POVERTY, CONFLICT AND GENDER
The Politics of Reconstruction and Redistribution

1996-1999

FINAL REPORT

By

Dr. Vigdis Broch-Due
Project leader
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‘...the acute economic depression, the chain of upheavals and tribulations, instabilities, fluctuations and ruptures of all sorts (wars, genocide, large-scale movements of populations, sudden devaluations of currencies, natural catastrophes, brutal collapses of prices, breaches in provisioning, diverse forms of exaction, coercion and constraint)...make up the fundamental experiences of African societies over the last several years.’

Mmembe and Roitman, Public Culture, 7 (2), 1995:

‘People have reacted variously, as they always do: some are praying, some are robbing, some try to help, most would flee if they could, others have abandoned themselves to debauchery on the theory that there would be no tomorrow.’

Chingono, War, social change and development in Mozambique: Catastrophe or Creation of a new Society?, 1991.

‘Violence itself both reflects and accelerates the experience of society as an incomplete project, as something to be made’

Feldman, Formations of Violence, 1991

1 ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

On behalf of everybody on the project, I would like to express our gratitude to the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the sustained support extended to the Poverty and Prosperity Programme. This support has not only made the collaborative research project outlined here possible logistically, but also been central to what, we believe, has been a very productive and successful enterprise professionally.
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PART 1: OVERVIEW AND APPLICATION

1.1 Project Summary

As the above epigrams make abundantly clear, deepening economic and ecological crisis have turned poverty, violence and social upheavals into unfortunate and altogether too common realities in African arenas. Given the stereotypical and often simplistic ways these issues are commonly portrayed by the mass-media and global developers, it is imperative that social scientists broach these issues directly.

This research project takes up the challenge, exploring the intersections between poverty and conflict through the prism of gender.

Within the framework of the programme “Poverty and Prosperity in Africa: Local and Global Perspectives”, the project initiated a collaboration between the Nordic Africa Institute, the School of Oriental and African Studies and the Gender Institute at the London School of Economics. It has been structured around a core team of senior researchers, actively involving the participation of Nordic graduate and post-graduate students who receive research training and supervision in the themes and areas relevant to this particular research component. The project has greatly benefited from cooperation with African researchers and institutions in Kenya, Zambia, Eritrea and Ethiopia.

Using ethnographic and historical materials collected in selected communities, the research project, now completed, addresses itself to the development of an empirically grounded model that encompasses the local complexities of gender, poverty and conflict, while at the same time integrating concerns of translocal institutions such as the state, NGOs and international aid donors.

The project has resulted in several research reports, publications and seminars which detail the workings of what we have called a ‘model of redistribution’, and how that model may be applied to actual situations on the ground. The model offers a compelling way to reconceptualise gender, poverty and conflict by focusing on social processes across space and through time. More specifically, our model centres on the fluid nature of social identities, and how those identities are integrally linked to, and shaped by, people’s everyday decisions about the allocation of various resources within their particular socio-economic, cultural and ecological environments. In this sense, livelihood strategies involve complex transactions of goods and people and are inextricably linked to individual and group identities. The model has allowed for the deconstruction and reconceptualisation of many stock-in-trade notions that have perhaps hindered more than they have helped previous analyses of poverty and its alleviation in Africa.

By developing better explanatory models and appropriate methodologies that deal with the complex interactions between conflict, poverty and gender, the project aimed to gain insights into the nature of these phenomenon. This will, in turn, assist development planners, NGOs and aid donors to cope with and better assess the long-term impacts of development aid.
1.2 Applied Relevance

Before taking the reader into the broader discussion of the theoretical and methodological issues involved, we would like to point out from the very beginning some of the most obvious linkages that exist between our research agenda and the agenda of development assistance. This research project has investigated the links between poverty and conflict in different conflict situations in Africa. The nature of these linkages has to be examined and not assumed. Donors and NGOs are currently experiencing serious difficulties both in assisting communities in their attempts to manage conflict and rebuild their social institutions in post-conflict situations, and in designing strategies for poverty alleviation. The following five problem fields of the poverty-conflict nexus covered in our studies and publications would seem to us of particular relevance to the aid agenda:

(1) Inter-communal conflict is often exacerbated by competition over resources and resource allocation. For example, population increases in Africa have placed enormous pressures on land, water and other natural resources. However, inequalities in the distribution of these resources have frequently been amplified by inequalities in the State's management of social and political benefits, and/or by the actions of powerful interest groups that may be commandeering state resources. This threatens the participation of particular communities, and of specific members of those communities, in civil society. Central to our research has been an examination of local perceptions of the role of resource competition in exacerbating conflict. We have also investigated what mechanisms local communities might have at their disposal to manage conflict in situations of marked inequality in the distribution of resources.

(2) When communities experience an intensification of conflict and competition over resources, vulnerable groups suffer most. Old, crippled and infirm men and women, as well as single mothers with young children, often find that their access to resources is severely constrained. Conflict frequently threatens intra-household resource allocation as much as inter-communal allocations. In situations of declining resource availability, such things as inequalities in nutrition, education and health care provision within the family-household group rapidly become evident. We have examined under what conditions particular forms of inequality emerge, and sought to identify the particular nature of poverty producing processes in the three comparative cases.

(3) Women of reproductive age are particularly at risk of poverty in situations of conflict and competition because they carry a disproportionate share of the costs of household maintenance and the reproduction of human capital. Our research has confirmed earlier studies from Africa, and elsewhere, showing that women generally devote more of their
resources to their children than do their male partners. An investment in guaranteeing women’s access to resources, including wage labour, will be of direct benefit to the alleviation of child poverty. The programme will investigate women’s specific coping strategies in conflict situations and examine the ways in which they seek to maintain the well being of their children.

(4) Child poverty has a direct effect on the maintenance and reproduction of human capital on which future prosperity and economic growth depend. Children in situations of inter-communal and inter-ethnic conflict — particularly where those conflicts have been exacerbated by inequalities in the State provision of social and political benefits — are likely to find their access to education and health care severely undermined. There are reasons to expect that these effects will have differential impacts on the life courses of boys and girls. This will have particular consequences for the future of productivity in Africa. We have examined the specific links between child poverty through the prism of gender and intra-household as well as inter-community conflict.

(5) Young, unmarried men constitute another group increasingly at risk in the poverty – conflict scenario. The conventional explanation behind marginalisation of young men has focused on the high rates of break up, women’s choice not to marry, men absent in the lives of their families, and married women’s decision to live separately from their husbands and function independently of them. Although many of these factors are supported by our research, we found a further and crucial link between a crisis of masculinity (changing concepts of manhood) and poverty both as a cause and an effect of violence (ranging from localised forms of domestic violence to warfare, and civil and ethnic unrest). Young educated men who cannot find employment in compliance with their aspirations of modernity are mobilised in increasing numbers by Warlords threatening the lives and livelihoods of their communities. The detrimental effects of the processes of commodification on men deserve more focus and attention by donors.

(6) Poverty in many African communities is not just a matter of the scarcity of material resources, but is also the result of ‘poverty of choice’ related to their lack of participation in political decision-making and democratic processes. The strengthening of civil society and social institutions is impossible in situations where communities are unable to generate sufficient economic productivity and growth to sustain themselves in the future. Investing in women and children, as part of a project to develop human capital endowments in Africa, is an essential part of any poverty alleviation strategy. Our research should be highly relevant in the ongoing, political processes in these countries of identifying the specific mechanisms through which a strengthening of civil society would result in poverty alleviation at the local level.
PART 2: RESEARCH MATTERS AND MODELS

2.1 Research Context

Poverty, extreme violence and environmental degradation are recurrent images surrounding Africa. Given the stereotypical and often simplistic ways these issues are commonly dealt with in the mass media, coupled with the inadequacy of diagnosis and response by the development agencies, it is imperative that social scientists broach these issues directly. They are, for many Africans themselves, unfortunately, all too common realities.

As these and related problems in Africa increase, NGOs, aid donors and development agencies have struggled to clarify, define and redefine their own positions vis-a-vis African partners. Difficulties arise, of course, to the extent that international agents fail to understand accurately the on-the-ground realities of everyday life across the diversity of African communities. In too many cases, this lack of grassroots contact pertain to national elites as well. Accordingly, the task of formulating reasonable development policies is greatly complicated in such situations. For example, donors and NGOs are currently involved in poverty assessment and alleviation programmes, yet their activities frequently assume peaceful situations. While it is obvious that full scale armed conflict causes poverty through the destruction of natural and human resources, it is also evident that interethnic and intercommunal strife threatens the livelihoods of communities and undermines strategies designed to alleviate poverty and promote economic growth and general social well-being. These latter processes have been poorly understood.

This incomprehension, and hence lack of committed direction, is evident in the shifting nature of development policies through the decades, where agendas either shift rapidly from one set of ‘issues’ or ‘problems’ to another, or continue to develop an ever-expanding agenda that is so all-inclusive that it suffers ultimately from complete analytic and practical paralysis. International development institutions often justify their actions with broad but vaguely defined agendas that include everything from ‘the state’, ‘capacity building’, ‘democratisation’, ‘political liberalisation’, ‘women’, ‘the poor’ to ‘environment’, and so on. These wide-ranging agendas are often so broad in scope that they are ill suited to adequate policy responses. Paradoxically, then, when viewed from a more historical perspective, the recurrent shifting and expanding nature of development policies may actually reinforce or even create many of the poverty scenarios, conflicts and difficulties those policies are meant to eliminate, by inadvertently fostering conflicts of various sorts at the local level.

