

THE CENTER FOR AFRICAN STUDIES PRESENTS

THE 29th ANNUAL GWENDOLEN M. CARTER CONFERENCE



THE POLITICS OF PERMANENT FLUX: STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

MARCH 15-16, 2013
REITZ UNION ROOM 282
University of Florida, Gainesville



Gwendolen M. Carter

This year marks the 29th year that the Center for African Studies at the University of Florida has organized annual lectures or a conference in honor of the late distinguished Africanist scholar, Gwendolen M. Carter. Gwendolen Carter devoted her career to scholarship and advocacy concerning the politics of inequality and injustice, especially in southern Africa. She also worked hard to foster the development of African Studies as an academic enterprise. She was perhaps best known for her pioneering study *The Politics of Inequality: South Africa Since 1948* and the co-edited four-volume *History of African Politics in South Africa: From Protest to Challenge (1972-1977)*.

In the spirit of her career, the annual Carter lectures offers the university community and the greater public the perspectives of Africanist scholars on issues of pressing importance to the peoples and societies of Africa. Since 2004, the Center has (with the generous support of the College of Liberal Arts & Sciences) appointed a Carter Faculty Fellow to serve as convener of the conference. Dr. Terje Østebø, assistant professor of Religion and African Studies is the 2013 Carter Conference Fellow. Please check the back cover of this program for a complete list of the Carter conference themes since its inception.

2013 CARTER CONFERENCE CONVENERS



Terje Østebø

is an assistant professor at the Center for African Studies and the Department of Religion, University of Florida. His research interests are Islam in Ethiopia, contemporary Islam and Islamic reform in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. Recent publications include *Muslim Ethiopia: The Christian Legacy, Identity Politics, and Islamic Reformism* (coedited with Patrick Desplat, Palgrave-Macmillan, 2013); *Localising Salafism: Religious Change among Oromo Muslims in Bale, Ethiopia* (Brill 2012); "Islam and State Relations in Ethiopia: From Containment to the Production of a 'Governmental Islam'" in the *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* (2013); *Islamism in the Horn of Africa: Assessing Ideology, Actors, and Objectives*, International Law and Policy Institute (2010).



Leonardo Arriola

is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. His research focuses on democratization, ethnic politics, and political violence. He is the author of *Multiethnic*

Coalitions in Africa: Business Financing of Opposition Election Campaigns (Cambridge, 2012). His articles have appeared in *World Politics* and *Comparative Politics*. He is the current vice chair of the African Politics Conference Group, a research network affiliated with the African Studies Association.



Tobias Hagmann

is an associate professor at Roskilde University and a fellow of the Rift Valley Institute. He has conducted fieldwork on conflict and political developments in Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya and, most

recently, in the Somali diaspora in the US. He is, together with Didier Péclard, the co-editor of *Negotiating Statehood: Dynamics of Power and Domination in Africa* (Development and Change, Vol. 41, No 4, 2010). His most recent book, co-edited with Jon Abbink, is *Reconfiguring Ethiopia: The Politics of Authoritarian Reform* (Routledge, 2013).

2013 Gwendolen M. Carter Conference

THE POLITICS OF PERMANENT FLUX: STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

"Can the Horn Change?"

CHRISTOPHER CLAPHAM

Christopher Clapham is an Associate of the Centre of African Studies, University of Cambridge, and was editor of *The Journal of Modern African Studies* from 1997 to 2012. Until his retirement in December 2002, he was professor of politics & international relations at Lancaster University, and has also taught at the universities of Addis Ababa, Cambridge, Manchester and the West Indies. He was President of the African Studies Association of the United Kingdom from 1992 to 1994.

His main area of expertise is in the international relations of Africa, and he has published several books on this: *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival* (Cambridge University Press 1996); *African Guerrillas* (James Currey 1998). He has a specialist interest in the politics of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa, on which he has written two books, *Haile-Selassie's Government* (1969), and *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia* (1988, revised 1990), as well as a large number of articles. He is also interested in the politics of Liberia and Sierra Leone, on which he has written *Liberia and Sierra Leone: An Essay in Comparative Politics* (1976), and a number of articles.

