State Fragility and Resilience in sub-Saharan Africa

This book focuses on the indicators of fragility and the resilience of state-led interventions to address them in sub-Saharan Africa. It analyzes the ‘figure’ of fragile states as the unit of analysis and situates the study of fragility, governance and political adaptation within contemporary global and local political, economic and socio-cultural contexts.

The chapters offer an indispensable, econometrically informed guide to better understanding issues that have an impact on fragility in governance and nation-building and affect policy-making and program design targeting institutions in various circumstances. These issues, as they relate to the indicators of fragility, are the contexts and correlates of armed conflicts on statehood and state fragility, the poverty-trap, pandemics and household food insecurity, and child labor. Case studies from across 46 sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries are assessed to offer clear, broad and multidisciplinary views of what the future holds for them and the international donor communities at large. Regarding state-led interventions, the authors utilize insightful statistical methods and epistemologies to explain the correlates of behavioral language frames and conflict de-escalation on battle-related deaths across the conflict zones within the sub-region, the regional and country-level interventions to end child labor, the institutional frameworks and interventions in the advancement of food security and health.

This book will be of interest to scholars of economics, development, politics in developing countries, Area and African Studies, peace, conflict and security studies.

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State Fragility and Resilience in sub-Saharan Africa

Indicators and Interventions

John Idriss Lahai and Isaac Koomson

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1 Introduction

National harmonies, the needs of an internationalized economy, group interests, classes and legal structures did not prevent conflict coming, did not ameliorate it when it did come, did not fight it and did not win it. It was *governments* [used interchangeably with the *state*] that fought it and did win it, by intricate calculations as to strategy and tactics, by mobilizing the political, material and psychological resources of nations, through appeal to the national interest (Hans J. Morgenthau, in *Politics Among Nations* (published in 1948) quoted in Navari 1991, 4). In this book we argue that the postcolonial state in sub-Saharan Africa cannot be trivialized, given its role in the making of the indicators of fragility: such as conflict, political instability, poverty, pandemics, corruption, food insecurity, gender inequality and child labor. Despite—or because of—this role, however, the postcolonial state should be seen as a resilient actor; one with a central role in managing economic, social and political fragility. Building on empirical discussions and statistical models of fragility and the role of the state, we propose two theoretical frameworks to understand, first (in Part I of this book), the critical indicators of fragility; and, second (in Part II), using the ‘fragility-as-resilience’ discourse as an ‘affective analytical tool,’ the character of state resilience and interventions, with particular emphasis on the state-centric approaches.

Why a state-centric approach? We believe this framework enables us to describe, predict and understand the meaning of the ‘state,’ and to challenge the existing knowledge about it within the limits of relevant epistemological and practical assumptions. Having said that, we recognize—and, in fact, problematize—the existential crisis the concept of ‘state’ (including its place and power) is currently undergoing. We also note that the increase in political interventions in the region is not driven solely by altruistic motives. The routinization of governmental interventions to end fragility is also driven by a power-seeking desire not just to control the resilience spaces at all levels of the state, but also to transform them into platforms for experimentation either with externally framed neoliberal peace and development policies or with indigenous policies that would guarantee these governments’ political survival—at all costs, and by whatever means possible.

In view of the historical pre-eminence of such self-serving intervention, some would argue against the use of a state-centric approach. The question thus arises:

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why is the re-centering of the state relevant to our study of fragility and state resilience in the region? On the one hand, we believe a state-centric approach challenges, to use the words of Marta Iniguez de Heredia and Zubairu Wai, “the dominant and hegemonic notion that Africa is peripheral, exceptionally outside world politics [and the international political economy, or IPE], and marginal.” This aim provides legitimacy to approaches (including that proposed here) that “constitute an elegant epistemological critique of [the IPE] and how it relates to Africa, painting a complex picture of the dynamics of [the global economy], the larger structures within which is produced, and Africa’s place in it” (de Heredia and Wai 2018, *jacket*). On the other hand, the centering of the state is also about explaining the functions that only the state can perform. It was Hans J. Morgenthau (in *Politics Among Nations*, published in 1948) who reminded us that

national harmonies, the needs of an internationalized economy, group interests, classes and legal structures did not prevent conflict coming, did not ameliorate it when it did come, did not fight it and did not win it. It was *governments* [used interchangeably with the *state*] which fought it and did win it, by intricate calculations as to strategy and tactics, by mobilizing the political, material and psychological resources of nations, through appeal to the national interest.

(Quoted in Navari 1991, 4)

Morgenthau was seeking to draw our attention to that which we should not lose sight of, namely, the relevance and resilience of the state. His call, though he was speaking on behalf of Western countries at a time when they were struggling for world domination against another contender, the Soviet Union, has relevance today and can be applied in the context of state fragility. The turn of events following the end of the Cold War in 1989 had unwanted consequences for sub-Saharan Africa. There was an upsurge in civil conflicts (as reactions against the regimes created by and for the Cold War powers) and other indicators of fragility. But, with the world becoming a global village, the turmoil of the region can no longer be characterized as ‘problems of Africa,’ for its people and governments to deal with alone.

In the place of indifference, what can best be described as an interdisciplinary social science and humanistic inquiry into Africa’s state/hood, fragility crises and societal resilience has emerged. Political scientists have turned their attention to what constitutes ‘political behavior’ in situations of fragility. These ‘fragile’ situations are “[p]eriods when states or institutions lack the capacity, accountability, or legitimacy to mediate relations between citizen groups and between citizens and the state, making them vulnerable to violence” (World Bank 2011a, xvi, 2011b). ‘Fragile situations’ have either (a) a harmonized average Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) rating of 3.2 or less, or (b) the presence of a UN and/or regional peace-keeping or peace-building mission within the past three years (World Bank 2003, cited in Ferreira 2015, 34). Sociologists of the functionalist school understand that sub-Saharan African countries are becoming

increasingly complex and differentiated due to globalization (see Shizha and Diallo 2016). Globalization has brought socialized forms of political mobilities (Urry 2000), civilizational ideas of justice and power (Sriram 2004, 2005) and other forms of network activities (Pieterse 1994) into societies hitherto resistant to the influences of Western modernity (Gill 2003; Taylor and Nel 2002; Gelb and Floyd 1999). As such, there is growing sociological inquiry into the forces shaping people's lived experiences, and the consequences of such experiences, within the structures and functions of these dysfunctional societies. Gender studies scholars also have something to say: that structural gender inequality should be considered in the explanations of the causes and consequences of fragility (Caprioli 2005; Kevane 2004). Ethnologists and anthropologists, who were among the first to embrace the idea of societal resilience in the fragile spaces of sub-Saharan Africa (see Moore 1994; Nyamnjoh 2012; Herskovits 1959), have also begun to look at the biological and physiological aspects of societies in the making and unmaking of fragility (Comaroff and Comaroff 1993; Bryceson 2006). Empiricist peace studies scholars (Bertocchi and Guerzoni 2012; Boege et al. 2008, 2009; Renders and Terlinden 2010) and journalists (Somerville 2016) have also embraced the idea that not all histories of fragility fall into the *category* of fragility; some forms of fragility may equally be understood as episodic events shaping the evolving hybrid political orders.

