experienced civil conflict over a decade (1989-1996), leading to 200,000 deaths and large-scale displacements. In 1997, Charles Taylor won an election marred with conflict and soon after formed the Liberia United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), and other political offshoots - Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL). The political outfits raged in battles that spilt over Liberia's neighbours. Conflicts spread to Sierra Leone on the West, Ivory Coast on the East and Guinea to the North. While, Guinea and Ivory Coast have enjoyed relative peace, Sierra Leone has suffered decades of political upheavals.

Three years later, the Special Court for Sierra Leone indicted Taylor for insurgents in the country, while he was attending an ECOWAS security meeting in Ghana. Despite sanctions commissioned by the court, Taylor received a safe passage to Monrovia and engaged in a backlash on the indictments that resulted into a resurgence of war. There was no reprieve in the precarious situation in Liberia, people were forced to flee their homes in fear of forceful conscription and attacks. A peace deal was brokered between LURD, MODEL and Taylor's government, however it was not sustained. On July 17 2003, a comprehensive peace agreement and transitional government was reached with a resolution to exclude Taylor. Soon after, fresh fighting broke up in Monrovia and cities across Liberia causing atrocities that amounted to grave human rights violations. Establishing an international contact group for Liberia (US, France and UK), the United Nations Security Council called on the US to spearhead a political strategy for ceasefire.

Regional member (Ghana, Nigeria, Morocco) were brought on board to pressure Taylor into honoring a complete ceasefire and restoring negotiations with warring factions. Rebels and neighboring countries were cautioned of imminent sanctions, if they violated the ceasefire.

The goal of the negotiations included forming a transitional government, civil society and other alternative political force that would lead to a comprehensive peace agreement and democratic elections within 18 to 30 months. The contact group and eminent regional countries role was also to enforce the indictment of Charles Taylor. On June 26 2003, US President George W. Bush's called for President Taylor to stand down.

Due to mounting pressure, Taylor resigned and exiled in Nigeria. President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected in 2006 and officially requested for Taylor's extradition. The end of the warlord came with his detention in Sierra Leone and trial in The Hague's special court. In April 2012, Taylor was found guilty of eleven charges related to war crimes and violations of human rights. He was sentenced to 50 years in prison in May 2012.

#### **Post-conflict a precarious state**

Coming from a state of conflict to peace is always a slow and painful journey. In Liberia, the infrastructure and security institutions posed a great challenge to sustainable peace. Owing to years of civil war, security forces were intensely involved in the conflict. Massive recruitment of child soldiers in the Liberian rebel insurgent groups meant that a society of children and families continue to suffer post-traumatic stress. The trauma requires professional and psychological solutions, which are limited in Liberia. It took small communities, families, women and men of everyday life to initiate the process of peacebuilding. Forums emerged up from community and religious centers, academics, the media and political platform calling for justice and reconciliation.

The peace process in Liberia followed a conventional UN model that prescribes a sequence of actions aimed to foster peace and to reconstruct the society. After civil war, order, peace, agreement, deployment of peacekeepers, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), security sector reforms and finally elections. For her efforts towards restoring peace and fostering economic and social development in a conflict endemic state, Liberia's President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was awarded the Nobel peace prize in 2011. She ended her term in 2017, and ushered George Weah in Liberia's first transition between democratically-elected leaders since 1944.

## Junior fellows' workshop in Berlin, 25<sup>th</sup> June -28<sup>th</sup> June 2017

### DEMOCRACY

Junior fellows met in Berlin to discuss democracy, a controversial concept, especially in African politics. The historical span of democracy was presented, and fellows gave their opinions on what democracy was best for their countries or the world at large. Three institutions were visited, and fellows were schooled on what democracy was to these institutions and how it was practiced. Skills training followed on leadership and team building. AGGN fellows discussed with scholars such as Dr. Julia Grauvogel from the GIGA institute and MP Christoph Straesser.



Fellows discussing with MP Christoph Straesser (SPD)



Fellows with Uschi Eid from Deutsche-Afrika-Stiftung



Fellows visiting the HQ of the Green Party



## **Ghana: A Beacon of Democracy in Africa - Jerome Aliebakaa Kpan**

Ghana since independence has experienced four military coups and its democratic growth has suffered over the years as a result of these coups. Ghana has created four constitutions to date of which three have been suspended; the 1956 constitution was suspended in February 1966, the 1969 constitution was suspended 13 January 1972, and the 1979 constitution was suspended 31 December 1981. The 1992 constitution remains operational to date.