He is the author of a textbook, *Third World Politics* (1985), and has edited books on *Foreign Policy Making in Developing States* (1977), *Private Patronage and Public Power* (1982), and *The Political Dilemmas of Military Regimes* (1984). Major articles include: "The Collapse of Socialist Development in the Third World", *Third World Quarterly*, 1992; "Democratisation in Africa: Obstacles and Prospects", *Third World Quarterly*, 1993; "The International Relations of African Insurgencies", *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 1995; "Governmentality and Economic Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa", *Third World Quarterly*, 1996; "Degrees of Statehood", *Review of International Studies*, 1998; "Rwanda: The Perils of Peace-Making", *Journal of Peace Research*, 1998; "Sovereignty and the Third World State", *Political Studies*, 1999; and "Rethinking African States", *African Security Review*, 2001; 'Ethiopian Development: the politics of emulation', *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 2006; 'The Political Economy of African Population Change', *Population and Development Review*, 2006.



■ HARN MUSEUM CHANDLER AUDITORIUM MARCH 15 | 6:30PM

FRIDAY MARCH 15 REITZ UNION ROOM 282

8:00 - 8:30a

COFFEE & TEA

8:30 - 8:45a

OPENING REMARKS

8:45 - 10:45a

REMEMBERING THE PAST, IMAGINING THE FUTURE

Chair: Todd Leedy (University of Florida)

Victoria Bernal (University of California-Irvine)

"Sacrificial Citizenship: The Eritrean State and Modes of Belonging"

Lako Tongum (Pitzer College)

"Peculiarities of the Postcolonial State and Society in the Republic of South Sudan"

Ezekiel Gebissa (Kettering University)

"Losing the Narrative: Oromo Nationalism and the Struggle for Legitimacy"

10:45 - 11:00a

BREAK

11:00 - 1:00p

CIVIL SOCIETY, PUBLIC SPHERE AND RESISTANCE

Chair: Sharon Abramowitz (University of Florida)

Jon Abbink (Center for African Studies, Leiden)

"Paradoxes of Religious Freedom and the Civic Order: the Ethiopian 'Secular State' and the Containment of Religious Identity Politics"

Lahra Smith (Georgetown University)

"Non-state Action in the Horn of Africa: Reform and Contestation"

Marit Tolo Østebø (University of Bergen)

"Translations of Gender Equality in Ethiopia"

Discussant: Brenda Chalfin (University of Florida)

1:00 - 2:30p

LUNCH

2:30 - 4:30p

DEMOCRACY, SECURITY, AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Chair: Renata Serra (University of Florida)

Leonardo Arriola (University of California-Berkeley)

"Suppressing Protest: The Geographic Logic of Mass Arrests"

Tobias Hagmann (University of Roskilde)

"The Return of Garrison Rule in the Ethiopian Ogaden, 2006-2012"

Kjetil Tronvoll (International Law and Policy Institute & University of Oslo)

"Eritrea - The Development of an African Garrison State"

Discussant: Leonardo Villalón (University of Florida)

6:30p

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Harn Museum Chandler Auditorium

Christopher Clapham (University of Cambridge)

"Can the Horn Change?"

Moderator: Leonardo Arriola

RECEPTION

SATURDAY MARCH 16 | REITZ UNION ROOM 282

8:15 - 8:45a

COFFEE & TEA

8:45 - 10:45a

RECONFIGURATIONS OF STATE-RELIGION RELATIONSHIPS

Chair: Luise White (University of Florida)

Joseph Venosa (Clayton State University)

“No God but the State: Islam and Political Autonomy in Contemporary Eritrea”

Rashid Abdi (NGO Safety Program)

“Al-Shabaab and the Future of Islamism in Somalia”

Terje Østebø (University of Florida)

“Growing Islamic ‘Extremism’ in Ethiopia: Myth or Reality?”