Meanwhile, economists studying the rise and fall of market forces in the IPE have begun to draw correlations between relative deprivation, greed and grievances, and conflicts (Collier and Hoeffler 2004; Collier and Sambanis 2005; Collier, Hoeffler and Rohner 2009), the arms-industrial complex (Tan 2014; Dunne and Tian 2013) and the volatility of markets in the capitalist North and political instability in Africa (Berdal and Malone 2000; Moore 2000). They have realized that there would be an adverse impact on consumption patterns in Paris, New York, London, Sydney and Toronto, among other major consumer economies, were there to be an international rights-based outcry against child labor in the cocoa bean plantations of, say, the Ivory Coast (Amanor 2012; Squicciarini and Swinnen 2016); they have realized that the outbreak of, say, Ebola, in any sub-Saharan African country would impact the global tourism industries and, hence, the livelihood of millions employed by this sector in Western Europe, the Asia-Pacific and North America (Lahai 2017). With patterns of consumer behaviors and the trends of demand and supply in the developed economies inextricably tied, to an extent, to what happens in the volatile spaces of sub-Saharan Africa, IPE has expanded to accommodate a sub-discipline of 'the political economy of development in Africa.'

Of course, one should not forget the role played by scholars of postcolonial theory. They challenged the peripherality of Africa in the IPE and its marginal status in the development of policies that would affect the governments and peoples of the postcolonial African states (de Heredia and Wai 2018; Wai 2014). For them, the inclusion of Africa as a region in the theoretical evolution of the IPE discipline is Orwellian; a discipline that has historically encouraged theories situating Africa as a space on the margins of the broader international system,

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even when this space owes its fragility to European economic inventions, to imperialism and liberalism, with little room for alternative paths. While ‘Africans’ are recognized, the hegemonic nature of liberalism has clearly rendered the African state subservient to the power of the hegemon; a hegemon that seeks to invalidate the global relevance of Africa in order to sustain its geopolitical power. Thus, despite a recognition that would supposedly take Africa ‘out of the global shadows’ in a neoliberal world order’ (Ferguson 2006), the invalidation of the relevance of the African states—so the postcolonialist theorists tell us—makes it all but impossible to end fragility. And where this marginality persists, the people of these spaces will continue to wear, stoically and with a sense of inferiority, the stereotypes and stigma associated with their being and knowing. Made to think that they are responsible for their backwardness, both their efforts to bring back Africa into mainstream international relations and IPE scholarship and their ability to help their states out of the fragility trap are predicated on a reading in which they are dependent on externally formulated policies. These theorists have re-created narratives in which the ‘who’ that created the conditions for fragility mitigation was, at some point in the histories of Sub-Saharan Africa, also responsible for the militarized desertification of ‘what’ would have enabled their successor-states to break free of neo-colonial conditioning of their development and governance. Against this backdrop, they question the assumption that the fragile sub-Saharan states had a ‘comparative advantage’ that should have enabled them to develop on the basis of agricultural and natural resource products exported to the west. For them, sub-Saharan Africa cannot benefit from any such advantage as long as Africa remains on the margins of the international political and economic landscape. If anything, sub-Saharan Africa’s marginality, which was not of its own making, has reinforced economic and political fragility in the region.

That said, how the fundamentals of fragility and the roles of the state, both in the making of fragility and in building resilient communities, are understood also depends on discourses of ‘place’ and ‘power.’ The spatial theorists Robert W. Preucel and Lynn Meskell (2004, 215) define ‘place’ as the “outcome of the social process of valuing space; a product of the imaginary, of desire, and the primary means by which we articulate with space and transform it into a humanized landscape.” Place, they tell us, is about space—“the physical setting in which everything occurs” (ibid.). While recognizing the postmodern argument that space is a ‘relative’ term, for the purposes of this book we understand it as a passive ‘container’ that encapsulates the (1) physical enclosures of territoriality, and (2) “civil inclusionary exclusivity” (Halfmann 1998, quoted in Mau 2012, 8)—which basically means, “how the nation-state is still able to control the inclusion—and by extension, the exclusion—of people in various functional systems.” Thus, “regardless of their close connections to the geographical space known as the nation-state, diverse groups of people can be treated differently” according to whether they are viewed as legitimate members of the space (Ndhlovu 2018, 5); and, as an addendum, those who reside outside their legitimate spaces can be viewed as outsiders by the people of that place, based on what they make of such sojourners’

place of origin. Thus, for example, an African living in the United States of America can be viewed and subjected to increased security surveillance if the U.S. government and people see his region and country of origin as a space that represents an existential threat to their national security. To this end, the study of space has undergone considerable advances (or, rather, taken a ‘spatial turn’) since it was first theorized in 1974 by the French Marxist philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre in *La production de l’espace* (see Gottdiener 1993; Lefebvre 1991; Goonewardena et al. 2008). This ‘spatial turn’ constitutes our understanding (for the purpose of this book) of place as a platform that is not static but, instead, a projected space where the struggles over ideas, beliefs, principles and bodies take place.

In the circumstances, then, it is not surprising that the tensions and contradictions of place, have led some to go as far as to hold that what constitutes place has a correlation to power—the operational definition of which, Robert Alan Dahl tells us, is the “successful attempt by A to get B to do something he would not otherwise do” (Dahl 1957, 202). In Dahl’s view, the polyarchic descriptor, ‘appropriateness’ (i.e., the political actions of governments), and the impact of power, as it relates to legitimate governance policies, procedures, and actions of the state, should be assessed with regard to governmental performance in preventing and managing the indicators of fragility in sub-Saharan Africa. If we are to examine the indicators of fragility and political resilience based on government performance, then the need to re-center the African state becomes all the more critical. A noteworthy observation, however, is that our attempt to bring the African state ‘back’ into the center is not premised on the belief that it is a unitary actor. In a globalizing world with many centers of powers and actors, the state is a component of the whole. Adding to this observation, we also accept that, notwithstanding the presence of existential threats to its survival, the state is the actor that provides the space for all other things to occur and acts as the regulator, whether directly or indirectly, of the activities of those within its political space (territory).

