Thomas Hüsken and Amal Obeidi

Cyrenaica Contested: Politics, Identity and Justice in Times of Turmoil

The region of Cyrenaica covers the entire eastern part of Libya, and alongside Tripolitania in the west and Fezzan in the south forms one of the three major regions of the country. Since 2011 the political landscape of Cyrenaica can be described by the term heterarchy where state-like and non-state actors as well as different forms of interlacements between them pursue their political ends and act as "producers of order". Among them are local politicians with tribal, Islamist or jihadist, federalist or separatist, entrepreneurial or military backgrounds and agendas, elected or appointed city majors, civil servants, members of the House of Representatives (HoR) in Tobruk, but also civil society actors, intellectuals, youth movements, women's movements, and first and foremost, the camp of the self-proclaimed leader of the Libyan National Army (LNA), Khalifa Haftar. In addition, controversial discourses about identity (and history), justice and the role of Cyrenaica within Libya have emerged. Many of these processes happen at the local and regional level. However, there is currently a steadily growing influence of global actors such as transnational Islamist groups, multinational organizations, companies and foreign states. Thereby the local is turned into a contentious political arena where the political (self)-organization based on tradition, practical norms and interlacements are challenged and eventually pushed to their limits. The paper aims to explore and explain the contentious practice of local governance in Cyrenaica. With respect to the aims of the workshop it will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the varieties of self- regulation, its chances and options and the potential limits.

Georg Klute

Competing TimeSpaces and Territorialisation from Below. Jihadi-Governance in the Sahara

My presentation draws on fieldwork in the Southern Sahara (Algeria, Mali and Niger) on the field of politics among Tuareg rebel movements and jihadi groups, conducted by my collaborator Dida Badi and by me from the 1990s to date. In this paper, I will discuss two main arguments. I developed the first argument on 'competing time-spaces' in a chapter on time and space in guerrilla warfare, published by the African Studies Centre in Leiden on 'Speed of Change', that is automobility in Africa. Time and space were among the issues I became interested in from my fieldwork in the 1990s. The second argument stems from our ongoing research on "political orders in the making. Emergent forms of political organisation". This is an argument about accelerated processes of territorialisation in Northern Mali, i.e. in a region characterised by a high degree of insecurity and violence. I will show how jihadi groups in Northern Mali organise, administer and govern large parts of Mali's northern region outside the control of Mali's government and its allies.

In a first step, I will present the approaches and main assumptions of the ongoing research on political orders in the making. Then, I will develop my arguments on competing TimeSpaces and accelerated processes of territorialisation in Mali. Finally, I will bring these seemingly contradictory arguments together and show that competing time-spaces correspond to different political orders.

Amy Cooter

US Domestic Militias' Intersections with Government and Authority: How a "sociology of individualism" informs their praxis

US domestic militias see themselves as an extension of the government even as they maintain a suspicious and sometimes overtly hostile stance toward that very government. Fundamentally, these mostly-white men believe personal responsibility and individual effort to be central ingredients not only to the American Dream but also to their own identities, arguing that it is every "real" American's responsibility to self-govern and maintain the integrity of their own communities. Militias' relative proximity to local versus state versus national governmental structures and actors influences their perceptions of trust in each of those levels of government in a way that enhances our understanding of their likely responses to perceived acts of government overreach or infringement on individual liberties. Militia members' shared world view is also heavily and more broadly shaped by the intersections of masculinity, whiteness, and nationalism, despite how many genuinely strive to be inclusive and egalitarian; these factors further help us understand how internal demographic homogeny results alongside factions across apparently-similar local militia units.

Anupama Roy and Ujjwal Kumar Singh

Pathalgadhi movement and the question of 'weak state-hood'