Furthermore, donors and NGOs commonly subscribe, either implicitly or explicitly, to global and totalising ideologies of ‘development’, ‘modernity’ and ‘progress’ that assume a
uniform approach to what are in reality rather disparate needs of ‘the poor’ in Africa. Such positions fail utterly to consider, let alone integrate into their policies, the subtleties of people’s everyday, lived experiences at the local level which vary widely geographically and through time. Indeed, the points at which the ‘local’ meets the ‘global’ are frequently points of contestation between differing world-views and practices. Similarly, within and between local communities, domains of contestation often cluster around salient social categories like gender, generation, ethnicity, class and locality.

Knowing how to respond to different types of crises in African arenas—between global and local, and within regional and local contexts—demands first and foremost that we pay close attention to local level politics and negotiations - those junctions at which local people conceptualise and contest (or embrace) the global, and where global ideas redefine themselves as they are played out in specific localities. The success or failure of any development input hinges less upon the grand intentions of the development donor community than upon the way that these inputs are used as resources by local peoples and transformed by their strategies.

Through a focus on the intersection between poverty, conflict and gender, this research project has explored the ways that global and local discourses and practices mutually inform and give meaning to one another. This is important to the extent that we can no longer assume that globalisation is a unilinear, monolithic process if, indeed, we ever could make such assumptions. Rather, the global and the local determine each other through a complicated series of exchanges between North and South. The history of the postcolonial era to date has demonstrated that this process generates, not a homogenous world-system, but rather a number of hybrid systems that encompass yet simultaneously move beyond the boundaries of either. In the process, both historically and at present, increasing numbers of African peoples have been and are being marginalised and impoverished, making it difficult or impossible for them to participate in either local or global economies.

2.2 Research Problems

The three epigraphs prefacing this report convey in a powerful way the crux of our model developed in the course of this research project. Political and economic change is wrought not only through mass action, or with the backing of powerful hegemonic forces, but also in the context of our most intimate relationships. There is a connection between the violence of large-scale warfare with its horrific consequences, and the violence that tears through the closest of human bonds. There is also a connection between these dramatic conflicts and the gradual growth of poverty, changing patterns of wealth and accumulation, the impact of diminishing resources within homes and communities, and the differential social effects created by the changing values of land, labour and critical assets brought forth by commodification and privatisation. Thus conflicts, minor and major ones, occur in the
crucible of relationships between persons, between communities, between polities and economies through which social worlds are engendered and transformed. In its ultimate trajectory, conflict may be completely annihilating of any relationship, leading to death and destruction. In its everyday manifestations, the work of conflict is more diverse – serving to revitalise, reconstruct or sever relationships. Particularly in situations where resources are becoming scarcer in families or communities, conflict may build up the constituent relationships to breaking point, at which the question of the levels of tension that can be maintained without bringing about the dissolution of the relevant units becomes pertinent.

In other words, conflict and concord form parts of the dynamism of relationships, and thus crucial to their transformative capacity. In this specific sense, conflict is not only destructive but is also a creative political force; creating wealth for some and want for others. Through these processes, the social landscape is reconfigured, changing the relationships between men and women, young and old, poor and prosperous. Global political and economic structures engender conflict across nations, communities, localities and households. Equally the diverse nodes in the network between micro and macro relations, can each be viewed as a site where global structures are engaged, subverted, revolutionised and transformed. The dynamism and force of relationships between spouses, siblings, parents and children, between neighbours, friends, communities and so on, renders them highly potent in relation to much larger processes, including globalisation. Here conflict’s creative power, as well as its cruelty, come to the fore.

The most significant feature of these disruptive events is that social relations are torn apart and transformed. In the wake of disruption, as people attempt to recover and reconstruct, the ways in which they react either negate or reinvent their social ties and institutions. The articulations of society are exposed, social discourses re-emerge and are reconfigured, cultural values are confirmed or contested; ideology is recreated, moral orders are reconstituted (or not as the case may be). In this process, people expose the depth of their socio-cultural structures, the characteristics and strength of their ties, the ways they cope with social change, deal with conflict and social inequality in terms of production and distribution of resources. Such situations in which people are trying to rebuild their social and cultural worlds provides us with an interesting ‘conceptual space’ from which we can contest prevailing social theories and create new ones.

Examining the intersection of conflict, poverty and gender in the lives of African people poses particular challenges for theorising and research which we have sought to engage through a comparative project, using case studies from Kenya, Zambia, Eritrea, and Ethiopia. While each of these three issues has been dealt with individually at length, and often with considerable theoretical sophistication, there has been few attempt to develop theories that address these important issues simultaneously. This is regrettable since poverty, conflict and gender are all related in important ways. Poverty often leads to conflict, and vice versa, while gender intersects with both of these variables in complicated ways.
‘Conflict’ is treated as a composite social phenomenon in our research. The concept refers both to the violence and chaos which ensue as a result of ‘inter-ethnic’ and ‘inter-communal strife’; and to the tensions which develop between people in processes of commodification. These tensions derive primarily from attempts to ‘manipulate situations to the best of one’s ability regardless of rules’ - to paraphrase Mbembe and Roitman. For example, the ability to successfully lay claim to land may rest both on one’s access to knowledge about the process of land claims and on one’s subsequent capacity to manipulate the production and distribution of that knowledge. Both forms of conflict disrupt livelihood strategies and exacerbate poverty, albeit to different degrees. What is of particular interest is the varied ways in which different groups of people experience and ultimately ‘manage these changes’.

One of the primary aims of this project has been to develop new theoretical models that will enable us to understand how these conditions have developed historically. A related aim has been to develop research methods capable of dealing with the reality of poverty and conflict as a multiply constituted and contradictory social phenomenon. It has explored how a set of structures and processes, translocal and transnational, interweave poverty and conflict in ways that are clearly and concretely gendered. It has also explored coping strategies that follow conflict situations.

2.3 Research Aim - Model of Redistribution

To conceptualise these communities-in-the-making, the project has developed a model of redistribution which deals with the complex intersections of conflict, poverty and gender. Systems of redistribution feature centrally in the model for the simple reason that in order to understand poverty, inequality and conflict—and to formulate adequate responses to them—we must understand the ways that assets are redistributed, both at the small-scale, local level and at the macro-level of the state. The distribution of material assets is one component of this model, though of equal importance are symbolic and social assets which are crucial to the way power operates in any social system. This requires a novel combination of qualitative and quantitative data. The model of redistribution links social identities with the allocation of resources, rights and responsibilities across households, networks and community to state policy and macro-economic contexts.

The system of redistribution is founded on the fact of exchange and a specific linkage between productive and reproductive labour. It is structured predominantly by the gender/generation dynamics, but also by class, ethnicity, religion, occupation, etc. It provides the context in which to analyse negotiation processes and the resource flows that follow by focusing on a novel approach to the problem of need interpretation and need satisfaction.

This is because ‘needs talk’ proliferates throughout all the links in the state-citizen chain by serving as the medium for the making and contesting of claims: it is an idiom in
which political conflict is played out and through which social identities and rights are
defined and contested. Inequalities are symbolically elaborated and challenged through need
claims, access to resources is allocated and resource flows are directed. The great advantage is
that this model has allowed us to examine diverse assets and resource flows on different
levels of societal scale within a single frame, and to model change through time, both
biographical and historical.

In effect, though, a comparative study of such scenarios of social recuperation in
different stages of conflict and resolution provides new knowledge that can prepare us to
assist more adequately the growing numbers of persons and communities that will be victims
of catastrophe, conflict and displacement - be it economic, ecological, political or a mixture of
these. Central to our research has been the exploration of people's own perceptions of their
situation and their explanatory models of the relationship between poverty, conflict and
gender.

In our theorising we are building on processual micro-macro models - like the "social
field analysis" - developed in the sixties and seventies by Norwegian scholars like Barth,
Rudie and Grønhaug, combining these with more recent theorising in feminist anthropology,
history and political economy. By drawing on existing models in our development of new
ones, we hope to be better equipped to "depict how people with complex purposes and
complex social relations are animated, move, act and react; what are the aggregate results of
their actions and how do those results feed back on the future activities of people; thus how
do complex organisations, inequalities and trajectories of change come about " (Barth,
1997:239). This kind of modelling is particularly useful for an in-depth analysis of the impact
of development. Parallel to this project of developing a theoretical model is the development
of appropriate methods for data collection and data processing.

2.4 Project Requirements and Case Studies

A project designed in this way has four primary requirements: (1) to collect detailed
ethnographic and chronological data over time (2) to collect detailed statistical and survey
data and (3) to collect reliable and ample literature sources (4) to draw on a broader collection
of comparative cases. Regrettably, these conditions can rarely be met in an African context
and the selection of case studies thus demands careful consideration. Given that Norway
through UD, NORAD and NFR have contributed considerable funds to data collection, we
found it of particular importance to chose research locations so that we can utilise already
existing information. With these criteria in mind, four main case studies were selected to
meet the aims of this particular project — Kenya, Zambia, Eritrea and Ethiopia. The countries
have been chosen not only because they represent different types and stages of conflict and
post-conflict situations, but also because they provide a unique opportunity to take a regional
approach to these problems in the context of Africa.
The first main case focuses on the pastoral Turkana and the wider region of north-west Kenya. Dr. Broch-Due has carried out a considerable amount of field research in the area for over a decade and has published several articles and research reports on them. She has collected a large collection of very detailed intra and inter-household survey data which spans a period of 15 years. Additionally, there is ample archival material to be found in London, Oxford, Cambridge, Nairobi and Oslo (NORAD) on the Turkana.

The second case study comes from the Bemba of Zambia (who have been well documented by Dr. Moore and others) through intensive fieldwork in the area. An extensive body of work exists, both qualitative and quantitative, which comes from historical sources as well as more recent ethnographic ones. These facts make this particular case a compelling one to represent other agricultural communities similar to it. We have incorporate data from household surveys funded by NORAD.