In relation to the second framework, ‘fragility-as-resilience,’ we employ (and expand on) Nicolas Lemay-Hébert’s (2018) working definition of the term, and his differentiation of the ‘old’ approaches to fragility (that see fragility as a place of no return) from the ‘new’ empirical positioning of the word ‘fragility’ (as it relates to state-building and as ‘risk-mitigation’) with resilience-building as the fundamental premise of its normative possibilities (Lemay-Hébert 2018). For Lemay-Hébert, the problem with ‘fragility’ is not solely its dangers, but the validity of the knowledge that is resistant to the shift from the old to the new. He believes—and we agree—that

general retreat in the [epistemic] community from the labelling of fragile states towards a more complex understanding of ‘states of fragility’ is a way of recognising the growing resistance to the concept—thus the retreat—but in doing so, this move also opens up new governmentality opportunities for policy actors, re-engaging on the familiar field of securitisation.

(Ibid., 3)

This shift or rather, ‘retreat,’ he contends, exposes the ways in which one can look at the operational aspects of the words ‘resilience’ and ‘fragility.’ These words, according to Lemay-Hébert, operate through the dualist conception of securitization: “*securitization of the other*” (i.e., pathologizing specific states and societies while legitimizing international intervention) and “*securitization of the self*,” or moving towards new risk mitigation strategies. This is what we rely on for our empirical analyses of the issues covered in Part II of this book, on state resilience and intervention. These issues (with each discussed in individual chapters) are: (1) Behavioral language frames, conflict de-escalation words and the reduction of battle-related deaths; (2) Regional and country-level interventions to end child labor; and (3) Institutional interventions in the advancement of food security and health. However, a point of departure from Lemay-Hébert’s conceptualization—which should be seen as our contribution to this emerging, expanding concept—is our attention to the state. It is our belief that, despite the characterization of the ‘state’ as fragile and, therefore, a problem to be excised, its resilience in the face of the odds against it should not be dismissed. To do so would only reinforce the problem of indifference to the state of fragility in sub-Saharan Africa.

The significance of the book

This book focuses on core issues of relevance to the political economy of sub-Saharan African countries. These issues, as they relate to the indicators of fragility, are the ‘contexts and correlates of armed conflicts on statehood and state fragility’; the poverty trap; pandemics and household food insecurity; and child labor and poverty. Regarding the interventions, we developed insightful empirical methods and theories to explain the correlate of behavioral language frames and conflict de-escalation on battle-related deaths across the zones of conflicts; regional and country-level interventions to end child labor; institutional frameworks and interventions in the advancement of food security and health. Taken together, these are issues that have thus far received limited systematic, multidisciplinary and empirically informed critical analysis that may help to understand fragility and resilience better.

Against this backdrop, this book makes a major contribution to the literature in the following ways. First, since the 1980s scholars of the applied social sciences and humanities have discussed a range of state fragility and failure trends in sub-Saharan Africa. The current literature on these trends mostly falls within single sub-disciplines, such as econometrics or political science or anthropology, it is also characterized by inconclusive normative assumptions that were either not tested across countries in sub-Saharan Africa, or were not designed to confront the new realities of state resilience in this sub-region, or by sweeping generalizations from non-empirically tested studies built on a small number of practical cases. In the course of researching this book, we conducted a literature review of over 270 scholarly works (journal articles, chapter contributions in edited volumes and books) on statehood, fragility and resilience in sub-Saharan

Africa, and found only a small number (around 50) based on original empirical data that covers the whole region. Further, none of these 270 scholarly works employed methodological frameworks (within a single study) that drew from mathematical and applied linguistics, securitization theory, political theory, legal theory (and international labor law), applied child development theories and applied econometric techniques in the analyses of statehood, fragility and resilience in the political economy of sub-Saharan Africa. The research in this book employs all these methodologies and theories—as well as contributing a new theory, which we call the “theory of conflict de-escalating words (CDWs)”—in examining, in Part II, the critical indicators of fragility and, in Part III, the institutional frameworks and interventions to reverse the incidences of fragility in sub-Saharan African.

Second, as of the time of writing this book, there are few critical works that comparatively analyze the impact of the contexts and correlates of internal and internationalized armed conflicts on state fragility. The few authoritative works on these are located mostly in the global North and build on the ground-breaking work of Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler on vertical inequality (2004), Frances Stewart on horizontal inequality (2006), the World Bank on institutional trust (2011a) and Mary Caprioli on gender structural inequalities (2000, 2005). Even where these works form the core of the empirical leanings of the literature, our literature review reveals that they are limited to the shorter pieces of book reviews published in the supplementary sections of refereed journals. What we do, in Chapter 3 of this book, is use the theoretical directions and tools and indices of these ground-breaking works to understand how the context-specific ‘lived experiences’ of peoples are imagined, understood and theorized, on the one hand; and, on the other, how definitional variations in their representations of conflicts—including those presented by the Uppsala Conflict Data Program¹ (1997–2013)—enable us to understand the convergences and divergences in the orization and the causal effects of armed conflicts and the indicators of state fragility (as listed by the Fund for Peace (2017)) on the measurement of the adaptive resilience of states. It is this observation that makes this book, to the best of our knowledge, one of the first (if not the first) to systematically engage these works and indices to explain the context-specific representations of conflict-induced state fragility. As of the time of writing this book, there is no literature that looks at the impact of conflict de-escalating words (in peace accords signed between 1989 and 2002 across 13 sub-Saharan African) in the reduction of battle-related deaths. At the time of writing this book, and to the best of our knowledge, there is no study that employs frame analysis to comparatively scrutinize the national anti-child-labor policies of countries across the five sub-regional economic blocs of sub-Saharan Africa, with the aim of understanding the impact of legal norms (international and regional labor law, international human rights law) and institutional regimes in eliminating the worst forms of child labor. The existing studies that have attempted to cover the other issues presented in our book are neither pluri-disciplinary nor empirically extensive. Thus, this book is an important scholarly contribution that not only studies the

indicators of state fragility but also suggests the relevance of having ‘child labor’ as a stand-alone indicator of state fragility. As of today, the category ‘child’ is missing in the indexes of state fragility in sub-Saharan Africa; and, in tandem, what we suggest, with regards to our theory of conflict de-escalation words, has just opened up the field of securitization theory (of the Copenhagen school).