The 31st December 1981 military coup installed the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) thus suspending the constitution and the national assembly. In April 1992, a referendum was held and the constitution was approved. With adoption of the new constitution, multiparty political activity came back into the lime light. Ghana has, since 1992, held seven consecutive free and fair democratic elections in a peacefully atmosphere. Under the Fourth Republic, the country had four smooth and peaceful transition of power from one democratically elected political party to another.

Unlike some African countries, which are engulfed by electoral conflicts, Ghana has eminently and illustriously distinguished herself, showing an outstanding and remarkable level of democratic adherence. With this political development, Ghana, to many observers in the international community, seemed to have left the ranks of African countries saddened by military coups and repressive dictatorships. So many factors account for Ghana's beautiful democratic credentials. It is an indisputable fact that the political leaders of Ghana crave for peaceful, free, fair, and transparent elections in every election year. This fact manifests itself from the speeches they present to the people before, during, and after elections, no matter whether they are on the winning or the losing side. In the recent 2016 elections, when the Electoral Commission declared the results, outgoing President Mahama called to acknowledge the victory of Nana Akufo-Addo, who graciously thanked Mr Mahama for the gesture. Other competitors in the election also called to congratulate the president-elect.



The question that lingers in the minds of many relate to whether the peaceful democracy that Ghana relishes today is solely hard fought by the political leaders? However, Ghanaians are also responsible for the prosperity of their country. They are by far peace-loving people, and despite their cultural, ethnic and religious differences, they are able to co-exist peacefully among themselves. When taking a walk or drive on the street of the big cities in the country during campaign periods and prior to elections, and despite heated campaigns one can see billboards, with the inscription of peaceful messages about the elections. Political gatherings also end with well-wishing and prayers for peaceful elections in the country and all religious and traditional leaders are expected to preach peace before, during and after the elections.

Gender equity is on the up-swing and women vote freely. There are on-going attempts to use human right values to refine certain cultural inhibitions that stifle progress. The mass media has evolved greatly. Human rights have become a crucial part of Ghana's development gourmet. Voter turnout due to ethnicity is increasingly going down, issues-based politics is lauded, and the amount of confidence Ghanaians have in the democratic system is increasing.

The electoral process in Ghana has undergone tremendous transformation. It's is increasingly free, fair, and transparent. Undoubtedly, other African states can emulate Ghana and as well as other stable nations.



### **An election officer counting the votes aloud at a polling station**

As of early 2003, Ghana was divided into 10 regions: Eastern, Western, Ashanti, Northern, Volta, Central, Upper East, Upper West, Brong-Ahafo, and Greater Accra. In 1994, the 10 regions were further subdivided into 267 local administrative units. The Local Government Law of 1988 and the Local Government Act of 1993 further empowered local governments and set the stage for efforts to assist them with development planning, working with civil society, and less dependence on central government for resources.

The 1992 constitution established an independent judiciary and several autonomous institutions such as the Commission for Human Rights to investigate and take actions to remedy alleged violations of human rights. The new court system consists of two levels: superior courts and lower courts. The superior courts include the Supreme Court, the Appeals Court, the High Court, and regional tribunals. Parliament has the authority to create a system of lower courts.

The constitution provides for an independent judiciary. However, in practice the judiciary is influenced on occasion by the executive branch. The government nominates any number beyond a minimum of nine members to the Supreme Court, subject to parliament's approval.

These are all indications of how the individual Ghanaian yearns for peace and development in a democratic society. The journey for the quest of seeking a peaceful election to contributing towards the promotion of the democracy of Ghana starts immediately after the swearing in of an incoming democratically elected president.

The democracy of this great nation is by far the hard fought of every single Ghanaian and such must be to preserve it. Democracy as said is always a work in progress. There is still much room for improvement

## Junior fellows' workshop in Freiburg, 6<sup>th</sup> September - 9<sup>th</sup> September 2017 GENDER

In the green city of Germany, fellows met to discuss gender equality and intersectionality in the workplace, university, and political sphere. Among others, invited speakers were Dr. Angela Langenkamp from GIZ and Dr. Aniela Knoblich from University Freiburg. This topic comes at a time when many reflections on the importance and relevance of gender equality in the socio-economic and political environment are taking place. Agenda 2030 and Goal 5 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) consider gender equality as a crucial element to be met if these goals are to be achieved. In mainstreaming gender, one is expected to consider all stages of the project that is assessment, planning, budgeting (which looks at good governance indicators such as transparency and accountability), implementation, monitoring and evaluation and analysis.