The third case study focuses on urban and rural settings in Eritrea and Ethiopia. The work done in connection with the Eritrea case has, in addition to establishing the organisational framework referred to above, concentrated on a historical review of a wide range of publications and grey material in Italy and Sweden. We had hoped to conduct fieldwork in an urban setting in Eritrea, but had to give it up due to the tense political situation. We decided to move the survey to Ethiopia and, the armed conflict between the two countries managed to undertake our study there according to plan.

Together, these cases-studies—pastoral, agricultural and urban—in addition to fulfilling the above data requirements, have allowed us to explain different aspects of the intersection of gender, poverty and conflict in different types of societies. These main cases also enabled us to draw on a large stock of statistical data collected through Norwegian-sponsored activities, but which had not yet been properly analysed, as well as additional materials in the form of policy documents, technical reports and minutes. As a test case, one of the Nordic PhD student linked to the project used the same design in Gambia. This range of comparative cases allow us to generalise beyond the confines of the specific research locations chosen to other areas of Africa in which similar conditions prevail. A more detailed overview of how the research problems articulate in each case is enclosed in Part 4.

Further points of comparison and theorising have been developed within the context of the conferences organised under the auspices of the wider Poverty and Prosperity Programme of which this research project has formed an integral and vital part.

2.5 Conferences and Workshops

Our conferences and workshops have been crucial vehicles for exploring these research topics of the poverty, conflict and gender project. These meetings constitute a space for bringing together some of the most experienced scholars currently working on these topics. We have sought to mix scholars from Africa, the Nordic Countries, Europe and
America, and include Nordic post graduate students and post-doctoral candidate who are
given and opportunity to work with internationally renowned scholars. A more detailed
description of prospectus and publications is given in Part 5.

The first conference in 1995 focused on the contested terrain of poverty and wealth
from the perspectives of peoples living in dryland communities - and how these not only
change over time, but also articulate in complex, often unforeseen ways with more global
perspectives on both poverty and pastoralism. The resulting volume 'The Poor are not Us:
Poverty and Pastoralism in Eastern Africa' was published by James Curry & Ohio University

The second conference in 1997, focused on the ways in which the environment has
increasingly been foregrounded on global-local agendas. Local people are confronted with the
interests of mining and logging companies, development projects, tourism and the competing
discourses of western environmentalists. The varying definitions of 'nature' these different
groups bring into their mutual encounters, interact and influence one another, profoundly
shaping ensuing political struggles over resource flows and the geography of poverty. The
resulting volume 'Producing Nature and Poverty in Africa' published by NAI & Transaction
Publishers is now in press and will be available this fall (2000).

The third conference entitled "Conflict's Fruit: Poverty, Violence and the Politics of Identity
in African Arenas" was held in 1999. The focus for the workshop was conflict and violence, not
only in the sense of physical violence and overt warfare, but also struggles over scarce
resources and the contestation of social identities that are linked to the responsibilities and
rights and that underpin access to key resources, tangible and intangible. The participants
were invited to reflect on the theoretical frameworks and analytical strategies invoked to
understand processes of conflicts in African settings, and to explore links between micro-level
negotiations of identities and the more large-scale politics of wars. A renowned, international,
academic publisher will publish the resulting volume(s) in 2001 and 2002.

The programme has also convened two workshops around the problem-fields
outlined in this report, aimed at younger Nordic Scholars at the 'Africa Days' organised
biannually by the Nordic Africa Institute.

The subject matter for the workshop held in 1997, was broadly defined and diverse.
Taking as point of departure what Ferguson (1992) termed the "topography of wealth", papers
were invited that explored the means and processes through which such topographies are
created, maintained and/or changed. These politically charged and semiotically complex
intersections, and the social inequalities produced (in terms of gender, class, race, ethnicity,
religion, region etc.) take place in different sites on the local-global scale and within different
time frames. The papers represented creative contributions from all disciplines within the
social sciences. They covered such topics as the circulation and consumption of commodities/
symbolic capital, the conceptions of wealth (in people and things), regimes of value, identity
formations, the politics of needs, rights and interests etc.
The workshop in 1999, called "Understanding Conflict and Violence" was jointly organised by Dr. Vigdis Broch-Due and Dr. Harri Englund at NAI as an extension of the programme's major conference on the same topics (see part 5).

PART 3: RESEARCH ORGANIZATION AND OUTPUT

3.1 Institutional Framework

This research component "Poverty, Conflict and Gender: The politics of reconstruction and redistribution has taken the form of a collaboration between NAI, and the University of London’s Centre of African Studies located at SOAS and through this centre, the Gender Institute at the LSE. The research activities have been under the direction of Dr. Vigdis Broch-Due (NAI & SOAS) and Professor Henrietta Moore (LSE). It formed part of the broader research programme "Poverty and Prosperity in Africa: local and Global perspectives" headed by Dr. Vigdis Broch-Due, the Nordic Africa Institute. This research component of the programme has been funded by the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for a period of three years as part of Norway’s ongoing commitment to internationalise Norwegian and Nordic research.

This component, which focuses on the intersection between poverty, gender and conflict, builds upon a long-standing international research co-operation between Dr. Broch-Due and Dr. Moore, initially funded by the Norwegian Research Council (NAVF). The aim of this renewed collaboration has been to further the research objectives of the Nordic countries by establishing NAI and Nordic research on Africa at the heart of the international African research community. It has done this through the following main avenues:

1) By including NAI within the framework of the already-established link with African research in Britain and EU.

2) By furthering the cause of Nordic Africa research through the active participation of Nordic graduate and post-graduate students who receive research training and supervision in the themes and areas relevant to this particular research component.

3) By working closely with African researchers and institutions in the countries chosen for the study; building African capacity in the areas of poverty and conflict assessment and management, incorporating a gender sensitive perspective.

4) By drawing on a large body of existing research—quantitative and qualitative—produced through Nordic sponsored activities and involving many Nordic scholars, as well as additional materials in the form of policy documents, technical reports and minutes.

5) By involving a group of Nordic and International scholars and key institutions who have directly related research experience and expertise in the specific topics which concern us.

6) By organising international seminars and publications around the research themes.
3.2 Project Personnel

Throughout the project period, we managed to develop a high level of teamwork and cooperation amongst the research personnel. We have done this through collective seminars and close personal supervisions. We have worked hard to integrate empirical cases with theoretical perspectives through a number of discussion points which facilitate comparison. In order to ensure continuity and a successful completion of the ongoing research activities. We managed to retain a core group of researchers and students involved in the project through the avenues at our disposal, which are listed in the following.

3.2.1 Research Officer at the Gender Institute, LSE

In order to maximise the resources of the project and involve as many researchers as possible, we divided our full time post into a number of constituent research tasks - each of which will be carried out by a different researcher. During the project these researchers were employed and the following research tasks accomplished through this position.

Mar. 97 - Sept. 97 - full-time - Archival studies/Turkana - Todd Sanders - American
Sept. 97 - Mar. 98 - full-time - fieldwork/survey/Bemba - Andrew Long - British
Mar. 98 - Dec. 99 - part-time - reviews/reanalyses of literature - Pamela Kea - Danish
Nov. 98 - Dec. 99 - full-time - library research/conference organiser - Ellen Selvik - Norwegian
May. 99 - Dec. 99 - part time-archival research/interviewing/kenya - Amrik Heyer - Kenyan

3.2.2 Research Assistant, NAI - part-time

During the last year of the project, Abraham Barmichael who is an Eritrean immigrant to Sweden has occupied this post while the regular assistant, Ulrica Risso (Swedish) was undertaking MA studies, also under the auspices of the project. He has been doing extensive archival study into newspaper reporting in East-Africa and the Nordic countries of interventions and debates around the nexus of issues involving environment, poverty and conflict.

3.2.3 Research Students and Degrees Produced

We recruited a group of Nordic and African research students whose research and supervision have taken place under the auspices of the project. In order to incorporate these new Nordic graduate and postgraduate students within the project, we were covering either their tuition fees, fieldwork expenses or sponsoring parts of their writing up that directly fed into the problem fields explored by the project. It goes without saying that the project has greatly benefited of their research. We are proud to announce that key personnel have produced the following degrees and dissertations within the framework of the project:

Kjetil Tronvoll (PhD thesis, Gender Institute, London School of Economics) "*Ambiguous Identities: The impact of War on Ethnicity and Nationalism in Ethiopia*". 2000


3.2.4 Research Partners/Consultants

In order to maximise the inputs to our research and its quality we have built up an extensive network of scholars around the project who have directly related research experience and expertise in specific topics which concern us. These scholars contribute in different ways, whether through commissioned studies, research supervision, conference organisation and participation, editorial work, or by contributing their already established research networks in field-locations (for details confer progress report 1997 and 1998). Part 4 and 5 which outline more of our research and list participation in major publication ventures, should provide some sense of the scope and sophistication of the professional, international network that has been woven around this research project.

Suffice it here to mention that our major African partner institutions include Mekelle University College, Ethiopia; the Geography Department at the University of Zambia and several research stations in the Northern Province; the national archives of Kenya and the University of Nairobi.

3.3 Dissemination of Results

The overall aim of this project is to contribute to the building of better explanatory models of the ways in which poverty, conflict and gender are interconnected. These have vast implications for shaping the everyday lives of African Peoples. The dissemination of the results to wider audiences, academic and policy-makers, is therefore of paramount concern. To this effect, we have organised several international conferences and workshops, which, although focused on academic research, have included participants who work in the NGO sector, development agencies and in development consultancy. The very real need to recognise the practical aspects of these questions has therefore been addressed directly by the
workshops. In addition, the project leader has participated in several expert consultation groups and conferences by key organisations such as EU, IFAD, FAO, OECD-DAC, SIDA etc. As academic researchers all participants in the project have presented papers at meetings, seminars and international conferences within our specific fields.