Discussant: Jon Abbink (Center for African Studies, Leiden)

10:45 - 11:00a

BREAK

11:00 - 1:00p

REGIONAL CONFLICTS, CONNECTIONS, AND CONUNDRUMS

Chair: Rene Lemarchand (University of Florida)

Michael Woldemariam (Boston University)

“The Perils of Partition: Successor States, War, and the Challenge of Eritrean-Ethiopian Relations”

Lovise Aalen (Christian Michelsen Institute)

“The Derg’s Support to the Emerging Insurgency in Southern Sudan: Exporting the Principle of ‘National Self-determination’”

Ken Menkhaus (Davidson College)

“‘We Want Here What We’ve Got in Kenya’: The Great Somali Experiment in Multiple Political Settings in the Eastern Horn”

Discussant: E.J. Hogendoom (International Crisis Group)

1:00 - 2:30p

LUNCH

2:30 - 4:30p

DIASPORAS, TRANSNATIONALISM, AND IDENTITIES

Chair: Alioune Sow (University of Florida)

Terrence Lyons (George Mason University)

“Framing the Global Debate: Transnational Mobilization and the Ogaden Conflict”

Jatin Dua (Duke University)

“Afloat in a Sea of Trade: Reimagining Diaspora and Mobility in Contemporary Somalia”

Amanda Poole (Indiana University of Pennsylvania)

“‘I could go, but my Children belong to the Government’: Perspectives on International Migration from the Eritrean Lowlands”

Discussant: Abdoulaye Kane (University of Florida)

4:30 - 5:00p

CLOSING REMARKS

7:30p

RECEPTION

ABSTRACTS/PRESENTERS



The Derg's Support to the Emerging Insurgency in Southern Sudan: Exporting the Principle of 'National Self-Determination'

Lovise Aalen

The Ethiopian military regime of the Derg gave support to emerging Southern Sudanese liberation movements from the time they took power by coup d'état in Ethiopia in 1974. This paper examines the ideological aspects of Ethiopian support. Special attention is paid to the impact of the Derg's thinking on the concept of national self-determination and the Southern Sudanese insurgents' own stand on the question of independence versus autonomy for Southern Sudan. For the Derg, which struggled with its own insurgencies, it was politically difficult to support a secessionist group in Sudan. The analysis of the Derg's ideological input gives important insight into why the Southern People's Liberation Front and John Garang promoted the idea of a united 'New Sudan' instead of an independent Southern Sudan in the struggle against the regime in Khartoum.

Lovise Aalen is a Senior Researcher at the Christian Michelsen Institute in Norway. She researches democratisation, ethnic conflict and governance in the Horn of Africa and is the author of *The Politics of Ethnicity in Ethiopia*.

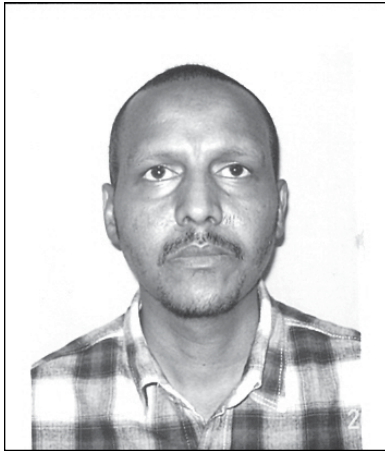


Paradoxes of Religious Freedom and the Civic Order: The Ethiopian 'Secular State' and the Containment of Religious Identity Politics.

