

Panel R: Governing African Urban Space (chair: Andrew Byerley)

'Absorb the multiplicity; reconcile the improbable through the certainty of the plan' (Tafari, M. 1979). Tafari's commentary on Corbusier's high modernist architectural manifesto captures the central interest of this paper. More specifically, the analysis of how modern projects of power and knowledge - colonial and post-colonial - have discursively and non-discursively defined, targeted and instrumentally acted on spaces, African bodies and social formations in the service of more or less coherent goals (political order, spatial control, the will to improve, 'development', capitalist accumulation) and how these governmental interventions have been inculcated, resisted, hybridized or disregarded. The paper methodologically focuses on the post-colonial trajectories of urban 'remnants' of post-WWII modernist urban planning, more particularly labour housing projects. I proceed both from Simone's argument that colonial planning was critical in circumscribing the present-day capacities of African cities (2008: 137) and from Rodney Place's notion of colonial urban spaces as 'inherited machines - up-for-grabs territorial frames now waiting for waves of occupation' (2006: 323). Two such 'inherited machines' from very different colonial contexts are in focus: the Walukuba Housing Estate (built 1948-1960), now undergoing privatisation, and the Walvis Bay Municipal Compound (built 1958-1960), now undergoing a process of 'museumization'. My empirical, theoretical and methodological interest in the two case-studies centres on how the analysis of these 'inherited machines' as they are structured and fought over today can illuminate both the legacy of the colonial era for the present day capacities of African cities and current urban governmental rationalities and modalities of power.

1) Andrew Byerley (Nordic Africa Institute and University of Stockholm, Sweden): Governing Spaces and Bodies

2) Onyanta Ajonje (Stockholm University, Sweden): Spatializing Nation-building through Capital Relocation: A case study of Abuja, Nigeria

3) Linn Axelsson (Stockholm University, Sweden): Contested expectations of the state: territorial responses to the Chinese challenge to Ghana's textile economy

Printed textiles play important economic, political and symbolic roles in Ghanaian society. These textiles are associated both with the influential women traders who once participated in introducing printed textiles to the West African market and with the economic importance of the local textile industry. Today this legacy is increasingly challenged by expansion of cheap Chinese copies of Ghanaian designs into the printed textiles market. This paper suggests that the inflow of Chinese prints has become an issue of territoriality in Ghana; one that increasingly is communicated through the use of boundaries. At centre of these debates are national borders and the Ghanaian government's capacity to keep illegitimate Chinese textiles out of the Ghanaian territory. The paper examines a range of measures taken by the Ghanaian government to construct itself as a powerful agent capable of protecting Ghanaian territory, population and economy from foreign intervention, including re-direction of imports of printed textiles into Ghana to one single entry point. My preliminary conclusion is that the inflow of Chinese textiles to Ghana both challenges and reinforces the central position of the Ghanaian state. While the inflow of illegal Chinese textiles to Ghana brings the regulatory role of the Ghanaian state into question, the positioning of the government at the centre of debates simultaneously strengthens the imagination of the state as the ultimate source of

social order. The paper will present findings from fieldwork in Ghana in March 2010, which includes interviews with state and non-state agents and policy documents.

4) Leonard I. Ugwu (Univ. of Nigeria, Nsukka): Governing Micro-ethnicity in Urban and Semi-Urban Spaces in Africa: A Socio-Psychological Analysis

There is rapid urbanization going on in African continent with mega-cities gradually emerging in some countries such as in Lagos – Nigeria and in Johannesburg – South Africa. These mega-cities are composed of different ethnic immigrants from diverse locations that cluster within given designations. The clustering of these migrants within their ethnic cleavages results in the establishment of micro-ethnic groups in different locations within the city. Micro-ethnicity is a phenomenon where people from one ethnic group migrate, settle and tend to live together and fend for themselves in the designation areas. The reason for this clustering may be as a result of perceived fear of domination that may be either imaged or real, which makes governance difficult. This paper seeks to use the psychological concept of fear to explain the ethnicity problems plaguing Africa in general and Nigeria in particular with the hope that once fear and security related factors are identified and their impact appreciated by the government, genuine inter-group integration and true national identities can effectively be achieved. The paper is based on the premise that average African of today is ethnocentric because the fear of being cut off from his ethnic root still lingers on. Thus, at the root of ethnicity is fear – fear of the unknown; fear of losing the predictability of one's ways of behaving, which one's already acquired attitudes have guaranteed; and fear of having ones established values changed, thus cutting one adrift in a wider and more uncharted global world. The researcher believes that if government extinguishes fear from the minority ethnic groups in the city through policy formulation that protects the minority from the domination of the majority tribes, the stranger elements in the city will be reduced and true national identities will be ensured.

5) Abdi Wario Halkano (University of Bayreuth, Germany): 'We want mosques to operate 24 hours!': Tablighi Jamaat and redefinition of sacred spaces in Northern Kenya

Mosques form the central venue of Tablighi Jamaat proselytism and recruitment. The transnational pietistic movement with origin in India targets to better nominal Muslims and require them to travel for stipulated number of days to reform themselves and others in process. Like most reform movements, the Jamaat gears to transform the every day life of ordinary people to make them 'better' Muslims. Such discourses have been sites of contestations from other competing traditions. The paper attempts to explore three main points in relation to appropriation of mosque as sacred space. First, it examines the strategies employed by the Tablighis to gain entry and coexist with management of local mosques under Salafi and Sufi clerics. Travel and reterritorialization characterize this less researched phenomenon. Second, it explore redefinition of mosques as an all encompassing space that fulfils range of functions from places of accommodation, venues of consultations to symbol of identity and belongingness, all novel ideas to new recruits. Thirdly it probes how with time the movement, with resources from members in the transnational faith community, 'optimally' choose and build their own markazes (centres) while at the same time in other areas attach themselves and dominate one friendly mosque in every locality. The paper relies on the Lefebvrian reflections on social production of spaces. Based on preliminary field analysis, the paper shall shed light on how apolitical transnational Islamic movement establishes itself in local settings in Northern Kenya.