Given that this is a research project that has involved a substantial amount of field and archival research, including PhD dissertations, the bulk of academic material in the forms of books and articles will appear in relevant academic journals and be published through academic presses in the years to come. Project publications and reports are listed in Appendix, part 6.
APPENDIXES

PART 4: CASE STUDIES

A more detailed exposition of the research which has taken place in connection with the case studies has been provided in the Annual Progress Reports to the Ministry. To give the reader a better idea about the scope of this research project, brief summaries of major problem fields are given in the following sections.

4.1 Kenya
Researchers: Vigdis Broch-Due, Todd Sanders and Amrik Heyer

Our archival research, combined with a number of early published sources and the detailed ethnographic knowledge obtained by Dr. Broch-Due, has allowed for an analysis of some of the linkages between poverty, gender and conflict among the pastoral Turkana in an historical perspective. One of the major findings is that the colonial state—with its capitalist market relations of production, policies on taxation, warfare and law, and its assumptions about the nature of gender, poverty and conflict—exacerbated, and in some instances actually created, the very problems it was trying to alleviate.

For example, during the advent of the colonial era, when administrators were few and failed almost entirely to collect taxes or raise the necessary local labour power to do so, East African colonial forces repeatedly raided and confiscated thousands of heads of Turkana cattle, sheep and goats. These animals were then used as army rations. Many early documents suggest that administrators saw these as punitive raids that would 'teach' the Turkana the power of the colonial authorities and, thus, teach them to pay taxes. These government raids were also supposed to stop inter-tribal raiding in the area, as they often targeted cattle-wealthy sections that were notorious for raiding others. Unfortunately, the colonial policy had a somewhat different effect. It seems, first, to account in part for the enormous amount of active and passive resistance put up by the Turkana: their refusal, in many cases, to pay taxes at all or to have anything else to do with the administration. Second, such government raids led to the immediate and irrevocable impoverishment of the Turkana who were raided who, in some instances, lost thousands of livestock. Being entirely dependent on their animals for survival, these government tactics led, in turn, to further Turkana raids on their neighbours in order to replenish their stock.

Thus early colonial policies in Turkana seem to have strengthened and in some cases actually created the very conditions of civil unrest, warfare and cycles of poverty the colonial administration was supposedly attempting to eliminate or contain. Similar cycles of poverty,
unrest and inter-tribal raiding are apparent even after the government itself ceased its own raiding in the area, and were further reinforced by taxation policies, demands for migrant labour and other ill-conceived colonial policies.

Over the course of the colonial period, as Turkana were increasingly drawn into labour markets and commodity exchange, life for the local appears to have become increasingly difficult, rather than easier, in terms of livelihood. As such, Turkana were drawn into 'poverty traps' from which, given the prevailing structural conditions, it was virtually impossible to escape. Even so, this was not a unilinear movement from one sector of the economy to the other. Rather there have been a number of boom and bust cycles since the turn of the century that allowed some to prosper in certain years while others lost everything they had.

This has obvious implications for the anthropological and historical theories of commodification, many of which assume a certain teleology whereby people move increasingly and inevitably from a non-monetised into a monetised economy. This process is sometimes discussed as moving between use-value and exchange-value economies, or between gift and commodity economies. The archival data on the Turkana call into question these particular unilinear formulations of the commodification process in Africa (and indeed elsewhere). This will allow us to think more carefully about the phenomenon of commodification itself, its theoretical elaboration and its deployment in particular ethnographic and historical situations.

Another area in which the archival data allows us to address contemporary debates is in terms of ethnic, gender and other overlapping social identities. From the data it is clear that it would be inaccurate to discuss 'the Turkana' in the singular—even if administrators themselves frequently did just that—because of the multiple strategies that different Turkana used to deal with the often deleterious impact of colonial policies and climate. Those who were members of traditionally poorer, and largely cattle-less sections (Ng’abotook, for instance) often sought employed from the colonial government as, many times, they had no other means by which to pay their taxes and provide for their own livelihoods. Those Turkana who were wealthier in cattle, by way of contrast, often abhorred government labour, and refused to do it under any circumstances. Moreover, it was often the cattle-wealthy who, through using these 'social beasts', were well-positioned to maintain their social standing and wealth even through the driest and heaviest years of taxation. Cross-cutting these categories is gender. Once again, the colonial records demonstrate that men and women, given their differential access to social, economic and political resources, had different methods of coping with the colonial state.
4.2 Zambia
Researchers: Andrew Long and Henrietta L. Moore

The Zambia case has focused on issues of household organisation and gender relations among small-scale farmer households in the Northern Province of Zambia. This has involved both theoretical and methodological, but also empirical research. The latter has focused on recent policy changes with respect to the reorganisation of agricultural production under the Structural Adjustment Programme and liberalisation policies of the Zambian government. A central concern of the Zambian component, then, has been to examine the impact of these 'macro' level changes on households within one agro-ecological zone of Northern Zambia.

The initial work entailed a review of the existing literature on the socio-economic circumstances of small-scale farmers in Northern Province of Zambia.

Central to this body of work (conducted in the mid 1980s) is an examination of the commercialisation or commoditisation of small-scale farming. The principle agricultural production strategy of farmers wishing to become involved with commercially oriented production was their involvement in hybrid maize cultivation. In broad terms, this body of work approached understanding the constraints and enabling factors for small-scale farmers by focusing on the following issues at farm/household level: labour (gender divisions and access to extra household); access to finances, including credit for inputs; the relationship between agricultural extension services and the requisite technical knowledge of farmers; household organisation and composition; on and off farm incomes and enterprise; issues of social differentiation.

Since the main body of this donor funded research was carried out there have been major 'macro' economic and political changes within Zambia as a whole. The second part of the initial period of literature research, then, reviewed the Zambian Government reports on these changes to gain some insight and understanding into the exact nature of policy level change and the specific ways in which the Agricultural Sector Investment Programme (ASIP) will affect the small-scale production sector. In short, the most significant measures introduced by the government in line with their overall objectives of liberalisation and free market policies have led to the removal of government support for hybrid maize production. This has been achieved through the removal of subsidies for inputs (fertiliser), subsidies on transporting maize from the farm gate to central depots and the removal of the buying price subsidy. A further measure the government has taken is to remove the urban based subsidy on the sale price of processed maize. These measures have had a major impact on the extent to which the small-scale farming communities of Northern Province have been able to continue to maintain their level of desired involvement with hybrid maize production. This has, in turn, had consequences for the organisation of households and gender relations vis-a-vis the control and access to various production and produced resources, including cash.

It is clear for Northern Zambia there have been a number of significant changes but
also important continuities with respect to the techniques and strategies of production in meeting both the food and income needs of agricultural households over time. From the first recorded description of agricultural cultivation technologies, techniques and principles of organisation (Richards 1939 and Trapnell and Allen 1947) it is clear that there have been an number of important continuities. Research in Zambia shows that the extent to which many of the agricultural activities, central to these early accounts, are by no means confined to history or relegated in the face of ‘imported’ hybrid crop varieties and technologies. Despite attempts by successive colonial and post colonial governments to introduce hybrid crop varieties (particularly maize), with varying degrees of success traditional crops and technologies have remained an important aspect of agrarian livelihoods throughout Northern Province. This alone suggests that these crops have retained their value not only in terms of food security but also in terms of their suitability with respect to changing social relations of production, consumption and redistribution.

While it may not seem surprising that we are effectively dealing with both continuity and change what is significant (and deserves more attention) is the extent to which there is an oscillation between different livelihood options that are shaped by different internal and external factors and relationships. Such oscillation can be affected or catalysed in various ways. It is clear from recent discussions with project participants that empirical materials from other areas of Africa raise similar findings. This points towards the need to better theorise the nature of such continuity and change across a range of livelihood contexts, whether these be agrarian, pastoral or urban informal based.

For the Zambian agrarian context the following issues are worthy of note; the effects that SAP has had on the proliferation of urban based traders who operate in rural areas buying produce and providing markets for pulses, legumes and forest based products; the shift in emphasis from commercial hybrid crop production to traditional pulses, legumes and other oil seed crops; the increasing commercial importance of these; the gender divisions of labour and the contests that exist with respect to accessing cash raised from these (traditionally women’s crops); the increasing emphasis on traditional techniques of grain crop production (most significantly citemene production; increasing reliance on cassava as a food security crop.

The research has explored in some detail the continuities and changes that have been brought about by both government policy, but also and perhaps more importantly, the needs, desires and expectations of households members themselves.

4.3 Ethiopia
Researchers: Kjetil Tronvoll and Mekonnen Berhanen

This case-study is concerned with understanding how armed conflict, and related changes in macro policy factors, influence household coping mechanisms and social
organisation strategies of resource redistribution. The research has been carried out among the Tigrinya speaking sedentary agriculturists of Tigray in northern Ethiopia. It has been organised around the collection of quantitative and qualitative data with a perspective to analyse the impact on household organisation and redistribution brought about by the ongoing armed border conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Recent changes in policies within finance and trade between the two countries have also been considered.

The methodology employed builds on a ‘model of redistribution’ which departs from the ‘traditional’ view of households as collective interest groups where all household members work towards common and jointly favoured goals. Rather this research favours a notion of households as sites of negotiation, bargaining and hierarchical resource redistribution.