## **Good Governance: The Monster of all Centuries – Eric Mutisya Kioko**

Is “good governance” measurable? If so, what parameters can one use to measure good governance? Is good governance achievable? Has any country around the globe attained good governance? How can a nation attain and sustain good governance? Whose responsibility is it to ensure good governance prevails?

Just as other concepts that scientists grapple with, including sustainable development and resilience, the term good governance eludes a definitive definition and is therefore difficult to grasp. The tendency, when definitions are not forthcoming, has always been to associate specific characteristics that henceforth help to explain or bring understanding of the concept.

In this case, good governance is popularly associated with various parameters or characteristics including the rule of law, democracy, accountability, responsiveness, transparency, effectiveness and efficiency, equity, and participation.

Following this vague understanding of good governance, the aforementioned questions become relevant. Indeed, the complexity of this concept transforms it into a monster of the kind and one of the most difficult goals of all centuries. One is left to add more questions to these parameters: what do they actually mean and for whom? Can one measure individual parameters with precision and accuracy? What about nations that focus on achieving some parameters but fail on others? How complex is good governance?

Let us take the example of participation as a parameter of good governance. From the perspective of community development, participation mainly relates to having one’s voice heard in decision-making on pertinent matters affecting them. However, the dominant norm and tradition in most democratic nations is that of participation through representation like in the case of Members of Parliament (MPs) who represent their electorates in decision-making, including the making of law. These very MPs then make and break laws to suit selfish ends perhaps with little or no concern for their electorates whom they represent. A general election cycle comes and goes taking or bringing in new law makers (MPs) who may not change the trend. This is what they call democracy – the fact that electorates have the right to choose by casting their vote to change their representatives in government.

From this simple example, how then do we define participation? Is participation only through the vote, whose outcome may still be skewed to favour certain figures? Is voting equivalent to making one's voice heard on pertinent development matters?

The point here is that participation, democracy, the rule of law, and other parameters of good governance raise more questions than answers, yet "good governance" still hangs as something good to aspire. In fact, it has become commonplace to talk about "good governance" and how important it is for the global community while largely neglecting its complexity.

Moreover, international development initiatives, NGO activities, country development agenda, and civil society activities are increasingly anchored on one or a few priority areas listed in the sustainable development goals in the effort to achieve good governance. Numerous state and non-state actors and institutions then duplicate the very activities making the measurement of the outcomes ever more difficult. In the end, the pursuit of good governance becomes the most expensive agenda of the centuries with little or no outcomes to show.

Is good governance for the global south? There exists a form of silent war between the global north and the global south on the question of good governance. In most cases, good governance as a concept is often thought of to have failed in the global south – Africa featuring quite loudly as the continent for whom the concept was born. In most international development policy papers as well as development indices, Africa features quite frequent as the example of bad governance be it in corruption, abuse of freedoms, abuse of democracy etc. One can then easily conclude that the global north exemplifies good governance and therefore justifies the constant lectures directed towards African governments "to do something".

My take is that each country has fallen short of these parameters in one way or the other, whether in the global north or in the global south. Instead of assigning blame to either side, we should work towards a more unified approach to solve the most pressing governance problems. The rhetoric should be transformed into actionable steps that bring nations together instead of dividing them alongside north – south margins. Notwithstanding, we must acknowledge that there are nations that have put more efforts in the struggle for good governance and whose citizens hold their governments accountable. Likewise, some nations still lag behind on the most important components of good governance and their citizens have little or no say on the state of affairs. Growing as a global entity only means that the "powerful" should support the "powerless" and empower citizens to act.



During the 2011 Tropentag conference titled “Development on the Margin” at the University of Bonn, the chief guest and keynote speaker, Professor Gordon Conway reiterated, “we need to *minimise* corruption”, seemingly alluding to the fact that no nation can eliminate corruption altogether.

Ending corruption, like other parameters of good governance, is nested in global politics, trade, and industry – its support structures traverse international boundaries and build on strong networks and cartels at all levels (local, national, and international).

Dealing with such complex networks cannot be done in isolation. Similarly, the pursuit of good governance is achievable when the international community appreciates the strength in unity.