Jon Abbink

The recent public controversies and the repressive actions of the Ethiopian government in managing religious relations — and especially toward Muslim self-organization — have highlighted the explosive nature of religious identification and identity politics in the constitutionally secular state that is Ethiopia. What is the secular state in Ethiopia, how is it managed, and how is it perceived among the three large religious communities (Orthodox, Protestant-Evangelical, and Muslim) in Ethiopia? On the basis of existing documents and laws, interviews with ordinary believers and several communal leaders, and an analysis of the 2012 Addis Ababa crisis around the Muslim Council elections, this paper presents a tentative overview of possible factors inducing conflict and of the pressures on the secular model in Ethiopia in the context of "identity politics." It relates the discussion to some historical patterns, emerging communal clashes and global developments, ultimately connecting to debates on the Enlightenment heritage of the separation of church and state, thereby addressing issues of civic pluralism and political theory on Africa.

Jon Abbink is Professor of African Studies at the VU University in Amsterdam and a senior researcher at the African Studies Centre in Leiden. His research interests are ethnic relations and political culture in Northeast Africa, the anthropology of Ethiopia, and religious-communal relations in Ethiopia.



Al-Shabaab and the Future of Islamism in Somalia

Rashid Abdi

Somalia's hardline Islamist group is on the back foot, politically and militarily, as a coalition of powerful regional and international actors tighten the noose and public aversion to its brand of politics and theology mounts. Al-Shabab (AS) may be weakened, but its potential to foment trouble inside and outside Somalia remains undiminished. The notion that there is a new "groundswell of moderation" about to sweep Shababism away is not true. Tackling AS's ideology is an urgent imperative, but the battle is unlikely to be won anytime soon primarily because AS's agenda of establishing a conservative Wahhabi state is shared by other Islamist groups and the Salafi-inspired social conservatism agenda is extant in wider society. Beyond AS,

Somalia's brand of Islamism has not shifted beyond the Ikhwan-model. Salafi currents remain dominant. The return of Al-Islah to pre-eminence (current president is an Al-Islah member) is far from a return to moderation. This paper will discuss these issues in greater depth and point to possible scenarios in the evolution of Islamism in Somalia.

Rashid Abdi is Senior Analyst with the NGO Safety Programme (NSP) for Somalia/Somaliland and a researcher on Somalia and the Greater Horn. He previously worked with the BBC, the International Crisis Group and served as Religion Editor with East Africa's *Daily Nation*.



Suppressing Protest: The Geographic Logic of Mass Arrests

Leonardo Arriola

Authoritarian governments are known to suppress protests that threaten the political status quo, but it remains unclear whether they seek to maximize the impact of repression through a strategy of indiscriminate or targeted coercion. This paper examines how the Ethiopian government responded to opposition protests that erupted in the national capital after disputed election results in 2005. Based on an analysis of nearly 15,000 protest-related arrest records, the paper shows that the Ethiopian government sought to suppress protest through a strategy of geographic targeting, detaining young men mainly residing near the executive office. Distance from the executive office alone can explain nearly a third of the variation in

neighborhood arrest rates, while factors such as the intensity of protest, the location of opposition leader arrests, and the location of police stations are found to have no impact on neighborhood arrest rates.

Leonardo Arriola is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. He is the author of *Multiethnic Coalitions in Africa: Business Financing of Opposition Election Campaigns*.



Sacrificial Citizenship: The Eritrean State and Modes of Belonging

Victoria Bernal

This paper explores the dynamics of Eritrean sovereignty. Since independence the PFDJ have drawn on the culture forged by the EPLF to construct Eritrea's national political culture. Central to that political culture is an ethos of sacrifice for the common good, exemplified in the figure of "the martyr" who gives his life for the nation. The martyr, I argue, represents the essence of the social contract between Eritreans and the state in which the citizen's role is to serve the nation and sacrifice themselves for the survival and well-being of the nation. I call this "sacrificial citizenship." There is an unboundedness in the state's demands upon its citizens, and

this extends to the diaspora. Different modes of belonging to the nation, however, are reflected in the different kinds of sacrifices demanded from youth and from diaspora, for example. The concept of sacrificial citizenship provides insights into Eritrean political dynamics that a focus on the rule of law, neoliberalism, or even Agamben's notion of "bare life" does not afford us.