Finally, we recognize the existence of several outstanding books, journal articles, book chapters and policy papers that have broadened our understanding of the indicators of, and interventions to resolve, state fragility in sub-Saharan Africa. There are also many scholarly works that have treated the problem of fragility and pathways of resolving the drivers of state fragility through narrow theoretical frames, which, in turn, makes their methodologies problematic. Our book unifies these thematic topics into one volume and employs insightful methodological approaches to understand these issues. Thus, institutions and people with an interest in state fragility need look no further for a work that contains all the indicators of, and interventions against, state fragility in sub-Saharan Africa. This book makes a significant contribution to multiple sub-fields of state fragility studies. We say “multiple sub-fields” because our book will be of interest to various disciplines: Area and African studies, political science, development studies, micro/macroeconomics, gender and women’s studies, peace, security and conflict studies, childhood studies, critical postcolonial studies, sociology, anthropology, applied linguistics, quantitative research methods and international relations. As such, it contains everything that would be relevant to policy-makers and academic institutions. We cannot assume that this is the only book that will tell the story of state resilience in sub-Saharan Africa. As we shall see below, there are other texts that address one or more of the thematic issues we cover. In fact, the eras of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (2002–2016) and the SDGs (2016 to date) have contributed to a rapid shift of attention to the role of governments in sub-Saharan Africa—from a unit (of analysis) posing a danger to global peace and security in a mostly neoliberal world order (and hence, a problem to be excised and contained (Amin 2006)), to a partner in the global–local (*glo-cal*) pursuits of sustainable political stability, and social and economic development (Sachs 2012; Nilsson et al. 2016; World Health Organization 2015).

Summary of the chapters

In this book, readers are provided with some insights into how we got involved in the project and some anecdotes on the data collection. We introduce the reader to the topics of the book, and the central questions it addresses. It discusses the significance of the book; and, finally, discusses the outline of the book.

The first chapter gives the reader an understanding that the fundamental issues underlying the problem of state fragility in sub-Saharan Africa are not as straightforward as they may appear. This is, in part, due to the way the roles of African governments are understood and theorized. Some authors have gone so far as to

hold that the triggers of fragility in the region are mere reoccurrences of what life has always been in its habitable spaces; and, hence, of little cause for global concern. Others, while recognizing the global dimensions to the woes of this crisis-ridden region, have, nonetheless, pointed to the contestations surrounding the ‘state’: what it is, and what has been its role in the making/unmaking of fragility. They have questioned whether the African state should be regarded as a proactive agent in the building of resilient communities that can cope with the impact of fragility. They would like to know more about the ways in which the ‘state,’ whose leadership is responsible for creating some of the structures that foster fragility, can also be the driver for the unmaking of the fragile spaces in the region. To others, the issues go beyond the wrongs of the state. It should also be about its resilience in the face of the odds. That said, this introductory chapter argues that the postcolonial state in Africa cannot be dismissed because of its role in the making of some of the fragility indicators: conflicts, political instability, poverty, pandemics, corruption, household food insecurity, gender inequality and [child labor]. It should also be seen as a resilient actor, with a central role in the case management of the incidences of economic, social and political fragility. Building on empirical discussions and statistical models of fragility and the role of the state, we propose two theoretical frameworks to understand, in Part I of this book, the critical indicators of fragility, and, in Part II, the character of state resilience and interventions, with emphasis on the state-centric approach and the ‘fragility-as-resilience’ discourse.

In the second chapter, we observe that despite the existence of many theories of conflict escalation and de-escalation; and the methods and datasets that are guiding the multi-dimensional framing of the correlation between conflicts and fragility, the lack of consensus on what causes conflicts has had far-reaching consequences. Attempts to synchronize the context-specific agendas of professionals in the field (individuals, agencies and governments) into these multi-layered academic positions (be they dominant or peripheral), and their definitions of the various forms of conflicts, have had an impact on the measurement of indicators of conflicts. We recognize that, despite the existence of definitions, datasets and databases, the literature on the intersection between conflict and state fragility in SSA is not conclusive. Against this backdrop, our intention in the first half of this chapter is to present (a) the tools and adaptive indices that have been used to measure the causes and causal effect of conflicts, (b) summaries of the definitions and typologies of conflicts, and (c) the key theoretical perspectives (and their methodological frameworks) on the causes of conflict in sub-Saharan Africa. In the second half, we scrutinize the ways in which the proponents of those perspectives have imagined, understood and theorized the context-specific variations of the impact of conflict on state fragility. In addition, our aim is to contribute to the existing studies on conflict by focusing on attempts to centralize the experiences of states—that is, as actors representing the collective emotions (and knowledge) of the people within them. Through this, we are able to reveal the convergences and divergences in the theoretical (and practical) underpinnings of conflict as a critical indicator of state fragility and a tool for measuring the resilience of states in SSA.

The third chapter deals with the contexts and correlates of conflict. We problematize the various perspectives that have been presented to understand the political economy of war and peace; greed and grievance; and needs and wants, and their correlation to the making and unmaking of wars in Africa. The fourth chapter begins with the questions: Would the mainstreaming of conflict de-escalation words (CDWs) in the outcome documents—Peace Accords (PAs)—of state-led political settlements of conflicts lead to a reduction of battle-related deaths in a year or two following the conclusions of peace negotiations? We infer that the more CDWs are found in PAs the lesser the incidences of battle-related deaths; and the higher the number of words of stalemate (such as sanctions and criminal prosecution of faction leaders) the higher the incidences of battle-related deaths. Our findings show that the effect of reconciliatory words on battle-related deaths depicts an inverted-U relationship. This therefore called for a rigorous statistically verified threshold analysis to discover the number of words that can trigger this relationship. We focus on 49 Peace Accords (with emphasis on 145 key semantic and syntactical observations) across countries in sub-Saharan Africa (from 1990 to 2003) to count not just the number of times conflict de-escalation words were used, but also to de-construct their meanings and connections to state-led efforts to resolve conflicts and reduce battle-related deaths. Our empirical threshold analysis pegs the number of conflict de-escalating words at 35. What this means is that, increasing the amount of reconciliatory words in a peace accord beyond 35 can reduce the number of battle-related deaths. To count these reconciliatory words in these peace accords, we used Nvivo to run a text search and validated the outcome with a manual Hand Tally Counter. We also de-construct frame meanings and their connections to state-led efforts to reduce battle-related deaths. In the first section, we explore the literature on the relevance of (non-)linearity of the semantic and syntactic aspects of language framing in the study of conflict escalation/de-escalation. Linguistically speaking, they are two different frames; but in the discourse of securitization, they are opposed to each other. Whereas CDWs have effects that depict a peaceful end: the reversal of existential threats in political speech acts on incidences that deserve special securitized executive action. In the second section, we introduce our theory of CDWs. We situate this theory in Walter J. Ong's theorization of literate and oracy countries, with recognition of the Afrocentric readings of peace in the decolonized platforms of alternative dispute resolution at the sub-regional levels. In the third section, using scatter plots, pooled OLS and random effect models, we show why and how these words or frames of conflict de-escalation contribute to a reduction in battle-related deaths. Our findings reveal that the lesser the amount of reconciliatory words included in a peace accord, the higher the number of battle-related deaths—per any additional non-reconciliatory word; but the number of deaths begins to decline with the mainstreaming of higher amounts of reconciliatory words. In this context, we suggest the choice to project CDWs is to get parties in a conflict to think less about warfare and more about ways of getting out of what the Hirshleifer-Skaperdas game theory of conflict has referred to as adversarial traps, with the rent-seeking soundbites for resource (for war) appropriation.