Through the DAAD supported Africa Good Governance Network domiciled at the Arnold-Bergstraesser-Institut Freiburg in Germany, members of the network who mainly hail from different African countries are confronted with and try to unpack the question of good governance for their specific countries. The starting point is an understanding of what good governance means for specific countries represented in the network and then identify the needs, weaknesses, and strengths of nations on governance matters. Examples are drawn from actual cases and lessons are shared. The goal of the network is eventually to produce experts who are not only trained in Germany on different fields, but also good governance champions in their small and big ways back home.

## Junior fellows' workshop in Brussels, 15<sup>th</sup> November - 17<sup>th</sup> November 2017

### EUROPEAN UNION AND AFRICA

This workshop exposed fellows to the collaboration between Africa and the EU (European Union) just before the 5<sup>th</sup> European Union - African Union summit in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. The 2014-2017 roadmap of this partnership focuses on issues which are challenging in the African space such as high youth unemployment, bad governance, as well as security and migration amidst the Brexit and populism politics in Europe (see <https://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/en/about-us/what-partnership>). Fellows were also schooled on how the EU is structured and how it works, for example, the white paper concept, which presents a foresight of the world in the next decade, and how the EU intends to evolve with it or take advantage of the opportunities. The introductory presentations were given by Dr. Jan Völkel (IES Brussels) and Dr. Catherine Biira (Catholic University of East Africa), a senior AGGN fellow. Four institutions were visited.



Fellows visiting the European Commission



Fellows visiting the African Union Permanent Mission



Fellows at CONCORD



Fellows at ECDPM

## Senior fellows' workshop in Abuja, Nigeria, 24th November 2017

### SECURITY, DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE IN WEST AFRICA

What are the drivers of West-African sub-region's ongoing security and governance challenges? Why has it remained difficult to achieve sub-regional stability and security? And how can security be created which does not threaten democracy? These were some of the guiding questions of the Workshop „Security, Democracy and Governance in West Africa: Lessons, Challenges and Prospects“ that took place on November 24th in Abuja. Fellows of the African Good Governance Network (AGGN) West African Regional Chapter, members of the AGGN Southern and Eastern African Chapter, as well as DAAD alumni from Nigeria came together to discuss issues related to sub-regional security and share their regional insights. The workshop included presentations delivered by Dr. Benson Olugbuo (Cleen Foundation) and Dr. Chris Kwaja (MAUTECH Yola), including further input provided by the ECOWAS Commission. The workshop was followed by an internal meeting of the AGGN West Africa Regional Chapter.





## **Of Shitholes, Shitmouthe, Bad Governance and Africans - Oluseun Tanimomo**

On 12 January 2018, news outlets and social media were abuzz with the sordid and unpalatable news of President Trump's reference to African countries, Haiti and El Salvador as shithole countries. In the same week, herdsmen in the West African country, Nigeria killed tens of citizens in what some have described as a massacre. In the heat of these killings, many Nigerians prayed for the Nigerian president to react to this situation and show some empathy for the victims. The silence from the presidency that greeted this was immorally deafening. Days later, a weak press release followed. Many Nigerians out of frustration agreed to Trump's description of African countries as shitholes.

While other African countries are peaceful and even experience economic growth on the same scale, marginalisation, dictatorial democracies, corruption, and nepotism could lead other states to support Trump's shithole tag. Many Africans will truthfully refute this; they adopt the Nigerian proverb that frowns at such disloyalty in describing one's father's house with the left. It seems to me that Africans have been divided into two camps: Team Support Trump's Shithole Vs Team Support Motherland no matter what. In all this Trump's remarks were evidently racist but they highlight and make apparent the complicity in the web that entails Africa, the Western media, and Western governments. Some have argued that Africa is only a pawn in the chess game called American politics. President Trump, widely detested by the media is only in this quagmire because of the pervasive hatred the media has for him.

As an African, it is, however, important to put things in perspective. President Trump's utterance was wrong and to say the least, very racist. The American President is not new to controversies bordering on racist comments like this. For sure, African countries have their myriads of problems; some threaten the very existence of these countries. Despite this, we should dismantle the racist blocks that constitute the racist house President Trump's statement has built. To be clear, natural disasters and the growing exploitative capitalism in the United States shows that no country is impervious to emigration.

Yet, Western governments are also complicit in turning these countries to “unliveable” spaces. It should not be forgotten that the struggles in these countries started from forced displacement and foreign invasion, first through slavery, then through colonialization. No European power left African countries better as seeds of discord were planted in African countries.