Victoria Bernal is Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Irvine. Her interests include civil society, new media, war/militarism, gender, diaspora, and Islam. She is completing a monograph entitled *Nation as Network: Diaspora, Cyberspace, and Citizenship*.



Afloat in a Sea of Trade: Reimagining Diaspora and Mobility in Contemporary Somalia

Jatin Dua

Since 2007, an unprecedented upsurge in incidents of maritime piracy off the coast of Somalia has led to renewed global attention to this region, including the deployment of multi-national naval patrols and attempts to prosecute suspected pirates in jurisdictions around the world. Within this world of pirates, navies and increasingly private military companies is a thriving trans-regional maritime economy connecting the port cities of Somalia to the ebbs and flows of a global sea of trade and exchange. From the vantage point of this privatized maritime economy, this paper seeks to recast understandings of mobility and diaspora by pointing to geographies, histories, and itineraries that remain otherwise obscured when viewed from the solidity of terra firma.

Jatin Dua is a PhD candidate in the Department of Cultural Anthropology at Duke University. His dissertation focuses on maritime piracy and attempts to regulate the Western Indian Ocean by private actors, nation-states, and international bodies.



Losing the Narrative: Oromo Nationalism and the Struggle for Legitimacy in Ethiopia

Ezekiel Gebissa

The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) has been able to remain in power longer than the regime it replaced in 1991 – primarily on its success in bringing together sympathetic Western interests and Ethiopian groups wary of the political objectives the opposition. Considering Oromo nationalism its principal foe, the regime has succeeded in casting the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) as anti-peace, anti-democratic, and anti-development force and in desensitizing Western and pro-Oromo Ethiopians to the legitimate demands of the Oromo people. Until recently, OLF leaders did not seem to understand the political and information battles the EPRDF has been waging and never engaged in a counterstrategy. My paper argues that Oromo nationalists have been waging battles pursuing the abstract objectives self-determination rather than a political struggle aimed at achieving fundamental human rights. At the moment, they are articulating a different narrative of their purpose and objectives. If they succeed in broadening their appeal, it is possible that they would become a compelling political force in Ethiopian politics.

Ezekiel Gebissa is Professor of History and African Studies at Kettering University. He is the author of *Leaf of Allah: Khat and the Transformation of Agriculture in Harerge Ethiopia, 1875–1991* and editor of *Contested Terrain: Essays on Oromo Studies, Ethiopianist Discourses, and Politically Engaged Scholarship*.



The Return of Garrison Rule in the Ethiopian Ogaden, 2006-2012

Tobias Hagmann

This paper provides an empirical account and analysis of key political developments in the Somali regional state of Ethiopia, commonly referred to as Ogaden, between 2006 and 2007. It traces the securitization of regional politics after the April 2007 attack on the Abole oilfield by the rebel Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), the counter-insurgency campaigns by, first, the Ethiopian army and, second, Somali militia known as liyu or special police, and the recent peace talks between the ONLF and the Ethiopian government. The paper argues that Ethiopia's Somali periphery has recently seen the revival of a historic mode of government by which the Ethiopian center rules its periphery, i.e. garrison rule. Drawing on interviews with Somali-Ethiopians from the Diaspora, correspondence with former informants and news reports, I highlight contemporary garrison rule in the Ethiopian Ogaden in the context of triple dynamics of intensification, indigenization and internationalization of the conflict.

Tobias Hagmann is Associate Professor in International Development at Roskilde University, a research associate at the University of Zurich, and a research fellow at the Rift Valley Institute. His most recent book, co-edited with Jon Abbink, is *Reconfiguring Ethiopia: The Politics of Authoritarian Reform*.