This paper attempts to locate questions of 'weak statehood' in the specific site of community based movement and organization around forest land in the Indian state of Jharkhand. Located in the eastern part of India, Jharkhand is a state with substantial tribal population and large tracts of forest land. Pathalgadhi was a movement by tribal population (adivasis) living in areas classified as khuti or Khutkatti land – a classification used by the colonial state to measure and classify land which they recognized as owned/used by adivasis. Land ownership and its use in tribal areas is governed by laws such as the Forest Dwellers' Act and Panchayat Extension into Scheduled Areas Act (PESA), and the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India which recognizes the customary rights of adivasis to self-regulate their use of land. Significantly, for a long time after independence, the adivasis resisted the invocation of the Constitution of India as the source of what they considered their 'pre-constitutional' rights, and rose to challenge the 'Indian state' in tribal areas across India, often by taking up arms. The armed insurgency by the adivasis was suppressed by the state, but the simmering discontent, especially in the context of decisions by successive government in the Centre to allow external agents – industrialists and foreign corporate capital – to extract the rich resources of the region through mining activities, persisted. Significantly, 2016 onwards, adivasi mobilization for the preservation of their rights to land, took a 'constitutional turn'. The adivasis invoked traditional symbols and idioms to assert their traditional/customary rights through the iteration of constitutional provisions. Across the state of Jharkhand and other contiguous states like Chhattisgarh, villagers installed stone slabs or pathals on the highways along their villages, to mark the boundaries of their village. These boundaries were 'guarded' by villagers as marking the territorial space in which they were autonomous, entries to the village were monitored in the same way that a sovereign nation-state would control entry into its territorial space. Significantly, the pathals were inscribed with constitutional provisions – the fifth schedule which recognised administrative autonomy of adivasis in the scheduled areas, and the PESA, which provided for a special procedure for acquisition of tribal land, which required the consent of the village gram sabha (the constitutionally prescribed body which elected the panchayati raj institution). The 'relf-regulation' claimed by adivasi villages in the constitutional idiom, emulating 'state-like' features of sovereign states, put in place competitive logics of state in these regions. While weak statehood was produced because of these competing logics, the idea of state and state effects were simultaneously produced. Based on a brief field work in the village Khuti in Ranchi district of Jharkhand, this paper will explore

the mobilzation by adivasis as processes through which state-ness was being asserted in contexts where weak-statehood existed not because the state was absent, but was present in ways which the adivasis did not recognize. The paper places itself at the interface of new and historical institutionalism to examine questions of relationships among institutions locked in contestation over power, and questions pertaining to patterns of historical development of political authority, in a context where cultures of authority – traditional and modern - collide.

Eva Gerharz

"The Savage" Develops Itself. Self-Organisation among Village Communities in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh

This paper is centred on the case of a new project conducted by an NGO with the aim of supporting initiatives of rural communities, located in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, a hilly region in Southeastern Bangladesh, which is known for its large share of indigenous people, locally called Pahari (hill people). After several years of action-oriented research combined with capacity-building with the aim of supporting the local village communities to develop their own development vision, the new initiative attempts to provide funding for the implementation of selected projects contributing to this vision. The aim is to create spaces which allow village communities to obtain control over their own development, which stands in sharp contrast to conventional approaches that are being realised by larger state and non-state institutions in the conflict-ridden region. It thus seeks to counter dominant patterns of developmentalist domination, shaped by stereotypical images of the indigenous population as primitive and backward, with radically democratic modes of self-regulation. Based on data collected over the last 10 years, the paper critically assesses the underlying assumptions, particularly those relating to prevalent constructions of indigenous culture. It discusses problems relating to notions of community as quasi-natural units of self-governance and analyses underlying frictions and conflicts.

Gabi Beckmann

What is „local" and what is „self" in local self organizations? – And how does self regulation work effectively?

Local organizations – especially those in contexts of scarce financial and material resources (poverty, low income) and high social insecurity – are often seen as a solution for overcoming these scarcities and insecurities by pooling resources and building social relations (bonding and bridging social capital) and by enabling access to services and by cooperation.

From a political perspective these organisation are also seen as the potential basic textures for building democracy bottom-up. However in the history of the 20th century, rather the more centralist states and regimes were most efficient in creating local organisations of considerable spread. Different from the cooperative movements of e.g. England or Germany, these organisations had hardly the character of being self regulated or self governed. In fact they were created as blue prints of a certain pattern like the *Ujamaa* of Nyereres Tanzania, *Ejidos* of Mexico after the Revolution or the *Syndicatos Agrarios* created after 1932 in Bolivia. These organisations were often critized for being alien and external to the local culture. They often suffered from state dependency as well as from following political instead of e.g. economic or technical logics.