The fifth chapter paints a realistic image of the African child laborer—the omitted category in the measurement indicators of state fragility. We observe that there is a decreasing rate in the incidence of child labor in major regions of the world but the situation in sub-Saharan Africa is experiencing an upward trend despite governments' improved efforts with the objective of curbing the menace within the sub-region. This chapter extends the existing child labor–poverty nexus to state fragility by drawing on theoretical and empirical evidence using survey data from two countries: Ghana and Tanzania. Our synthesis of empirical findings with the extant literature shows that poor and low-income parents subject their children to relatively more hours of child labor, thereby putting their economic and social prospects in jeopardy. We also find that some of the children engaged in worst forms of child labor are entrapped in commercial sex exploitation, are forcibly recruited into non-state armed groups while others deal in illicit drugs. The negative implication of this outcome is that child labor activities perpetually impoverish the children, their immediate societies and their countries due to the vicious cycle of poverty or largely owing to economic failures on the part of the state. Victims of these economic and political failures who begin to feel disenfranchised become the source of uprisings and upheavals, leaving the country(s) branded as a fragile state. Accordingly, studies have found that poverty is one key driver of child labor, along with a poorly developed agricultural sector, high population growth/fertility rates and low levels of educational attainment and participation. This chapter draws the linkages between poverty, child labor and state fragility by drawing on theoretical and empirical evidence from Ghana, and Tanzania. SSA is the focus given that it has the highest incidence of child labor in the world; the International Labour Organization (ILO) has also indicated that a breakthrough in Africa would be critical to ending child labor worldwide. The relevance of the child labor discourse is reflected in the pledges by governments in SSA to take pragmatic steps in achieving the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The rest of this chapter proceeds as follows. Section two deals with child labor activities in SSA and is followed by a section on definitions of child labor. Section four discusses the child labor–poverty nexus, while section five provides a discussion on the cycle of poverty in fragile states. Section six examines the prospects of child labor and its implications for society while section seven outlines the methodology used in the data analyses. Here, we talk about the theories, the data source, the cross-sectional data and Logit estimation technique employed in the data analyses. The analysis is done for the estimations because they both seek to provide empirical evidence for the effect of household wealth on child labor outcomes. Post-estimation tests such as the link test is used to ensure that the models are correctly specified while the variance inflation factor (VIF) is also employed to avoid the usage of models that suffer from multicollinearity.

The sixth chapter traces, in part one, the political and legal histories of the anti-child labor regimes in sub-Saharan Africa. This is to demonstrate that the discourse on the need for a robust national plan or policy to combat the worst forms of child labor is supported by regional institutional and legal advancements, which

fall within a broader, multidimensional international human rights regime. It is this argument that provides the basis for the second section, which addresses the politics of re-affirmation of the global child protection regime brought by the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC). We examine, using frame theory, the country-level advances in the elimination of the worst forms of child labor. We scrutinize the national plans of five sub-Saharan African countries—selected from an extensive poll of countries within the five sub-regional economic blocs in the region: Cameroon (from the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) sub-region); Kenya (the Intergovernmental Authority for Development, IGAD); Ghana (the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS); Tanzania (the East African Community, EAC); and Zimbabwe (the Southern African Development Community, SADC). We examine how the construct of ‘intervention’ (which seeks to fulfil the fundamental aspects of international human rights law and the emergent doctrine of an international responsibility to protect: prevent, react and rebuild) is structured through 15 sub-frames of the themes of (1) social programming, (2) legal proactivity and (3) institutional interventions, monitoring and evaluation. We look at the similarities in the framing of risk management as it relates to medical, social, nutrition, criminal prosecution and compulsory schooling interventions. Whereas frame theory was the umbrella scheme we used to understand subject matter similarities, for the legal proactivity section, we employed French and Raven’s (1959) “The Basis of Social Power Theory,” to ascertain the impact of the national laws on child labor on the society. On the issue of institutional intervention, we also draw from the various behavioral and child development theories of Sigmund Freud, Erik Erikson, Jean Piaget, John Bowlby and Lev Vygotsky.

In the seventh chapter, we contend that since the onset of the Ebola Virus Diseases (EVD) in Guinea in 2013, the estimated number of resultant deaths for all three affected countries was more than 11,000 out of 27,000 reported cases by June 2015. Of all the affected countries, Sierra Leone reported the highest number of cases of 12,901 with 3,915 deaths. The nature of the pandemic and the resultant deaths have socioeconomic and food insecurity implications for affected households. The chapter examines socio-economic determinants of food insecurity at the household level in Sierra Leone using six indicators of food insecurity. Data for the chapter are the three rounds of the High Frequency Cell Phone Survey data that were jointly collected by Statistics Sierra Leone (SSL) and Innovations for Poverty Action (IPA). Empirical techniques include Random-effects Poisson and population-averaged Poisson models. We generate an index of food insecurity from six household coping strategies that indicate food insecurity, using principal component analysis, and employ the household unitary model since the data used for the analyses was generated by focusing on the household head. Findings indicate that households that engage in agriculture only are more have a higher risk of being food insecure. On the contrary, households that have diversified their income portfolios experience a reduction in their levels of food insecurity as incomes from their non-farm enterprises experience boost. We also find that households in

Freetown are less food insecure compared to their counterparts in other urban areas. In specific terms, we find that incomes from non-farm enterprises significantly reduce the intensity at which households restrict adult consumption for small children to eat. Similar reductions in food insecurity intensities can be said for households that rely on less preferred or expensive food as well as those that reduce number of meals eaten in a day. This is the grounds on which we stand to recommend that households in fragile states engage in income diversification to mitigate the harsh conditions of food insecurity in times of an Ebola pandemic.