We explore how resources (labour and grain/food) at a household level are administered and redistributed during periods of distress and conflict. In particular, the project has focused on how the conflict impacts upon categories of women and men, old and young; and how these people respond to the changes inflicted upon them as a consequence of the conflict.

The ongoing warfare has influenced household resource flows and redistribution in varying degrees, according to which categories of people are connected to the household: Young and middle-aged men are mobilised to the front-line, thus draining the household of needed labour; elderly women are asked to contribute labour to tend the injured and to cook for the soldiers; households are required to contribute food to the soldiers mobilised in the area; draught and pack animals (oxen, camels, donkeys, mules) needed for agricultural activities, might be taken by the army to be used for logistical purposes; etc. All these factors have a direct impact on household viability, production and resource redistribution.

The most relevant issues in As a consequence of the border conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea are:

- The mobilisation of the army and peasant militia in the region.
- The conflict and fortification of a large number of troops impact on the local peasantry, for instance, in terms of labour requirements (for logistical purposes) and availability of food resources.
- Dislocation of huge numbers of civilians from the conflict area creates an increasing pressure on resources and resource redistribution elsewhere in the region.
- The conflict has reportedly led to tendencies of stocking food resources which again effect market prices.
- As a consequence of the war, the Ethiopian/Eritrean authorities have closed the borders, thus preventing any cross-border labour migration and trade.
- With the introduction of a new Eritrean currency (Nakfa) in November 1997, Ethiopian authorities decided that all cross-border trading, which up to then had been conducted in local currency, should be conducted in foreign currency (USD).
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All these aspects have implications on the redistribution of resources and the conceptualisation of social organisation in Tigray. The conflict also has the effect of bringing the ‘state’ closer to the peasantry, since macro-level political decisions will directly impact on upon peasant livelihood and survival. In this sense, it is important to address how individuals at the micro level relates to and understand these processes, and to capture possible differences among how men and women, old and young, explain their position vis-à-vis the new social and economic situation created by the political context. These are all factors which has been addressed in-depth in this research.

4.4 Overall Modelling
Researchers: Pamela Kea, Ellen Selvik (Moore and Broch-Due)

The literature in economic and feminist anthropology on the household has reflected an overriding concern with the need to conceptualise the household and to develop an understanding of the way in which gender relations are modeled within it. Such concern is reflected in work on: the conjugal contract; bargaining models and processes of negotiation; needs and rights; the model of redistribution; and co-operation and conflict. (Harris 1980 Whitehead 1981; Dwyer and Bruce 1987; Guyer and Peters 1987; Fraser 1989; Sen 1991; Moore 1992, etc.). Such work finds justification in the fact that an understanding of the structure and nature of the household is crucial to the portrayal of the lived reality of peoples’ lives.

However a significant critique of the household literature points to the inflexibility of these models in terms of the way in which they freeze a certain relationship of authority and power (Broch-Due, 1983). Notions of process and change in these relations need to be developed and better understood.

Broch-Due’s critique is supported by recent literature which points to a growing concern with social identities and power as reflected in the following questions: Who increasingly sets the terms of bargaining and negotiation in processes of resource allocation within households; and to what extent are models of bargaining and the conjugal contract still being used as tools with which to analyse gendered relations of (re) production and consumption? (i.e. To what extent do they still have the right theoretical purchase?)

Although these questions begin to create the space in which to rethink some of the assumptions held in the earlier literature about the gendered nature of power relations within the household they are nonetheless reflective of a continued concern with modelling the household.

Some recent trends in the literature

- As a result of the economic crisis one sees the increased individuation of agrarian production which has resulted in ‘the affirmation of non-gendered personhood’ (Guyer 1997).
The economic and political crisis has encouraged the diversification of household activities. Households spread their risks by diversifying in three main ways: becoming involved in different economic activities; gaining income in non-work related ways; and by increasing the numbers of employed within the household. In this sense one can speak of ‘competing economies’ within the household (Harts Broekhuis 1997).

- a. The effects of lineage ideology (patriline, matriline) on household forms, residence, descent, inheritance and power relations within the conjugal unit (Peters 1996, Davison 1997 and others). privilege the conjugal unit. This is followed by a critique of the tendency to


The importance of various other forms of difference in the constitution of gender identity and their effects on actors’ power in the bargaining process (i.e. focus on intra-gender differences and the importance of context in so doing). (Warner 1997, Mohanty and others).

‘In view of the physical breakups and ideological fragmentation ensuing from the economic and political crises, African societies are experiencing major chasms...’ (Diouf 1996: 228). Scant attention is paid, in the literature, to the effects of ‘physical breakup’ and ‘ideological fragmentation’ on the daily rhythm of peoples’ lives. Empirical work on the Turkana of Kenya, the Bemba of Zambia and in Ethiopia will provide us with different and comparative insights into gender, poverty and conflict.

Among the Turkana, for example, one finds that men and women can not afford to marry as a result they form different domestic set ups. What becomes of primary interest in such a situation is the way in which people release their claims (Broch-Due). Further what are the conditions of access which are subsequently created? What forms of inequality emerge under these new conditions of access?

The research in Zambia points to the significance of the notion of oscillation in understanding the range of livelihood strategies that people draw on as a result of the effects of the Structural Adjustment Programme (Discussions with Long 1998). In this context changes in processes of commodification do not drastically affect livelihood strategies, rather people ‘oscillate’ between different strategies. They continue to engage in a diverse range of productive activities rather than engaging in long term changes between activities. What within this context are the new gendered arenas of conflict with respect to how people get access to resources? I will be interested to examine the literature to identify comparative material. (i.e. How this theory of ‘oscillation’ links in with what others are doing; how others investigate similar processes; what sort of theoretical models do they use; to what extent are their theoretical models appropriate to other cases).
Our aim has been to analyse the different scenarios of conflict in each of the case study countries. This has involved the use of social fields analysis in order to define the different areas and levels of peoples’ lives. In making use of this technique it is important ‘to inspect both the reasons why particular people are involved in particular social fields and the idiom in which that involvement is expressed’ (Moore 1994:129). The project has examined the politics of the situation, the way in which power is operationalised on the basis of alterity. Social fields analysis has been very useful for our purposes in that it captures an empirical and ethnographic dynamic – which makes it possible to theorise about the social lives of the persons involved. We have also built upon the Nordic literature on gender, poverty and conflict in Africa (Broch-Due; Rudie; Broch-Due and Anderson forthcoming; Hastrup etc.) as well as the literature on East Africa. Material and models from elsewhere in Africa has been helpful in the constructing a theoretical framework which will help to better understand the specific nature of gender, poverty and conflict in African peoples’ lives (Guyer, Berry, Peters, Hart, Agarwal, Carney and Watts 1991 etc).

PART 5: CONFERENCES

5.1 Poverty Matters: Rich and Poor among Pastoralists in Eastern Africa
Convenors: Vigids Broch-Due (NAI & SOAS) and David M Anderson (SOAS)
WIK CASTLE 15-17 SEPTEMBER 1995

5.1.1 Topics and Theoretical Framework

The images of poverty and East African pastoralism have in recent years become inextricably bound up together in apocalyptic scenes of drought, famine and warfare. Media representations of swollen–bellied children, skeletal figures in drought–stricken landscapes and pitiful refugee camps are so powerful that rather than stimulating critical examination of the complex causes of the crisis, they have circumvented it and urged upon planners the simplest of diagnoses and cures – pastoralism is not a strategy for survival, it is a recipe for disaster. It must be changed, "something must be done". Despite the urgent consensus on these matters, the "something" that must be done remains far from clear.

The cures for the crisis depends totally on the diagnoses and these are many and contradictory. There is the profoundest possible opposition between the diagnoses and perceptions of the planners and those of the pastoralists themselves. While planners see the reduction of livestock and moves towards sedentarisation and cultivation as the ways to prosperity, pastoralists tend to see these as the very definition of poverty itself.

This difference reminds us that "poverty" is a cultural construct and has to be examined in its social context. Planners and pastoralists definitions of poverty and prosperity each draw on multiple registers of meaning, some of which are shared and some of which are
widely divergent. Pastoralist poverty is not a matter merely of metaphors, but even where its social manifestations in insufficiency, scarcity and suffering are blatantly evident, its meanings and interpretations must inevitably be culturally and conceptually constructed.

Far from being a straightforward condition of deprivation and destitution that is easily defined empirically, poverty is in fact a contentious and complex construct which encapsulates a vast range of social and historical struggles and constantly evolving cultural values.

This workshop has explored these different discourses of poverty and prosperity, along with the social conditions and historical processes which have given rise to them. Another important theme that was explored was the different discourses existing not only between communities but within them. The ways that different access to material and cultural resources within a particular community give rise to different perspectives is an important and little-explored avenue of research within pastoral studies. A further aim of the workshop was to examine the ways that the poverty discourse of the international development community has impacted on understandings and practices at the local level.

Within this broader framework of examining the meanings and effects of poverty there are at least two broad categories of questions the participants were invited to reflect upon.

The first addresses the issue of impoverishment and asks about the long-term processes behind it: To what extent have pastoral communities cared for their less fortunate members, and can we discern any decline in the utility and effect of such internal welfare provisions? In those communities where a general decline in food security is identifiable, what are its causes and can the effects be evaluated differentially? Within the domestic sphere, have levels of nutrition altered over time and to what extent can such changes be viewed as indicating improvement or decline in economic well being? And, at the most fundamental level, we will ask whether pastoral households have lost control over their subsistence production, and if so in what circumstances this has happened? For many, such a loss of control is associated with the crises of drought or warfare, and we need also to ask how such events affect internal social dynamics? Are the changes provoked by crisis merely temporary, or do they have more permanent consequences? To what extent does the short-term recovery of pastoralist communities disguise a longer-term undermining of the production system?