Framing the Global Debate: Transnational Mobilization and the Ogaden Conflict

Terrence Lyons

The protracted conflict between Addis Ababa and the insurgent Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) escalated sharply in 2007 and 2008. Both the regime and the ONLF mobilized to shape the debate about the nature of the conflict in key international capitals. The ONLF and its supporters within the Ogadeni diasporas emphasized narratives of genocide and comparisons to the war in Darfur while the ruling party in Ethiopia sought to frame the conflict as an arena of the global war on terrorism and the rebels as proxies for terrorist networks based in Eritrea and Somalia. This battle to influence international perceptions is clearly illustrated by several instances when officials from government travelled abroad to make their case and faced noisy demonstrations and counter-campaigns from diaspora groups. Both parties perceived transnational mobilization as an important component of their strategy as they engaged in local conflict.

Terrence Lyons is Associate Professor at the School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution and co-director of the Center for Global Studies at George Mason University. He is co-editor of *Politics from Afar: Transnational Diasporas and Networks* and author of *Avoiding Conflict in the Horn of Africa: U.S. Policy toward Ethiopia and Eritrea*.



“We Want Here What We’ve Got in Kenya”: The Great Somali Experiment in Multiple Political Settings in the Eastern Horn

Ken Menkhaus

The eastern Horn of Africa is the site of a fascinating experiment in comparative politics. There, six different Somali communities operate in six very distinct political systems — Somalia, Puntland, Somaliland, Djibouti, eastern Ethiopia, and northern Kenya — as citizens, subjects, and in some locations “the ungoverned.” Local Somali politics has been studied separately in all of these settings, but never in a systematic comparative framework. One nation engaging in politics in six very different political systems offers unique research opportunities. To what extent have these different political settings produced different political behavior in government and in opposition? New political cultures? New narratives? Or have Somali political dynamics remained

largely constant across this very wide range of political settings? Finally, to what extent are Somalis themselves taking advantage of this situation to learn lessons across political lines? This paper provides preliminary answers to these questions based on a review of existing research and the author’s recent fieldwork.

Ken Menkhaus is Professor of Political Science at Davidson College. He serves as Director of Studies of the Rift Valley Institute’s annual Horn of Africa course and has written over 50 articles and book chapters on Somalia and the Horn of Africa.



Growing Islamic 'Extremism' in Ethiopia: Myth or Reality?

Terje Østebø

Last year's developments in Ethiopia, with tensions related to the al-Ahbash movement, the Awolia College and elections to the Ethiopian Islamic Affairs Supreme College, have accentuated allegations that Islam in Ethiopia is becoming increasingly "radicalized." The Ethiopian regime has repeatedly claimed that elements within the Muslim community are seeking political power with the objective of making Ethiopia an Islamic state, and have arrested a number of individuals charged with terrorism.

In particular, it is the so-called Salafi/Wahhabi movement that is identified as driving force in this development. This paper seeks to interrogate and question such allegations. Based on findings from long-term ethnographic fieldwork among Salafis in Ethiopia, together with a discussion of the ideological nature of Ethiopian Salafism and of the particular trajectory of Muslim history in Ethiopia, the paper argues that the country's Muslims in general, and the Salafis in particular, remain a rather protective constituency, and displays, on some occasions, even xenophobic attitudes towards the wider Ethiopian society.

Terje Østebø is Assistant Professor in the Center for African Studies and the Department of Religion, University of Florida. His research focuses on religion/Islam in the Horn of Africa. He is the author of *Localising Salafism: Religious Change among Oromo Muslims in Bale, Ethiopia*.



Translations of Gender Equality in Ethiopia

Marit Tolo Østebø

Gender equality has during the last decade emerged as a central area of concern for the Ethiopian federal government. A national Action Plan for Gender Equality was launched in 2006 and gender has been mainstreamed into national development policies such as the Poverty Reduction Plan (PESDEP) and the most recent Growth and Transformation Plan. This paper aims to shed light on whether efforts to promote women's empowerment and gender equality in Ethiopia impinge or enhance women as civil society actors. The paper is based on policy analysis and research conducted in two rural districts in the Oromia Regional State. I pay particular attention to discrepancies between official gender policies and translations of the policies by experts at the lower administrative levels as well as to local responses. The paper argues that the way gender equality is promoted reflects a narrow conceptualization of the concept which may impinge on women's role in civil society.