The eighth chapter sets out to show that, while the increasing incidences of food insecurity impose enormous pressure on what governments can do at the national levels to mitigate against health shocks, it has not prevented them from developing innovative policies to increase crop yield and increase their per capita dietary energy supply (DES) in line with FAO's aggregated estimates of household energy (kcal) consumption per day. The primary objectives of this chapter are, first, to evaluate the goals, policy directives and guiding principles of the national food and nutrition policies of sub-Saharan African countries that received a country ranking and overall score in the 2017 Global Food Security Index. Second, the identified goals are our baseline in exploring some of the key strategies and interventions to contain food insecurity. That said, we begin this chapter with an overview of the causes of food insecurity. In the second section, we examine the various strategies states have used to end food insecurity; using the Ghana model on buffer food stock as a guide, we examine the magnitude of the transfers between the agricultural sector and the health sector. The aim here is to determine whether this model (attending especially to its best practices and lessons) can be replicated in countries that were affected by the Ebola Virus Disease of 2014 and 2016. We seek to ascertain how this Ghana model can be used to transform the food and nutrition security regimes of these countries. Finally, the concluding chapter discusses the role of research in the contemporary theorization of state interventions to address the incidence of state fragility in sub-Saharan Africa.

Note

1 <https://ucdp.uu.se/>

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situation, the people of the sending state (the philanthropists; the saviors) need to be reassured. While the desire should always be to resolve the crisis, there are other self-seeking factors that may lead to a situation wherein the savior becomes the devil. Then again, African leaders have, in some cases, called for the securitization of their own states when faced with complex political and medical emergencies. For example, following the outbreak of the Ebola pandemic in West Africa in 2014, the leaders of affected countries (Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea) framed their messages to the UN using ‘dependency discourses’ that were, according to John Idriss Lahai, designed to motivate the West to accept, as sacrosanct, its moral responsibility to produce a comprehensive response to the pandemic, and to help those countries mitigate the impact Ebola-related restrictions on trade and transportation were having on their respective economies (Lahai 2017).

Despite this negative impact, this turn from failed states to countries at risk is about recognizing the resilience of fragile states. Resilience matters because it is so perceptibly and fundamentally what survival is all about. There are various notions of resilience, and many platforms on which it is demonstrated. Thus, the resilience of a state may be the will and ability to endure in the face of threats to its sovereignty—territoriality, as the scholars of realism theory contend; or it may derive from the activism of civil society in compelling the state to do more to provide the basic needs of her peoples, and to promote and protect their fundamental human rights, as development experts and human rights advocates recommend. State resilience may ultimately rest in the processes of rebuilding the institutions of governance after every episode of fragility so as to prevent such episodes from happening again, as peacebuilding scholars and practitioners would have it; or it may reside in the willingness of the leaders of government to subject themselves to the political appraisals of their electorates—and, for those voted out of office, the willingness to accept the democratic verdict of their electorates, as the advocates of democracy advise. Then again, state resilience may circulate through political and cultural accommodation of the political and cultural ‘others’ for the sake of peace, as Kantian theorists (who propound the deontological perpetual/moral peace theory of Immanuel Kant) argue. State resilience may come from the acceptance of the fragile states in the international system. Here, the dominant states can transform the international system into a dais of equity to enable the fragile states to be recognized as equal (though emerging) sovereign states, as advocates of the democratic theory predict. Or state resilience may offer the state the means by which its people can eliminate all politically motivated and culturally regulated patriarchal institutions and narratives that prevent the attainment of gender equality in politics, economics and society, as liberal feminists have suggested.

Note

- 1 According to the joint World Bank and African Development Bank Migration and Remittances Household Surveys conducted for the Africa Migration Project, reported

that, sub-Saharan countries grew from its 2015 figures of \$33 billion to \$37.8 billion in 2017; with a two-year prediction that by 2019, it will increase to \$39.6 billion. www.worldbank.org/en/topic/migrationremittancesdiasporaissues/brief/migration-remittances-data (accessed: June 14, 2018).

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emerged in Nigeria (the Boko Haram insurgents; see Agbiboa 2013) and Somalia (Al-Shabaab; see Solomon 2014)). These terrorist factions have strong links to terrorist groups outside sub-Saharan Africa: in the Maghreb, the Middle East, and south-east and south-central Asia (see Agbiboa 2014a, 2014b, 2015). Conflicts can also be an outcome of the horizontal inequality and neglect of regions on the basis of race, such as the ongoing ‘genocidal’ conflict in Darfur, which began in 2003 (Lahai 2016b, 56).

Unfortunately, when assessing the implications of conflicts for state fragility in SSA, conclusions are often about trivializing (if not silencing) the resilience of the state. The dominant narrative of these discourses, in analyzing the problem of state incapacity, is the urgency of embracing a neoliberal path to peace, governance and democracy. It has been argued, however, that this path empowers, in the political sense, the very actors (warlords) whose military actions contribute to state fragility during conflicts, while also reinforcing the economic and political structures for fragility to persist in the aftermath of the conflict (see Pitcher et al. 2009; Englebert and Ron 2004; Willett 2005; Hansen 2006; Reno 1999; Lahai and Lyons 2016). As a corrective measure, we propose a contextual assessment of the impact of conflict on state fragility in SSA. As we have already noted, what we tabulate here are outcomes of our review of the relevant literature on the theories of conflict. With this in mind, we recognize that the complexities (relating to the symptoms, correlates and causes) of war may have cross-theoretical conclusions. Moreover, we do not attempt to scale impact based on which theory offers either the best (or worst) explanation.

Notes

- 1 Feminisms-without-borders, as we understand it (and as it relates to the study of feminist movements in SSA) denotes, what is intuitively ‘pro-womanism’ or what concerns the identity and plight of the ‘Black African woman’ in the fragile gendered-spaces of the sub-continent, on the one hand; and, on the other, what is, theoretically speaking, pro-western feminism or the projection of the ‘high theories’ of the western feminists (for more on this, and the clashes between African and western feminists, see, for example, Lyons 2004, 3–8).
- 2 Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Data on Armed Conflict, www.prio.org/Data/Armed-Conflict/ (accessed: June 27, 2018).
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 This database contains more than 170,000 systematic national (on U.S. soil) and international (elsewhere, outside the U.S.) terrorists attacks between 1970 and 2016 (with annual updates). SEE, www.start.umd.edu/gtd/ (accessed: June 18, 2018).
- 5 The RDWTI is a compilation of data from 1968 through 2009. See the following links (accessed: June 27, 2018): www.rand.org/nsrd/projects/terrorism-incidents.html; www.rand.org/topics/terrorism.html.
- 6 But, for all the obvious reasons, some feminist scholars have suggested that ‘the penis’ (the male organ) should be included as a weapon of war (see, Mullins 2009; Carter 2010). Thus, as the lived experiences of women in the civil wars of SSA reveals, rape crimes were systemically used to dislocate families and communities, and sometimes to effect population transfer in genocidal wars as was the case of