Governments that were imposed on or transferred to African countries, for example, were tilted towards the desires of the colonial masters. Some francophone countries still have their currencies controlled by France. The leaders should, however, take a large chunk of the blame. Since we are mostly concerned about African countries, a few examples will suffice.

In countries like Cameroon, Uganda, Equatorial Guinea, geriatric, and, in my view, visionless presidents have been at the helm of affairs for many years. Yet, these rulers stifle opposition and are brutal about it. Infrastructural development is mostly touted as progress, and this is decades after countries like the United States, Russia have sent men to the moon and outer space. Corruption, nepotism is rife in a lot of African countries, elections are also rigged in many other places. This, is not a good atmosphere to excel, in fact, the living conditions are sometimes not humane.

While we criticise the racism that builds on dysfunctionality in our countries, a clinical and critical evaluation of issues is paramount. It is unfortunate that many Africans agree to the racist comment by the American president. Trump’s statement was discriminatory, insulting, and very racist. By his later preference for Norwegian immigrants as opposed to those from the shithole countries, Trump draws a binary and shows a blatant disrespect to the countries he cited.

Before we agree with Trump’s statement, we should examine his intentions and situate his comment and action in his infamous bank of ugly and nauseating talks. Trump’s comment is not new. Earlier racist remarks included those levelled to Mexican’s as “rapists”; Haitians “all have AIDS”; Nigerians “live in huts”. African countries may be poor, yet we have shown the strength of characters, invented new technologies, written award-winning novels, and fought tyrants. Africans have contributed to the economy of the United States. Our artists have contributed to the aesthetics and multiplicity of the American culture. Africans in the United States are present in all fields contributing to a system that does not necessarily appreciate their hard labour. That our leaders are bad, corrupt and dictatorially influential does not mean our countries are shitholes. To say the least, USA may rank among the shitholes given the grave human rights abuses.

## **Fellows' Projects and Conferences**

One of the objectives of AGGN is to encourage fellows to attend conferences, workshops, seminars and also carry out projects to promote the principles of good governance. Knowledge and skills from these activities are expected to support networking, accountability, transparency, sustainability and much more in our ever-changing world, for the benefit of our generation and that to come.

### **Good Governance Lounge**

AGGN fellow Jacques Nyembe organised a workshop at the University of Applied Science in Osnebrück, in the frame of the MA studies program "Non-profit management" that offered students the possibility to exchange with practitioners on the operationalisation of good governance principles in development projects. The conference was held on the 17<sup>th</sup> January 2017. By using exemplary cases from German development cooperation, students discussed with an expert from a consultancy agency the relation between state and civil society and how their relationship can contribute to more democratic governance on a regional, national as well as global level. The chosen case studies reached from the decentralisation and administrative reform programme in Cambodia to the establishment of a federal audit court in Tanzania to good governance in the mining sector in DRC. Around 20 students participated in the interactive session.



### **UN Working Group on People of African Descent**

A UN working group of Experts on People of African Descent were in Frankfurt for a fact-finding visit on the 23 February 2017. The visit, a part of the comprehensive programme of events decided upon by a UN resolution A/RES/69/16 sought to meet different civil society groups in Germany, and to hear their reports on the social, political and Economic situation of people of African Descent in the Country. Their findings will be published in a report in September 2017.



Dr. Joy Alemazung, senior AGGN Fellow presented a report to the working group on the situation of people of African descent in science and research. In his report, he stated a lack of statistics and funding for research that directly addressed different aspects of the lives of people of African descent in Germany, which translated to policy making targeting this group being made on a very slim fact base. Eric Otieno, an AGGN junior fellow, co-organized and moderated the town-hall meeting.

The International Decade for People of African Descent, to be observed from 2015 to 2024, constitutes an auspicious period of history when the United Nations, member states, civil society and all other relevant actors will join together with people of African descent and take effective measures for the implementation of the programme of activities in the spirit of recognition, justice and development.

### **AGGN at the Kirchentag**

During the Kirchentag, which took place from 24<sup>th</sup> to 28<sup>th</sup> May, AGGN fellows (Eileen Nchanji, Jerome Kpan, Jacque Nyembe, Oluseun Tanimomo and Charles Anchang) met with organisations and institutions that can work together to make Africa prosperous again. AGGN fellows see a need to rework African governance systems at all levels and this can be done if each and every one do their fair share, seek help when it is needed and push forward for a sustainable Africa and the world at large. A food for thought for all Africans in this network and out of it is “African needs you, what are you doing to fill this need?”