Marit Tolo Østebø is a PhD candidate at the University of Bergen and a departmental associate at the Center for African Studies, University of Florida. Her publications include "Women's Respect and Rights among the Arsi Oromo of southeast Ethiopia" in *Research in Ethiopian Studies*, edited by H. Aspen et al.



“I could go, but my children belong to the government”: Perspectives on International Migration from the Eritrean Lowlands

Amanda Poole

This paper explores the effect of migrations across the Eritrean-Sudanese border on ethnic identities and perceptions of citizenship in the western lowlands of Eritrea. Traditionally inhabited by agro-pastoral communities, the western lowlands became the focus of state-led refugee resettlement and agrarian development at independence, when as many as 200,000 Eritreans were repatriated to this region from Sudan. These resettlement projects created ethno-linguistic and religiously diverse communities that reconfigured historical patterns of land use, property rights, and place names. In the

2000s, migration trends reversed, and these lowlands communities at the margins of the Eritrean state became gateways to Sudan for those attempting to flee the country. This paper draws from ethnographic research on refugee resettlement and outmigration in lowlands Eritrea to explore the effects of international mobility on perceptions of the state and on the national, ethnic, and gendered identities of “returnees” and the “stayees” that welcomed them.

Amanda Poole is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. Her work has appeared in the *Journal of Peasant Studies*, the edited volume *Biopolitics, Militarism, and Development: Eritrean in the 21st Century*, and is under review in *Africa Today*.



Non-State Action in the Horn of Africa: Reform and Contestation

Lahra Smith

Does civil society in the Horn of Africa have a distinct framing? This paper considers the constellation of non-state actors in the Horn, and their relationship to the state, and argues in part that there are distinct historical and political understandings of what it means to exist in the space called “civil society.” All of the contemporary political regimes of the Horn imagine a distinctly narrow field of non-state action, appealing mainly to citizens’ previous experiences with political violence, revolution and disorder, but also to long-standing understandings of state hegemony. Still, there are reform-

ist voices, however disparate and loosely organized. An attempt is made here to map out who those voices are and their possibilities for engagement with state power. The conclusion considers how civil society can convince the citizenry of the importance of a non-state field of engagement as a counter to state dominance.

Lahra Smith is Assistant Professor in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. Her research focuses on the citizenship, women and political reform in African countries. She is the author of *Making Citizens in Africa: Ethnicity, Gender, and National Identity in Ethiopia*.



Peculiarities of the Postcolonial State and Society in the Republic of South Sudan

Lako Tongum

The new Republic of South Sudan (ROSS) entered the postcolonial stage when it gained its political sovereignty in 2011. But the nature of the postcolonial conditions which face the new “nation” has thrown into sharp relief the unusual complexities of the political economy of the “postcolonial.” In ROSS, the use of the post-colonial to describe the nature of the “postcolonial state” and “society” is explicitly complicated by a duality of colonial experiences or phases in South Sudan. The paper explores the incomplete nature of the post-colonial state and society in ROSS. It analyses the “problem of foundations” for a “post-colonial state” and “society” in South Sudan. Secondly, it aims to understand the nature of “transition” and strategies to construct a South Sudanese state and a “national social formation” or polity. The paper shows some acute disjuncture between the national liberation struggles, “national consciousness,” and transformation of both leadership and citizens from diverse ethnic communities into a “national polity” which strives for mutual democratic politics and accountability.

Lako Tongum is an Associate Professor of International and Intercultural Studies and Political Studies at Pitzer College. He is working on a book entitled *Planning the Tragedies: Political Economy of Development Policies, Genocides, and the Break-up of the Sudan*.



Eritrea - The Development of an African Garrison State

Kjetil Tronvoll

The article analyzes the political development of independent Eritrea. Liberation war history, ideology and political culture, and real and perceived internal and external security threats are key factors to explain the authoritarian development of the post-independent regime. Using theoretical strands from revolutionary theory, security studies and human rights, the article will deconstruct the myth of Eritrean “uniqueness” to show that it is easily comparable to classical theories of authoritarian development and is probably the best example in today’s world of the “garrison state,” a theory harking back to the 1930s.