- Rwanda (see, Mullins 2009) and Darfur (see, Miller 2009); or to transfer sexually transmitted diseases to the women who would eventually infect their men (within their ethnic group of same) (see, Ruby Reid-Cunningham 2008). In some instances, rape of the women and girls was aimed at demoralizing the male members of the warring faction to whom these women victims belong (Clifford and Slavery 2008; Trenholm, Olsson, and Ahlberg 2011; Coulter 2009).
- 7 Project Ploughshares. n.d. Defining Armed Conflicts. <http://ploughshares.ca/armed-conflict/defining-armed-conflict/>.
 - 8 See, Department of Peace and Conflict Research. n.d. Definitions. www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions/#Extra-systemic_conflict.
 - 9 Ibid., www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions/.
 - 10 Project Ploughshares. n.d. Types of Armed Conflict. <http://ploughshares.ca/armed-conflict/types-of-armed-conflict/>.
 - 11 Ibid.
 - 12 Ibid.; emphasis added.
 - 13 An example of this was pre-1994 Rwanda, where the government of Juvénal Habyarimana had a state policy that called for the empowerment of only the Hutu ethnic group, and the marginalization of the Tutsi ethnic group (including any Hutu who was found to be sympathetic to the plight of the Tutsis) (Scott 2006). In response, the Tutsis formed a rebel group, the *Front Patriotique Rwandais* (FPR; or the Rwanda Patriotic Army, under their leaders, Fred Gisa Rwigyema (who was the leader of the FPR until his death October 1990 (Waugh 2004, 42–47)) and Paul Kagame and declared war on the Hutu-government in 1990 (Mamdani 2001).
 - 14 However, there are other international factors responsible for the outbreak of this conflict. According to the BBC, in 1998, Rwanda accused the government of President Laurent Kabila of either supporting or not acting against the Hutu rebels who had fled into the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) after they were defeated by the Rwanda forces loyal to President Kagame. In response to Kabila's inaction, Rwanda declared war on the Hutu rebels inside Congo. With the Rwandan forces inside his country, Kabila sent his soldiers to support to the Hutu rebels. This conflict raged between 1988 and 2003. But the conflict between the Tutsis (loyal to President Kagame of Rwanda) and the Hutu rebels (who want the Tutsi exterminated continues in eastern DRC. See, www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-11108589.

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Appendix 4: Calculation of the reconciliation words threshold

$$\frac{dBRD}{dRcon} = \sigma_i + 2\sigma_i Rcon = 0$$

$$69.522 + 2(-0.993)Rcon = 0$$

$$1.986Rcon = 69.522$$

$$Rcon = \frac{69.522}{1.986} = 35.006$$

where *BRD* = battle-related deaths; *Rcon* = Reconciliation words

Notes

- 1 With the exception of Somalia, which, at the time, had no functional government as a result of the fighting between the forces of Fareer Aideed and Ali Mahdi.
- 2 For more on this, see www.sadc.int/sadc-secretariat/directorates/office-executive-secretary/organ-politics-defense-and-security/ (accessed July 28, 2018).

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Finally, child labor in SSA includes some of the most exploitative forms, with some children trapped in commercial sex exploitation (Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Tanzania, Nigeria, Cameroon, Zimbabwe and in some unlisted countries); others forcibly recruited into non-state armed groups; and yet others dealing in illicit drugs. These forms of child labor are also mainly driven by poverty, but their implications for society are of even deeper concern. Such children are more likely to die early or become physically incapacitated, stripping the country of the potential benefits from their labor, or to contract diseases that make them weaker and, thus, less productive members of society. Those who survive such activities physically unscathed may end up becoming security threats to their immediate social environments and to the country at large. Threats to political security is a characteristic of state fragility, and curbing such threats diverts economic resources that could have been invested in productive sectors of the economy. Given the strong link between child labor and fragility, we advocate that child labor should be given much attention among the fragility indicators.

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compulsory primary education) and the International Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor (on the claim of criminal laws and enforcement mechanism against the worst forms of child labor,¹¹ especially commercial sex work).

It is evident that there are more similarities than variations across the select country case studies in the processes of framing interventions. Local ownership of the institutional framework is emphasized. There are also multi-dimensional formulations of, and interventions against, vulnerability framing in risk management. Vulnerability has attracted five frames of formulation: the social (cultural), medical, educational, economic and legal. We did not desegregate the social and the education frames given the compulsory nature of one (formal education) and the spatialized non-compulsory nature of the other (culture-centric informal education). Concerning the medical intervention frame, while there is ambiguity regarding the possibility of defining child labor medically, the five national plans hold as sacrosanct the prioritization of medical interventions targeting children (especially girls) with the aim of mitigating early childhood pregnancy and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Another area of similarity is in the legal frameworks' source of legitimacy. While they are adopted by the national parliaments of these countries, our observations reveal that they owe their direction to the international and regional conventions and norms that underpin them. This, we suggest, will lead to the strengthening of the legal frame against cultural relativist objections—that is, if the political and social pull and push factors (such as the political misuse of identity politics) that give cultural belief systems political relevance are controlled. Framing of intervention based on the political preferences of external donor communities is not evident in the national plans, but there is evidence in the national policies of Kenya and Tanzania that the social sensitivities of international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) sway the framing of interventions. These similarities of frames could serve as a platform for the construction of a secure regional child protection database for the exchange of ideas and the development of a regional child offender registry system.

Notes

- 1 This day, which is celebrated every June 16, was developed in 1991 to honor the children who took part and died during the Soweto Uprising in Apartheid South Africa in 1979 (see, Rwezaura 1998, 85).
- 2 Between 2010 and 2018, however, only four additional countries ratified the Charter.
- 3 ACHPR Newsletter, title: “*Ratification Table: African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child.*” www.achpr.org/instruments/child/ratification/ (accessed June 10, 2018).
- 4 U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of International Labor (BIL). *2016 Findings on the Worst Forms of Child Labour*. Bureau of International Labour Affairs, U.S. Department of Labour. Retrieved from www.dol.gov/sites/default/files/documents/ilab/reports/child-labor/findings/TDAMagazine.pdf.
- 5 The Tanzania National Plan goes on to extend the definition of poverty to include the lack of psychosocial support for the child:

Child poverty, which is the deprivation of a range of both material and social supports and services that are considered essential to ensure children's well-being is inadequately addressed in the implementation of the existing policies. In essence, social protection measures must take into consideration the multi-dimensional and interrelated nature of child poverty and vulnerability. This includes addressing issues of social exclusion, which are currently not adequately addressed by the existing social insurance measures through the provision of the [unrestricted] cash and in-kind transfers to the Most Vulnerable Children (MVC) and their caregivers. Social policy and provisioning in Tanzania does not address inequalities and enhance access to basic services of all children and adolescents; mitigation of poverty on families; strengthening of families in their childcare role and providing special services to children who live outside a family environment. This is mainly due to the fact social provisioning is not statutorily guaranteed.