6) Gunilla Bjerén (Stockholm university, Sweden): Changing urban space: the transformation of Shashemene, Ethiopia

Ethiopian towns all over the country are going through a rapid and thorough transformation. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Shashemene, a dynamic cross-roads town that I first studied 1972/73. The air of ‘vagrant shabbiness’ (the quotation from Flick’r) that was so apparent until recently to any outsider passing through the town is rapidly giving way to multi-story buildings, new hand-hewn paving stones, broad feeder roads with deep drains and many other improvements. In this paper I want to discuss other transformations that predate and parallel the changes in physical space. I refer to the major shifts in ethnic and religious composition of the town, and the recordable changes in household dynamics and migration patterns. As a basis for the analysis I will use household data and life histories collected in 1972/73 and 2008/2009. During this time - the lifespan of a generation – Ethiopia has undergone a revolution, war with Somalia, the separation from Eritrea, the fall of a military dictatorship, war with Eritrea and more. Can the observable changes in the social, economic, political and religious life of Shashemene be linked to these spasmodic upheavals? What other dynamics are at work? During the Nordic Africa Days I want to discuss these and other issues related to space and social change.

7) Céline Veríssimo (University College of London, UK): Beyond the Unbuilt – the Appropriation of Outdoor Domestic Space to Resist Marginalisation

Mozambican people have been historically facing oppression and social spatial segregation that instead of dismantling their traditional values, it has reinforced them. Reinterpretation and reinvention of tradition based on the principles of resilience and self-reliance is, since pre-colonial times, the population’s strategy for surviving against continuous environmental and foreign political disruption. The spatial resistance expressed through the development of decentralized self-organized settlements and appropriated domestic space that protected the population from colonial oppression, discrimination, forced labour and taxation is the same spatial strategy that was used to react upon and refrain Frelimo’s post-independence authoritarian impositions. Following this tradition of spatial resistance for collective security, since the post-independence urban boom the Mozambican city has gained shape and autonomy to generate conditions for urban survival and improved welfare under scenarios of severe adversity. Mozambique’s medium sized cities have been upgrading pre-colonial self-organized lifestyles and knowledge of ecological cycles as a means to sustain livelihoods, create a comfortable domestic microclimate and preserve kinship relations in the informal settlements growing around the ‘cement city’. In order to resist the dual city marginalization effects, the external space that surrounds the house, called here the Outdoor Domestic Space - ODS, is strategically transformed to integrate agro-based and business work, shaping a green and ruralized urbanization form, named here the Agrocitey. The transformation process of ODS-Agrocitey evolves from the domestic urbanity character underlying the traditional conception of dwelling – the *muti*, where domestic life is collective, the ‘private’ and ‘public’ spheres are spatially ambiguous, and activities occur outside rather than inside the built units. Due to its urban dominance, rather than marginal the Agrocitey is actually the unacknowledged legitimate core of today’s Mozambican city where most cultural, environmental and socio-economic relations take place within the spatial continuum from the urban core to the rural periphery, starting at the ODS.

8) Gunilla Andrae (Stockholm University, Sweden), De-Scaling Without Democratic Substance: Water Provisioning in Peripheral Kano, Nigeria

The case of water provisioning in a peripheral low-income area in Kano, Nigeria, is used to highlight an expanding form for liberalisation in service and infrastructure provisioning in African cities and discuss the democratic problems associated with it. The paper looks at the decentralisation 'by default' connected with liberalisation in the form of fragmentation and informalisation of supplies, which by location logics occurs in patterns of supply that are de-scaled to the community level in the urban area. The concurrent separation of supply from state regulation means that regulation of relations between suppliers and users escapes from public control at the city and Local Government level into neo-traditional hands at the community level. For users in the northern Nigerian setting, this entails revived dependence on neo-traditional rather than on parliamentary politics. The positive connection of democratisation to decentralisation commonly associated with de-scaling in basic service provisioning, is not easily realized in this process. If the model of centralised utility structures with its remaining economies of scale cannot be defended, the alternative envisioned is rather a further decentralisation of state regulation, in a situation where community level collective organising, as a form for substantial democracy, is not part of the tradition.

9) Henrik Angerbrandt (Stockholm University, Sweden): Scalar and Community Dimensions of the Sharia Question in Northern Nigeria

Decentralisation and community development have the latest decade become the mantra for African development and democratisation among many influential academics and practitioners. Yet, high expectations about empowering people and communities have seldom been met. It is argued in this paper that the trend of localizing politics builds on unfounded assumptions of 'the local' and of proximity as a democratising factor. A relational conceptualisation of scale, place and space challenges these assumptions. The paper questions the idea of the local as a fixed political space ordered by scale and it revisits Ferdinand Tönnies' distinction between 'community' and 'society' in order to suggest an alternative approach for understanding local politics. Spatial restructurings need to be recognised as political processes in which various actors are empowered and disempowered and it is the character of the political projects by these actors that are of importance and need to be analysed. By disconnecting community from scale and conceptualize it according to Tönnies distinction between community and society, the conflictual dimensions both between and within communities can be highlighted. This in contrast to the dominating view that pictures community vaguely as a homogeneous place with shared interests. The theoretical argument of the paper is illustrated by an empirical analysis of the */sharia/* introduction in Northern Nigeria with special reference to Kaduna State, where the proposal led to violent clashes. The analysis shows how non-territorial local politics is and the ways in which the issue comprise different scalar dimensions, local as well as national and global.