Despite the multitude of examples of failing local organisations, the model of local self-help organisations are still a favorite option for development cooperation programmes. Is this just a romantic or idealist mentality of development planners? This paper investigates the decisive factors of successful self regulation in local organisations in achieving their goals and purposes by analysing some case studies of local organisation in the eastern lowlands of Bolivia. These organisations are analysed as open systems (R. Scott) in which membership, pursposes, resources and strategies correspond and must be able to adapt to changing environmental conditions. The key factors to be found here are (1) the availability of different kinds of knowledge: local every day knowledge and expert knowledge (Neubert & Macamo 2005). Further (2), the ability to appropriate and manage an organisational model with regulations (logics of regulation) that can be handled reasonably with flexibility and that resonate with local culture. This means, that institutions are highly important, but they are seldomly just *iron cages* (DiMaggio & Powell; Czarniawska & Joerges 1996). Thirdly (3), this process of appropriation of an organisational model is not sufficient. It must be accompanied with the ability to translate this

model into an understandable local organisational language or narrative that provides legitimacy towards the members as well as towards the organisational field that possibly provides ressources of finance, legitimacy and political power. This ability often depends on the existence of personalities who act as *organisational entrepreneurs* and *organisational men* (Whyte). Hence the paper will argue that the understanding of actor centered institutionalism (Mayntz & Scharpf 1095) might be too narrow to explain the success of local self help organisations as it negates the institutional character of every-day-taken-for-granted knowledge (March & Olsen).

Another question is, whether local self help organisations can be per se and in all situations socially inclusive - with regards to their openess for new members - and democratic in all decisions. The findings of the case studies suggest that in certain situations organisations have to have the freedom of opting for social closure, and that in some strategic questions technical and expert knowledge cannot be replaced or compensated by consensus.

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Antje Daniel

Contesting or complementing the municipality: Self-regulations within the occupation of Reclaim the City

Cities became more and more key points of transformation and are places for dealing with social conflicts. This is also the case in South Africa: The Capetonian social movement Reclaim the City emerged in 2017 and struggles for citizens' rights – particularly the right for housing. Processes of gentrification challenge this right for adequate housing. Citizens can't afford the rising cost of living and have to move. Once again, in history the most vulnerable groups of the society *black* and *coloured people* are affected by evictions. Relcaim the City together with the supporting non-governmental organisation Ndifuna Ukwazi calls for affordable housing in the inner circle of Cape Town and occupied two houses for the people who were evicted.

Based on an ethnographic field research in 2017 and 2018 the presentation investigates self-regulation within the occupation of Reclaim the City. While social movement theory analysed the creative potential of occupation and forms of self-regulation I will draw a more complex picture by analysing the potential and limitations of self-governance in the occupation. By so doing it will become apparent whether the occupation offers an adequate self-governed space, which responds to the weaknesses of local politics, or whether social hierarchies and exclusions, which are produced by local policies, persist or new forms emerge. Therefore, a power critical analysis of the occupations as strategy to resist offers insights to emerging and contradicting orders between the occupation and the municipality.

Matthew Sabbi, Alexander-Stroh-Steckelberg and Dieter Neubert

Local or entangled with the state and the global? Legitimization strategies of councillors-led self-help groups in Ghana

The literature on so-called 'self-help groups' pay much attention to group members' internal welfare – including the promotion of savings, access to credit, and social security. While self-help groups with informal links to state structures – such as councillor-led farmer self-help groups – offer a different focus, these are hardly discussed. We draw on a field study in rural Ghana and examine, in addition to their self-organized social support aims, the everyday processes of legitimization towards state and outside entities by councillor-led farmer groups or associations. These groups are a striking example of an ongoing mutual instrumentalization of local self-organization and the state vis-à-vis the assumed independence of the local self-help groups. From a pro-state standpoint, councillor-led groups gain crucial inside information and decisions on farming needs. The formal position of a councillor enhances the credibility of their self-organized groups towards outside entities including financial institutions, while for external development actors, councillors are the preferred brokers. In this process of legitimization, the self-help groups adapt to formal state regulations (e.g. standards set for village savings and loans associations). However seen from a local society perspective, councillor-led groups use their state links as a platform for critiquing local state projects. The notion of self-organization is important for both sides, even when this type of self-organization refers and functions especially in that twilight between local autonomy and state control. In this case, as in many others, it is hard to identify a clear dividing line between local self-organization on the one hand, and the state on the other and more so when global notions of self-help interfere via the preferences of international donors.