(Government of Tanzania 2009, 6)

- 6 For more on the historical constructions of the feminine psychosexual development in Freudian theory, see Zenia Odes Fliegel (1973).
- 7 For more on the inventory model for examining Erikson's stages of psychosocial development see, Doreen A. Rosenthal, Ross M. Gurney and Susan M. Moore (1981).
- 8 For more on Piaget's theory of cognitive and affective development: Foundations of constructivism, see Barry J. Wadsworth (1996).
- 9 For more on Bowlby's theory see, *The Handbook of Attachment: Theory, Research, and Clinical Applications*, edited by Jude Cassidy and Phillip R. Shaver (1999).
- 10 For more on the contributions of Vygotsky's sociocultural theory on social relations, see Alex Kozulin et al. (2003).
- 11 We observe that, the national plans did not treat the crisis of child labor the same way it treats incidences like armed insurgency, pandemic, famine and flooding. We believe this did contribute to creating the missing link that have made it less likely for to the crisis of child labor to be included as a stand-alone indicator of state fragility.

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activities, and the income they generate, function as risk-coping strategies when other socioeconomic activities have been disrupted by the onset of a pandemic. Non-farm economic activities are also unaffected by, or less vulnerable to, the season-dependence of farming activities and therefore offer more resilient income streams. Wholly agricultural households, in contrast, are highly vulnerable to disruption during specific seasons and struggle to recover financially as income-generating activities are season-limited. Another recommendation is that governments and civil society organization direct increased attention—in the form of relief and aid—to rural and satellite communities during pandemics, as these households are at the greatest risk of becoming food during outbreaks of disease such as EVD.

Note

- 1 African Development Bank (AFDB), Government of Sierra Leone (GoSL), World Bank (WB), World Food Programme (WFP), European Union (EU), Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO).

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supplier of raw produce (especially that which is more than the surplus and reverse threshold) to licensed buying factories⁵ for processing into a variety of nutritionally balanced food.

Recommendations for the Ebola pandemic-affected countries

There are various ways adoption of the Ghana model could help transform the food and nutrition situation in Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia. These could include investment in the following areas.

- 1 Moving from an endless process of planning to encourage the agriculture and health sectors to actually adopt coherent policies and scale up their investment in agriculture through government–private sector partnerships.
- 2 Governments and the private sector, especially the banks, should increase investment in rice production, processing and marketing. Here the focus should be on the procurement, management and transportation of modern technology and fertilizer, and selecting, with the help of global positioning systems (GPS), designated arable land where the government and the private sector could cultivate new varieties of crops and livestock.
- 3 Making youth and women a catalyst for agribusiness development and growth. To achieve this, government should allocate at least 10% of annual budgets as recommended by the *Malabo Declaration on Accelerated Agricultural Growth and Transformation for Shared Prosperity and Improved Livelihood* of 2014.
- 4 Government should also invest in catalytic technology, e.g., mechanization, irrigation and efficient water-management machinery.
- 5 The government should invest in livestock development and commit to increasing the annual yield of livestock with high source of protein, e.g., guinea fowl, ducks, grasscutters, rabbits and fish. These livestock are already readily available in the Mano River basin region (Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia). What is needed is the establishment of buffer stock companies to reach out to small-scale farming communities that have such livestock. That way, communities that lack these livestock can access them through the central agents, the buffer companies.
- 6 Strengthen sustainable biodiversity conservation and management including forest and tree crop development.
- 7 Increase production of other crops to ensure diversification.
- 8 Establish a multi-country consortium to develop a regional nutrition and food program.

Notes

- 1 For more on these initiatives see the website of NEPAD. www.nepad.org/content/about-nepad (accessed: July 23, 2018).

- 2 However, for this exchange to operate effectively, it has been suggested by experts that the country would need “about 10,000 metric tonne capacity warehouses in strategic locations across the country”; and for participating farmers, they will receive the funds for their commodities a day after the exchange in line with what the GCX model, the “‘T+1’ clearing and settlement system” (Ashiadey 2016, paras. 8, 16).

- 3 According to the MOFA,

To promote agricultural mechanization, 220 tractors and accessories comprising 141 Maize shellers, 77 Multicrop threshers were distributed to farmers and service providers. In 2018, the Ministry will distribute 200 tractors and matching implements; 1,000 power tillers and walking tractors; 30 tractor mounted rippers; 10 tractor drawn rear blade; 10 tractor mounted slasher; 60 boom and orchard sprayers; 4,000 motorized sprayers; 60 mechanical and pneumatic planters; 50 cereal harvesters; 200 multi-crop threshers; 400 irrigation kits (engine and solar powered sprinklers sets); and 100 green house technology for horticulture production.

(Ministry of Food and Agriculture 2018a, 5)

- 4 The ‘One Village One Dam’ initiative is aimed at “facilitating the provision of community-owned and managed small-scale irrigation facilities across the country, especially in northern Ghana.” Towards this end, the MOFA has, between 2017 and 2018, identified 192 small dams and dugouts in 64 districts for development (Ministry of Food and Agriculture 2018a, 6).
- 5 As of June 2018, NAFCO has 73 Licensed Buying factions. According to the MOFA, these licensed buying factories also have the mandate to reach out to farmers at their farm gates. They can also buy

cereals from the farmers on behalf of NAFCO. Most of the farms in Ghana are located in remote areas and it would be difficult for NAFCO to reach them all, which is the reason why NAFCO has employed the services of these LBCs to work on their behalf. A margin is added to the farm gate prices for the LBCs prices. The committee takes into consideration factors like transportation, sacks, drying, bagging, sewing and handling to come up with this margin. The LBC prices are as follows; Maize (100kg)—Gh¢70 Paddy Rice (85kg)—Gh¢45 and Soya (10kg)—Gh¢85.

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households take the necessary steps to embrace income diversification so as to remain resilient to food insecurity during an Ebola pandemic. Future research can use panel data from different Ebola-affected countries to produce more robust estimates.

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