AGGN Fellows at the Kirchentag

**Good Governance Debate Series**

CLEAN-AFRICA, together with the African Good Governance Network (AGGN), held a Good Governance Debate Series (GGDS 2017) on the Topic: „The Refugee Crisis is the BRAIN-CHILD of EU failed Policies Not Climate Change”. The debate series took place from 5<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> November 2017. The program offered participants the opportunity not only to network, engage in dialogue and debate, broaden their knowledge on the implications of migration and sustainable development, but also to enhance their public speaking skills through a training workshop.

**International Day for Disaster Reduction**

The international Day for Disaster Risk Reduction was organized by the Africa Good Governance Network (AGGN) and the United Nations Major Group for Children and Youth (UN MGCY). It took place at the Center for Development Research (ZEF) in Bonn on the 12th of October 2017. The topic of the event was 'Substantially Reducing the Number of Affected People by Disasters; Good Governance and the Role of the Youth'. At the event, various practitioners and academics spoke to an engaged audience. Among others, AGGN fellow Sandra Delali Kemeh, the Africa Regional Focal point for the disaster risk reduction (DRR) working group of UNMGCY, presented the current state of affairs of meaningful Africa youth engagement in DRR at different scales.



## **To meet all the SDGs, We Need Investment and Partnership, not Aid – Eileen Nchanji, Charles Anchang, Oluseun Tanimomo & Jerome Kpan**

To be able to achieve the SDGs our entry points as Africans will be through SDG 17 and 10, which call for partnerships for these goals and reduced inequalities.

African countries have been recipients of foreign assistance since their independence. According to Anderson from the Guardian newspaper, Sub-Saharan Africa receives about \$134bn each year in loans, foreign investment and development. Most of the aid directed to Africa comes from the United States (U.S), United Kingdom (U.K) and Germany. The United States contributes roughly 20 percent in aid to Africa and countries like Egypt, Kenya, and South Sudan - are the most prominent beneficiaries.

While, the United States development assistance programmes like the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) and the Africa Development Foundation (ADF) are said to have contributed in stimulating local economies, they have also contributed to a culture of dependency in Africa and fostered paternalism - as opposed to a partnership. A report authored by 13 UK and Africa-based NGOs including (Health Poverty Action, Jubilee Debt Campaign, World Development Movement, African Forum and Network on Debt and Development, Friends of the Earth Africa, Tax Justice Network, People's Health Movement Kenya, Zimbabwe and UK, War on Want, Community Working Group on Health Zimbabwe, Medact, Healthworkers4All, Friends of the Earth South Africa, JA!Justiça Ambiental/Friends of the Earth Mozambique) reported that Africa is being looted by the same countries that provide them with aid, through tax evasion, climate change mitigation, and the profit flight. The UK-based NGO ActionAid last year also supported these claims when it mentioned that half of the large corporate investment in Africa transit through a tax haven.

The perception has always been that governments of developed countries are generous to the global South. The reverse is true when foreign multinational companies syphon \$46bn out of Sub-Saharan Africa each year and move \$35bn into tax havens around the world. Thus, out of the \$134bn provided as aid, \$192bn leaves the continent creating a deficit of \$58bn. This situation is exacerbated as African governments spend \$21bn a year on debt repayments from aids in the form of loans. According to Martin Drewry of the Health Poverty Action, aid is “sustained looting – the opposite of generous giving”.

He proposes that NGOs and leaders be more transparent and accountable. Sarah-Jayne Clifton, director of Jubilee Debt Campaign, notes that in achieving SDG 10, the inequalities between Africa and the rest of the World must be tackled by relooking at the root-causes - debt dependency and the loss of government revenue through tax dodging.

Although critics argue that reduced aid, especially from the US, adversely affect development projects, this is an opportunity for the African continent to rise and evolve in its relationship with countries which provide it with aids. Many opinions have been given on how this can be achieved framed around concepts such as democracy, sustainable development, policy change and structural transformation through the building of an enabling environment which promotes prosperity in Africa.