The second category of questions to be addressed examines the ways in which changing material conditions are experienced and made meaningful by pastoral communities. The last two decades, in particular, have witnessed a profound social transformation in pastoral settings across eastern Africa, as increasing numbers of pastoralists have been dislodged from herding: As destitution has become more widespread, what impact has this had upon internal understandings of poverty and want? How are such matters expressed, and in what ways are new material realities manifested in social behaviour? At the same time,
the social topography of the poor and prosperous has changed as cattle have given way to cash as the means of valuation and exchange. To what extent has this wrought a transformation of the key institutions of redistribution in pastoral societies, such as bride-wealth, stock-loans and the norms of sharing livestock and their products? Among some communities this has had a profound impact upon the very fabric of the social order - the mediation and maintenance of gender, generational and kin relationships. How have these dramatic changes affected the moral economy and cultural discourses surrounding ideas of poverty and prosperity - indeed the very concept of the person? In short, how have pastoralists coped with the gradual realisation that, contrary to their own self-image, ‘we have become the poor’?

At a more general level, three broader questions form the central concern of this workshop: To what extent can we identify new categories of rich and poor among pastoralists? Have these developments been isolated to particular communities, or do they signify a more widespread decline in the resource base of pastoralism across the region? And what changes have occurred in the internal mechanisms by which eastern Africa's pastoralists have in the past coped with the problems of their poor? The participants in the workshop were selected to cover the full range of these questions and included several of the leading specialists in their respective fields, drawn from the Nordic countries, Europe, USA and East Africa. They included anthropologists, historians, sociologists, and ecologists from the academic world, as well as participants who work in the NGO sector and in development consultancy. The very real need to recognise the practical aspects of these questions was therefore addressed directly by the workshop.

Program & Papers

**Introductionary Presentation**

Vigdis Broch-Due

*Pastoral Poverty: Images and Realities*

**Session 1**

Monika Pack (University of Munchen, Germany)

*Trends of transformation within the economy of Kisongo Maasai in Monduli District, Northern Tanzania. Impoverization and its perception by a Maasai Community.*

Richard Waller (Bucknell University, PA, USA):

*Wealth and poverty in Maasailand in a Historical Perspective*

Discussant: Sharon Hutchinson (University of Madison, Wisconsin, USA)

**Session 2**

Ethuro Ekwee (OXFAM, Kenya)
Dismas Karenga (OXFAM, Kenya)

*Poverty and prosperity: the role of food aid in Kenya’s pastoralist arid areas*

Elliot Fratkin, (Smith College, MA, USA):

*Health and nutritional consequences of recent sedentarization of Rendille pastoralist of Northern Kenya*
Patta Scott Villiers (EPAG – UNICEF, Kenya):
Poverty as vulnerability in Somali pastoralist society: comments from the Baddiah
Discussant: Aud Talle

Session 3

Gudrun Dahl (University of Stockholm, Sweden)
Maleness, identity, capital care and poverty among the Borana

Lars Hagborg (Uppsala University, Sweden):
World-wide webs and local agents: Land conflicts and the construction of experience in North Mbulu district, Tanzania
Discussant: Dorothy Hodgson

Session 4

Ton Dietz & Fred Zaal (University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands)
Of markets, meat, maize and milk

Rie Odgaard (Institute for Development Research, Copenhagen, Denmark):
Cooperation and conflicts among immigrant pastoralists in Usangu plains, Tanzania
Discussant: Mary R. Mugyenyi

Session 5

Astrid Blystad (University of Bergen, Norway)
We are as sheep and goats: Discourse on poverty and prosperity among the Iraqw and Barbayiig of Northern Tanzania

Kirsten Alsaker-Kjerland (University of Bergen, Norway) & Ann-Britt Svensson: (Uppsala University, Sweden)
‘Farmers’ who speak of cows: Why are cattle so important to the agro-pastoral and Bantu abaKuria?’
Discussant: Paul Spencer

Session 6

Tomasz Potkanski (University of Warsaw, Poland)
Customary patterns of mutual assistance among the Tanzanian Maasai: Clan-based redistribution of cattle

Jonathan Lodompui (University of Nairobi, Kenya):
The process of impoverishment among the pastoralists of Kenya

Birthe Nautrup (Institute for Development Research, Copenhagen, Denmark):
Living in Islam - a nomadic Beja society under change
Discussant: Bernhard Helander

Session 7

Mohamed Salih (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands)
War, poverty and prosperity among the Moro, the Nuba Mountains, Sudan

Mary R. Mugyenyi (University of Makerere, Uganda)
Pastoral women coping with civil strife: the case of Bahima in Southern Uganda

Bernhard Helander (Uppsala University, Sweden)
When Nomads Conquer: Partisan Reflections and the Fate of Agriculture in the Somali Civil War
Discussant: Richard Waller

25
Paul Spencer (Sch. of Oriental and African Studies, UK):  
Gauging Inequality among Pastoralists: A problem of Comparison

Sanna Ojalann (University of Helsinki, Finland):  
Maasainess and the issues of poverty and prosperity among the Loita and Laitayok Maasai in Loolando division in Ngorongoro district in Tanzania

Discussant: Ton Dietz

Session 9

Dorothy Hodgson (Rutgers University, NJ, USA):  
Persistent paradigms: the "problems" of Maasai "development

Aud Talle (University of Oslo):  
Pastoralists at the border

Jok Magot Jok:  
What comes first, kin relations or wealth? Pastoralism and changing social behavior among the Dinka of South Western Sudan

Discussant: Elliot Fratkin

Concluding Presentation

David M Anderson. (Sch. of Oriental and African Studies, UK)  
Structural and Conjectural Poverty: Historical Trends

5.2 The Politics of Poverty and Environmental Interventions

Convenors: Vigids Broch-Due (NAI & SOAS) & Richard Schroeder (Rutgers University)  
Skytteholms Kursgård, 22-25 May 1997

5.2.1 Topics and Theoretical Framework

The so-called "Brundland report" (named after the Norwegian prime minister who was the team-leader) commissioned by the United Nations in 1987, set forth a new strategy, promising to eradicate poverty and protect the environment as parts of a single package. Coined as "sustainable development", this strategy responded both to the heightened international interest in biodiversity maintenance, habitat protection and environmental rehabilitation. It also responded to the apparent environmental degradation accompanying economic growth and the related impoverishment of specific groups.

Under the World Bank banner "sound ecology is good economics" the "sustainable development" strategy has given rise to a broad pattern of interventions related to the environment and ecology. Integral to these interventions is the reinvention of the Malthusian idea that poverty and the problems of population is a cause as well as an effect of environmental problems. Given this diagnosis, economic growth is needed for the purpose of eliminating poverty, and the elimination of poverty is needed for the purpose of protecting the environment. Proper management of both population and the scarce resource base was
thus prescribed as the means to balance these conflicting goals and to ensure the survival of the planet.

What is particularly telling about this inscription of the economic into the ecological is the scale employed. As carried by the title, Our Common Future, the Brundland report conjures up a vision of the world as a unitary whole in which all elements are integrated. This global eco-system depends heavily on a global ‘eco-cracy’ and a management system that applies a set of standardised solutions regardless of geographical or historical context.

Indeed, a wide-ranging consortium of interests has been hard at work over the past two decades "producing" and reproducing a "global" scale. This multi-faceted project has involved asserting the primacy of the global perspective in the construction and prioritisation of specific Environmental and economic problems, and in the invocation of particular management rationalities. It has of necessity involved eclipsing other-scale places, polities and social struggles.

Through multiple practices of discursive and direct material incursion, the needs, desires, and definitions of people in particular regions, districts and communities has been subsumed to those of environmental managers. Clearly, this sets the stage for fiercely competing claims and the emergence of multiple livelihood strategies. In many localities affected by environmental interventions, perceptions of the physical world are implicated in the definitions of meaningful social identities including categories of kinship, gender, personhood, subjectivity, ethnicity, regional system and construction of the 'other'. Not only is nature a source for daily subsistence, "nature" is also the source for indigenous theories of transformation, temporality, creativity and cosmology - it informs life and living.

These complex links to local landscapes are probably shifting as local people are forced to confront with increasing frequency the interests of mining and logging companies, development projects, tourism and the competing discourses of western environmentalists. The varying definitions of nature these different groups bring into their mutual encounters, interact and influence one another, profoundly shaping ensuing political struggles over resource flows. The outcome of such struggles is often the restructuring of gender and class relations, frequently to the disadvantage of poor people.

This imposition of environmental imperatives has been especially dramatic in Africa. Development and private donors have sought to reinvigorate environmental conservation and protection programs through a major round of new investments (even while their commitments to aid in support of social services have been sharply curtailed). Linked to this is a shift in the discourse of the causes of poverty. While the ecologists' explanation for dwindling natural resources in the seventies centred on economic growth, coupled with uncontrolled industrialisation, in the 1980s many of them came to perceive poverty as a problem of great ecological significance. The colonial discourse of the "primitive" other who was typically perceived as "predatory", "irrational", and "backward" is now inscribed in the icon figure of "the poor".
The imagery of a troubled Africa produced for global consumption through mass-media is dense with dark and "poor" masses of peasants and pastoralists, destroying forests and mountainsides with axes and machetes, depleting the fish stocks of lakes and rivers with poison and undersized nets, destroying endangered wildlife and plant species, and spreading desertification by means of oversized cattle herds. The effects of these degrading practices are featured in a related series of disaster images - the skeletal and swollen-bellied famine victims, the desiccated landscapes, the butchered carcasses of elephants and rhinos. They all cry out for some form of foreign intervention.