Kjetil Tronvoll is founding Senior Partner at International Law and Policy Institute (ILPI), Professor of Human Rights at University of Oslo and Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at Bjorknes College. He is author of *The African Garrison State: Human Rights and Political Development in Eritrea, 1991-2011*.



No God but the State: Islam and Political Autonomy in Contemporary Eritrea

Joseph Venosa

Since the Eritrean government's crackdown against political dissent in September 2001, one major result during the ensuing decade has been the systematic curtailing of both religious freedom and the ability of religious institutions to operate with any degree of legitimate autonomy. In the context of Eritrea's Sunni Muslim community, Islamic community autonomy and practices have been particularly limited amid the current environment. This paper analyzes Islamic institutions' complicated role in present-day Eritrea with an emphasis on how Eritrean Muslims both within and outside of the country have attempted to maneuver through the current political constraints. It discusses how current challenges within the country reflect broader historical trends both in Eritrea and across the region. It also demonstrates how some Muslim communities have attempted to balance their delicate status within the country while embracing their historic role in addressing issues of political disenfranchisement and social justice within a national context.

Joseph L. Venosa is Assistant Professor of African History and the Islamic World at Clayton State University. His research focuses on contemporary nationalist movements and Islamic practices in the Horn of Africa. He is completing a book entitled *Paths toward the Nation: Islam, Community, and Nationalism in Eritrea, 1941-61*.



The Perils of Partition: Successor States, War, and the Challenge of Eritrean-Ethiopian Relations

Michael Woldemariam

Partition is a controversial subject in contemporary international relations, and rightfully so. While it is an oft-cited solution to protracted identity based civil wars, it has the capacity to create just as many problems as it resolves. A particularly serious consequence of partition is that relations between post-partition successor states are often frosty, and in some cases, characterized by significant violence. Why does partition often result in acrimonious, highly militarized relations between successor states? Based on several years of field work in the Horn of Africa, this paper takes up this issue through an analysis of Eritrea's secession from Ethiopia in 1993. It argues that a central difficulty of post-partition relations are the very different "partition narratives" that secession processes produce among successor states. The paper concludes by comparing the Eritrea-Ethiopia case to other instances of partition around the globe.

Michael Woldemariam is Assistant Professor of International Relations and Political Science at Boston University. His current book project, *Why Rebels Collide: Factionalism and Fragmentation in African Insurgencies*, investigates the fragmentation of rebel organizations into mutually exclusive, competing groups.

DISCUSSTANTS



Jon Abbink

Jon Abbink is Professor of African Studies at the VU University, Amsterdam, and a senior researcher at the African Studies Centre in Leiden. His research interests are ethnic relations and political culture in Northeast Africa, the anthropology of Ethiopia, and religious–communal relations in Ethiopia.



Brenda Chalfin

Brenda Chalfin is Associate Professor of Anthropology and affiliate faculty in the Center for African Studies at the University of Florida. She is the author of *Shea Butter Republic: State Power, Global Markets, and the Making of an Indigenous Commodity and Neoliberal Frontiers: An Ethnography of Sovereignty in West Africa*.



E.J. Hogendoorn

E.J. Hogendoorn is Africa Deputy Program Director for the International Crisis Group. He is a former Arms Expert with the United Nations Panel of Experts on Somalia (2002-2003) and Sudan (2005-2006). He previously worked as a researcher for the Human Rights Watch Arms Division.



Abdoulaye Kane

Abdoulaye Kane is Associate Professor of Anthropology and African Studies at the University of Florida. He is the author of *Tontines, Caisses de Solidarité et Banquiers ambulants* (Tontines, Solidarity Funds, and Street Bankers) and the co-editor of *Medicine, Mobility, and Power in Global Africa*.



Leonardo Villalón

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