The African Union Commission Deputy Chairperson, Ambassador Kwesi Quartey, during the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (in a session on accelerating progress in building productive capacities in least developed countries and other vulnerable economies), said, “Africa’s transformation framework, Agenda 2063 and the global Agenda 2030, will only be achieved through capacity building of the population at all levels and scales”. He proposed educational, information and communications technology training which will produce highly trained professionals and skilled population to build infrastructures and provide entrepreneurial opportunities. The Vice President of the Republic of Ghana, H.E Mahamudu Bawumia, added that, “Ghana’s comparative advantage is in its agriculture sector, the reason why they are launching the marshal plan to enhance productivity through industrialization and value addition to our products”.

On January 18, the Marshall Plan was born. This new German initiative aims to increase trade and development on the African continent through three pillars: economic activity, trade and employment; peace and security; and democracy and the rule of law. The Marshall Plan with Africa is not about aid delivery to Africa but an initiative to support African development. It is a pro-private investment shift but not wholly shifting away from Official development assistance. Some elements of the Marshall plan prioritise; reformed partnerships, investing in entrepreneurship where the private sector contributes to creating long-term employment opportunities (creating an attractive environment within Africa for itself), where young people see a future for themselves in Africa.

With the highest youth population in the world, building our capacities at all levels and scale, strengthening our partnerships and creating an enabling environment for investment will make Africa prosperous again and help us achieve the SDGs, agenda 2030 and 2036.



## **Shithole Countries: Was it a Wrong Choice of Words? - Charles Gwellem Anchang**

The current president of the United States, H.E. President Donald Trump has been under fire since January 12<sup>th</sup>, 2018, for allegedly referring to Ecuador, Haiti and African countries as “shithole” countries. This vulgar statement from the “world’s strongest man” connotes racism and his lack of desire to welcome immigrants from the countries above. President Donald Trump has regularly denied allegations that he used the vulgar slang. However, his denial has not shielded him from heavy criticism from citizens of the world especially African leaders, who took the matter quite personally. It should be noted that this is not the first time the U.S. top politician makes pejorative statements about other countries. In January 2016, he referred to Brussels as a hellhole; he also incensed the police of Paris and London as cowards, by saying that they were too scared of some neighbourhoods, occupied supposedly by Islamists. Trump is also known for his numerous controversial comments against Mexico and many other countries. In as much as Trump’s “shithole” slang sparked diplomatic protest from the African Union and most of its member states, the reactions from ordinary African citizens have been mixed. Most African citizens, who are often dissatisfied with their leaders and the governance situations plaguing their countries, thought that Trump’s vulgar word was true and was a necessary action to make African leaders stand on their toes and be more engaged. Many other Africans thought that Trump was right but should have used diplomatic language. Furthermore, other African citizens joined their political leaders in criticising president Trump for this “insult”. In addition to its anatomical meaning, the term “shithole” also means a “disgusting” otherwise unpleasant place according to Thesaurus dictionary.

Many countries in Africa are currently facing challenges including governance crises, insecurity, unemployment, conflict, poor health, and educational facilities, non-respect of human rights and many more. Many of these unsolved challenges have fuelled not only the unpopularity of the African leaders among their people but also the strong desire in the African youth, to travel abroad for greener pastures.

The ideal destinations are often western countries, but migration to the Middle East and Asia are becoming more common and more significant recently. African migrants often face serious human rights abuses especially in Asia and along their journey through the Mediterranean route to Europe.

African leaders until now have never held a meeting to address the migration related crises, including the trans-Mediterranean migration crises, abandoning the burden to the E.U., which, on occasions, has provided humanitarian support to migrants often stranded at sea without help.

It should also be noted that African governments receive billions worth of dollars in terms of security, development, and humanitarian aid from the U.S. and the European Union. Africa in this light is perceived to be always receiving and contributing less. Will many African nations continue depending on various types of foreign aid despite their richness in raw materials? Could economic and political dependence be a reason why Africa/Africans are often seen as a burden for the more developed countries? Would a more politically or economically independent Africa lead to more respect for the African continent and its citizens? Was Trump right but his choice of words wrong?



## Imprint and Editorial Board

### Imprint

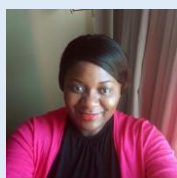
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Eileen Nchanji is the author of the workshop reports on the democracy, the gender and the Europe and Africa Workshop. Lydia Radoli is the author of the workshop report on the Intra-State Conflict workshop. Other texts are shortened and slightly adapted from the website.

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