Since the launch of the "sustainable development" strategy in 1987, the major Scandinavian, European and US donors commitments to development projects in Africa include millions of dollars in support of environmental programs across the continent. The World Bank, for example, collaborated on environmental projects in 18 African countries totalling over $1 billion. Many of these aid packages stipulated that recipient governments first prepare detailed blueprints for addressing environmental problems - national environmental action plans (NEAPs). As of 1995, 21 African countries had adopted such plans and another 19 had NEAPs in preparation. On the face of it, this was a remarkable achievement. That the national planning mechanisms of forty African countries could be set in motion almost simultaneously to address environmental concerns speaks volumes with respect to the degree of control the major donors maintain over environmental policy on the continent.

At the same time, private and non-governmental interests have greatly extended their involvement in natural resource management in the region. As of 1990, the major non-governmental organisation engaged in environmental programs in Africa, the World Wildlife Fund, had an annual budget of $15 million for project activity on the continent, while private business concerns became involved in numerous joint ventures, especially in the area of nature tourism. In a flurry of financial activity between 1990 and 1993, development banks and private donors committed over $80 million to tourist infrastructure development projects in Tanzania alone.

Today - a decade after the publication of the Brundtland report, it is quite clear that environmental programs have become one of the major forms of foreign intervention in contemporary African affairs, and that these interventions have major consequences for the distribution of wealth and poverty on the continent. It is this pattern of interventions and their related social and economic impacts that form the central focus of the proposed workshop.

Participants were invited to address one or more of the following research problems:

1) How can we theorise the specific forms of intervention that have materialised over the past decade (e.g. strategies of spatial control such as protected areas, buffer zones, and wildlife corridors; commodification schemes centred on eco-tourism, extractive reserves, and
debt for nature swaps; and the production of diverse scales of intervention via "strategic area management plans," "integrated conservation and development programs," "National Environmental Action Plans," etc.)

2) What historical dis/continuities exist between contemporary and past environmental policies and practices (how "new" are contemporary interventions? what can we learn from the historical record that will help us understand contemporary environmental politics in Africa?);

3) What patterns of accumulation have spun out of heavy public and private investment in "the environment" in Africa?

4) What kinds of social, cultural and political dislocations have accompanied environmental interventions? What patterns of resistance have grown up in response to them? What are the effects on "the topography of wealth" in the target areas? How has the reinterpretations of the links between poverty and environment affected the poor?

5) What effect does the globalisation of the environment discourse have on "the production of locality" in African communities? What kinds of subjects and identities are being produced, what kinds of spaces are created and refigured, and how should these processes be conceptualised and represented?

6) Given that the coupling of economic growth with environmental concerns has furthered the process of commodification of nature (e.g. "parks", "resources", "intellectual property rights". etc.). How do capitalistic notions of "scarcity" and "efficiency" that promote privatisation affect and articulate with existing property relations and redistribution systems? What is the effect on land-use patterns? How can we incorporate gender into the theorisation of capital, nature and the global consumption of environmental imagery?

7) Given that social life and cultural distinction are often tied to indigenous perceptions of 'nature', what effect does the resignification of "nature" as "environment" have on local systems of knowledge and regimes of value?

5.2.2 Program & Papers

Introductionary Lecture

Vigdis Broch-Due (The Nordic Africa Institute & SOAS)
Producing Nature and Poverty in Africa

Historical Roots to Contemporary Environmental Policies and Practices

Roderick Neumann, (Florida International University, USA)
Primitive Ideas: Protected Area Buffer Zones and the Politics of Land in Africa

James Fairhead, (SOAS, University of London, UK)
Reproducing Locality: Ecological Assumptions Informing West African Social Science

Tamara Giles-Vernick (University of Virginia, USA)
Rethinking Migration and Indigeneity in the Sangha River Basin of Equatorial Africa
Discussant: Richard Schroeder

**The Poverty of Environmental Theory**

Signe Arnfred, (Roskilde University, Denmark)
*From Quest for Civilisation to War against Poverty. Observations regarding Development Discourse*

Hanne Svarstad (University of Oslo, Norway)
*Bioprospecting in Africa: Impacts on People and the Environment*

Mohamed Salih, (Institute of Social Studies The Hague, The Netherlands)
*Politics of Poverty Management and Environment: Displacement by Conservation*

Discussant: Cindi Katz

**(Re)producing Nature and Culture**

Cindi Katz, (City University of New York)
*The Grounds of Knowledge: Negotiating Environmental Interventions in the Production and Reproduction of Everyday Life in Rural Sudan*

Tord Olsson (University of Lund),
*The Flow of Good Life, the Taste of Good Food, the Smell of Bush. Areas of Value in Maasai Rhetoric and Circumstantial Discourse on Culture and Environment*

Kjersti Larsen (Agricultural University of Norway),
*The Other Side of ‘Nature’. On Economic Growth, Expanding Tourism and Local Discourses on Culture in Urban Zanzibar*

Discussant: James Fairhead

**Models of Degradation**

Nina Johnsen, (University of Copenhagen, Denmark)
*A Real Tragedy of the Commons. Place-making, Pastoralism and Poverty in Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Tanzania*

Hans-Otto Sano (Roskilde University, Denmark),
*Degradation, Livelihood and Poverty. Environmental and Social Change in Iringa District, Tanzania*

Gufu Oba, (University of Nairobi, Kenya)
*The Stressed Ecology and Unsustainable Development in Booran Southern Ethiopia*

Discussant: Reginald Cline-Cole (University of Birmingham)

**Conservation and Reclamation Interventions**

Richard Schroeder (Rutger's University),
*Re-Claiming ‘Land in The Gambia: Gendered Property Rights and Environmental Intervention*

Wilhelm Östberg, (University of Stockholm)
*The Coming and Going of Land Rehabilitation - and of Outside Donors, and of Research. The Case of the Kondoa Eroded Area, Central Tanzania*

Tor Arve Benjaminsen, (University of Oslo, Norway)
*Conservation in the Sahel: Forest Policy vs. Local Agency in Mali*

Hildegarda Kiwasia, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania)
*Environmental Interventions and Socio-Cultural and Political Dislocation in Villages Adjacent*
5.3 Conflict's Fruit: Poverty, Violence and the Politics of Identity in African Arenas

Convenors: Vigdis Broch-Due (NAI & SOAS) & Henrietta L. Moore (LSE)
Sophienberg Castle, Denmark 21-24 Oct. 1999

5.3.1 Topics and Theoretical Framework

Conflicts in Africa are frequent and ubiquitous, yet their complex causes and widespread effects are little understood. Conflicts occur in different arenas of social life and on widely different scales - from region-wide upheavals to factional disputes, but also in clashes of identity politics, between genders, generations, classes and ethnicities. When resources are scarce, disputes flourish and social identities become the arena of conflict and negotiations.

In all its forms, conflict profoundly affects peoples' access to resources and all the modalities of exchange, both material and symbolic. Conflicts disrupt livelihood strategies and, in doing so, reshape relations of wealth, reconfiguring the social topography of poverty and prosperity. Those who have been separated from their land and the means of production establish new structures for their intimate relations, erecting alternative economies and social relations. This process sometimes leads to the liberation of subordinated groups but more frequently to increased social and economic differentiation.

Poverty also gives rise to household conflict as, in the desperate pursuit of resources, gender and generational differences become sites of contestation. Similarly, every act can become subject to prolonged negotiation and dispute. This often gives rise to hegemonic struggles sometimes erupting into violence which in turn transforms the social arena with its own particular logic of sexual, racial and ethnic 'othering'.

In the wake of poverty, conflict and violence, existing social forms of reproduction and productions may break down; their new forms serving to reconfigure gendered ideas and practices governing the mobilisation of labour and resources across households and communities.

5.3.2 Program & Papers

Introductory Session

Vigdis Broch-Due (The Nordic Africa Institute & SOAS)
Local and Global: Theoretical and Experiential Intersections

Harri Englund: (Nordic Africa Institute)
Conflicts in Context: Political Violence and Anthropological Puzzles
James Ferguson: (UC Irvine, USA)
*Global Disconnect: Abjection and the Aftermath of Modernism*

Amrik Heyer: (Sch. of Oriental and African Studies, UK),
*Nowadays they can even kill you for that which they feel is theirs.* Legacies of State Power and the over the Nyumba.

Discussant: Henrietta L. Moore

**Forging Collective Identities**

Isak Niehaus: (University of Natal, South Africa)

Jocelyn Alexander (University of Bristol, UK):
*'Silambe Over*: Dissidents and Civilians in Zimbabwe's Post-Independence War

Michael Barrett: (Uppsala University, Sweden)
*The Changing Face of Adulthood: Mbunda Youth and Personhood in Western Zambia*

Discussant: Johan Pottier

**War and the Politics of Identities**

Kjetil Tronvoll (University of Oslo, Norway)
*You see our physical bodies only, but they are mere containers. We are as living dead*: Conceptualising the Experience of Violence and the Negotiating of Identities in Tigray, Ethiopia

Björn Lindgren: (Uppsala University, Sweden)
*The Politics of Identity in Social Conflict: Ethnicity and Gender at the Installation of a Female Ndebele Chief in Zimbabwe*

Discussant: Isak Niehaus

Summing up

Sharon Hutchinson, James Ferguson, Vigdis Broch-Due, Henrietta Moore

**Conflict and the Creation of Commodities: Labour, Bodies, Persons**

Karen Tranberg-Hansen (Northwestern University, USA):
*A Salala State? Secondhand Clothing and the Topography of Consumption in Zambia*

Ann Whitehead: (University of Sussex, UK)
*The 'lazy man' in African agriculture: Perspectives on Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction*

Richard Werbner (University of Manchester, UK):
*The Poverty of Wealthy Elites: Elites, Big Business and the Public Good in Botswana*

Discussant: James Ferguson

**Conflicts and the Changing Politics of Scale**

Mekonnen Berhanen (Mekelle University College, Ethiopia):
*Imagined Versus Actual Impacts of the Eritrean-Ethiopian Conflict*

John Galaty (McGill University, Canada):
*Double-Voiced Violence in Kenya*

Sharon Hutchinson: (University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA)
*Food Itself is Fighting With Us*: The Impact of Sudan’s Unresolved Civil War on Nuer Civilians in the South

Discussant: Richard Werbner
Gendered Narratives of War

Mats Utas (Uppsala University, Sweden):
An Agency of Victims: Young Women’s Surviving Strategies in the Liberian Civil War

Fiona Ross: (University of CapeTown, South Africa)
Women and the Politics of Identity: Voices in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Dr. Johan Pottier (Sch. of Oriental and African Studies, UK)
Escape from Genocide: The Politics of Identity in Rwanda’s 1994 Massacres
Discussant: Ann Whitehead

The Practice of Symbolic Violence

Pamela Kea (Sch. of Oriental and African Studies, UK):
Cleintelism and Symbolic Violence: Accessing Land and Labour in a Gambian Community

Todd Sanders(London Sch. of Economics, UK):
They’re Eating Us!’: Medicinal Topologies and the Mystical Over-Determination of Conflict in Tanzania
Discussant: John Galaty

Summing up

Sharon Hutchinson, James Ferguson, Vigdis Broch-Due, Richard Webner, Henrietta Moore

PART 6: PUBLICATIONS AND REPORTS

6.1 Books

6.1.1 The Poor Are Not Us: Poverty & Pastoralism in Eastern Africa

Edited by David M. Anderson & Vigdis Broch-Due
Oxford & Athens Ohio: James Curry & Ohio University Press
1999

Eastern African pastoralists often present themselves a being egalitarian, equating cattle ownership wealth. By this definition ‘the poor are not us’: poverty is confined to non-pastoralist, socially excluded person and-groups.

Exploring this notion means discovering something about self-perceptions and community consciousness, how pastoralist identity has been made in opposition to other modes of production, how pastoralists want others to see them and how they see themselves.

This collection rejects the premise of pastoral egalitarianism and poses questions about the gradual creep of poverty, changing patterns of wealth and accumulation, the impact of diminishing resources on pastoral communities and the impact of external value of land, labour and livestock.
6.1.2 Those Who Play With Fire: Gender, Fertility & Transformation in East and Southern Africa
Edited by Henrietta L. Moore, Todd Sanders & Bwire Kaare
London: The Athlone Press
1999
ISBN 0-485-19569-0

Whether initiating girls or healing cattle, bringing rain or protesting taxation, many in Africa share a vision of a world where the cultural, symbolic and cosmic categories of ‘male’ and ‘female’ serve, through ritual, to both reimagine and transform the world.

Those Who Play With Fire introduces recent gender theory to the analysis of African ethnography, exploring the ways in which ideational gender categories permeate African systems of thought and ritual practices. Thus, the book provides a powerful framework with which to evaluate previous ethnographic material on Africa. In addition, Those Who Play With Fire presents a broad range of new case studies - of hunter-gatherers, agriculturalists and pastoralists - revealing the varied and complex ways in which African ideas and ideals of what it means to be ‘male’ and ‘female’ broadly inform and give meaning to a wide range of transformative rituals.

Contents:
INTRODUCTION — Gender, Symbolism and Praxis: Theoretical Approaches by Henrietta L. Moore

6.1.3 Producing Poverty and Nature in Africa

Edited by Vigdis Broch-Due and Richard A. Schroeder
Uppsala and New Brunswick: NAI & Transaction Publishers, Rutgers University
2000
ISBN 91-7106-452-4

Development donors have supported thousands of environmental initiatives in Africa over the past quarter century. The contributors to this provocative new collection of essays assess
these programs and conclude that environmental programs constitute one of the major forms of foreign and state intervention in contemporary African affairs. Drawing on case study materials from eight different countries, the authors demonstrate quite clearly that environmental programs themselves often have direct and far-reaching consequences for the distribution of wealth and poverty on the continent.

Individual chapters in the collection theorize specific forms of environmental intervention; the degree of historical discontinuity that exists between contemporary and past environmental policies and practices, the effect environmental programs have had on localized systems of knowledge and regimes of value; the strategies of accumulation that have spun out of heavy donor and state investment in environmental programs; and the numerous social, cultural and political-economic dislocations these initiatives have produced in African environments all across the continent.

Contents:


6.1.4 Brothers at War: Making Sense of the Eritrean-Ethiopian War
by Tekeste Negash & Kjetil Tronvoll
Oxford & Athens Ohio: James Curry & Ohio University Press
2000

6.1.5 & 6.1.6 Conflict's Fruit: Poverty, Violence and the Politics of Identity in African Arenas
edited by Vigdis Broch-Due & Henrietta L. Moore

(Choice of publisher not yet finalised but it will be an international University Press)

2 Volumes planned

Forthcoming 2001/2002

INTRODUCTORY — Local and Global Conflicts: Theoretical and Experiential Intersections by Vigdis Broch-Due — Conflicts in Context: Political Violence and Anthropological Puzzles by Harri Englund — Global Disconnect: Abjection and the Aftermath of Modernism by James Ferguson — Nowadays they can even kill you for that which they feel is theirs: Legacies of State Power and the over Nyunba by Amrik Heyer — FORGING COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES — Violence and the Boundaries of Belonging: Comparing Two Border Disputes in the Southern African Lowveld By Isak Niehaus — 'Silambé Över': Dissidents and Civilians in Zimbabwe’s Post-Independence War by Jocelyn Alexander — The Changing Face of Adulthood: Mbunda Youth and Personhood in Western Zambia by Michael Barrett — WAR AND THE POLITICS OF IDENTITIES — You see our physical bodies only, but they are mere containers. We are as living dead: Conceptualising the Experience of

6.2 Additional Essays


6.3 Occasional papers

Occasional Paper Series Poverty & Prosperity, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet Edited by Vigdis Broch-Due
ISSN 1400-3880

Vol. 1 Broch-Due, V. 1995
Poverty and Prosperity in Africa: Local and Global Perspectives

Vol. 2 Baardson, P. 1995
Prostitution and Poverty: A study from Addis Ababa

Vol. 3 Broch-Due, V. 1995
Domestication Reconsidered: Towards a New Dialogue between WID and Feminist Research

Vol. 4 Broch-Due, V. 1995
Poverty Paradoxes: the Economy of Engendered Needs

Vol. 5 Broch-Due, V. 1996
The 'Poor' and the 'Primitive' - Discursive and Social Transformations

Vol. 6 Alsaker Kjerland, K. 1997
When African Women take Wives: A Historographical Overview

Vol. 7 Sorgoni, B. 1997
The Construction of Inter-racial Sexuality in Colonial Eritrea (1890-1941)

Vol. 9 Moore, H.L. 1997

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Social Identities and the Politics of Reproduction, 

(volumes not yet printed)

Vol. 10 Mac Manus, P.  
_Meaning og Metafor i Udviklingsprocessen: om lokale velfærdsdefinitioner og forandringsprocesser i afrikanske samfund_, 1997

Vol. 11 Sano, H.O.  
_Degradation, Livelihood and Poverty: Environmental and Social Change in Iringa District, Tanzania_

Vol. 12 Madut Jok, J.  
_War, Kinship and Gender Relations: The Implications for Dinka Subsistence_

Vol. 13 Oba, G.  
_The Stressed Ecology and Unsustainable Development in Booran Southern Ethiopia_

6.4 Reports

Research report Series _Poverty & Prosperity_, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet  
Edited by Vigdis Broch-Due  
ISSN 1400-3880

Vol. 1. Kea, P.  

Vol. 2. Long, A.  
_Research report on Zambia_, 1998

Vol.3 Madaris, A.  
_The Poverty Discourse in Development Assistance: A Review of Conceptions_, 1997

(Forthcoming)

Vol. 4 Tronvoll, K.  
_Research report on the ethnography of conflict - Eritra/Ethiopia_

6.5 Research dossiers (confidential/limited circulation)

In the course of our research, the project personnel have compiled dossiers of raw data - systematic ledgers of findings from the archives as well as transcripts of interviews. Much of this material contains sensitive, personal information. Thus these manuscripts are for internal use only. Edited versions may be released at the later stage and deposited in the relevant national archives in Africa.

Sanders, T. & Broch-Due, V.

A. _Archival Report on colonial Turkana_, 1997  
B. Turkana Intelligence reports, 1998

Heyer, A.  
C. _Report on the Northern Province, Kenya 1930-60_, 1999

Selvik, E.  
D. _Desk-study – conceptualising violence_, 1999  
E. _Desk-study - Scandinavian perspectives on household/gender dynamics_
6.6 Manuscripts/papers to be published in edited form

Broch-Due, V. & Sanders, T.

Kea, P.
Processes of Commodification and Change in Sub-Saharan Africa.
Project Working document 1.

Violence, Conflict and the Reconfiguration of social identities
Project Working document 2.

Poverty, Marriage and the Crisis of Masculinity
Project Working document 3.

Selvik, E.


Engblom, U. Risso,

Poverty in 20th Century Colonial Eritrea.

Nylin, L.
Gender and Conflict Reconsidered: Making Women Visible in the Conflicts of Eritrea and Rwanda. 1999