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Review of Australia's Relationship with the Countries of Africa

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A PERSONAL SUBMSSION TO THE INQUIRY BASTHE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE INTO AUSTRALIA'S RELATIONS WITH AFRICA

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Before joining the Australian National University in 1976, I spent nine years with the British Overseas Civil Service working in Lesotho (1959-1966) and Kenya (1966-1968). I was Demographic Adviser at the University of Lagos, Nigeria, from 1970-1973. I have also lived in Zambia when my spouse was Head of Mission in Lusaka around 1990. I have been a visiting lecturer at universities in Zambia, Mozambique and South Africa, and in 2000 I was awarded a South African National Research Council Fellowship. Since retiring from the Australian National University in 2004, I have been Adjunct Associate Professor, Australian Demographic and Social Research Institute, at the ANU.

I am the Immediate Past President of the African Studies Association of Australasia and the Pacific (AFSAAP) and I write the AFSAAP Newsletter, *Habari kwa Ufupi*. Some parts of this submission are drawn from a paper I presented at the 31st AFSSAP Conference in 2008 (see Lucas 2008a).

Key Suggestions

- 1. There should be serious research into the costs and benefits of Australia's involvement with Africa
- 2. Australia a needs a Centre of Excellence for African Development, headed by a Professor of African Development
- 3. AFSAAP should be given financial support to update its Directory of Africanists, which should include a listing of all Africa-related research, NGOs and businesses in Australia
- 4. AusAID should fund an Africa Update, similar in format to the annual Indonesia and PNG Updates, to encourage collaboration between interested institutions

Going Backwards in the 1990s

Africa became of less interest to many Australians in the early 1990's. The struggle against apartheid was ending and the Australian Government was looking more towards Asia. The 1997 Simons' Report recommended a narrowing of Australia's bilateral aid to Africa to only South Africa and Mozambique. In 2001 Gavin Kitchen (2000:26) concluded that 'The welfare of Africa and its people is a matter of remote concern for the governments of Australia and New Zealand and probably always will be.'

One protest against the trend was the excellent 1999 NGO Position Paper on Africa, *Ubuntu* (ACFOA 1999) which is still available online. This report notes that Australia's Overseas Development Assistance globally had fallen by 40% in the 1991-1996 period and that whereas 34% of Australian NGO funds were directed to Africa, only 6% of AusAID funds were.

In 1998 Professor Cherry Gertzel commented on the declining number of African based courses at Australian Universities. Five years later, Lyons and Dimock (2003:1) wrote that 'African studies in Australia is under siege'. A personal communication from Dr John Ballard describes the situation at The Australian National University where a Development Studies major was set up in 1981, offering regional specialisations in Africa and Asia. By the end of the 1980's the Africa option became unviable when he and Ian Hancock moved to other courses. Ironically there is now some demand for courses with an African content.

Lyons and Dimock (2003:1) estimate that in 2003 only ten academics were teaching topics related to Africa. Since then the number of courses offered may well have diminished because of deaths and retirements. A minor reversal to this national downsizing occurred in 2009 with a new appointment in the History program at La Trobe. Dr Roland Burke's thesis had centred on South Africa and he was expected to be teaching a course on South Africa.

Several years ago, I wrote a note about the distinguished contribution of the Demography Program at the ANU to African population studies in the previous four decades (Lucas 2003). One reason for this success was that Demography was able to undertake joint research in Africa with graduates from our Department who had risen to senior positions in their home institutions. As AusAID scholarships diminished in the 1990s, so did these links. I anticipate that by mid-2010 we will have no African Demography students at all.

The disappearance of the Africa Research Institute at La Trobe circa 2006 was another setback, although this was soon followed by the *Proposal for the Establishment of the Monash Africa Research Institute* (MARI), http://www.adm.monash.edu.au/execserv/academic-board/-private/proposal-for-mari.pdf A paper by Fahey (2008) further defines Monash's proposed sphere of influence. However an internal restructure in 2009 at Monash might have meant a temporary loss of momentum for this initiative.

Australia and Africa; Costs and Benefits

Kitchen's judgement above, about lack of government interest, may have seemed largely true at the time but recently there are at least six trends that should modify his judgement. In this section, I discuss these recent changes, and relate them to an important research question, which needs serious study, which is whether Australia gains more from Africa than it gives.

1. Firstly, the Government has an on-going commitment to increase ODA to 0.5% of Gross National Income by 2015-16. The 2009-10 International Development Assistance Budget Media Release (AusAID 2009) highlighted an increase in ODA to

Africa, with more scholarships for Africans and an emphasis on progress towards the Millenium Development Goals. See

http://www.ausaid.gov.au/media/release.cfm?BC=Media&ID=5854_3696_6753_7484 7221

If the ODA sceptics (see Baird 2009), are ignored), then this increase must be a positive development, although Australian companies, institutions, and individuals supplying related goods and services will also benefit.

2. Several major Australian NGOs have had a continuous presence in Africa for decades, and Australian Council for International Development (ACFID) monitors the spending of its members and Code of Conduct signatories. In 2008 about one third of funds donated by the Australian community went to Africa. See: http://www.acfid.asn.au/resources/facts-and-figures/regional-distribution-of-aid-funds

However this neglects the surprising current involvement of Australian individuals and minor NGOs in Africa. For example, the **Canberra Times** recently described fund raising for the Empower program initiated by Australian doctor Robi Sonderegger in 2004 for children affected by the civil war in northern Uganda (Mills 2009). The Macquarie Group Foundation (2009) funds at least 10 African NGOs.

Of course the contribution of any NGO to Africa must be net of its administrative costs in Australia.

3. There has been increasing recognition of the involvement of Australian mining companies in Africa during the mining boom. According to Donnelly and Ford (2008:vii), 'From very little at the beginning of the decade, actual and prospective investment by Australian companies in the SSA resource sector has climbed to A\$20 billion...'

These companies are taking risks but they are also extracting non-renewal resources. What needs to be known here is what these companies take out of Africa as profits, their impact on the environment, and what they put back in terms of taxes, training and development, and fulfilling their social corporate responsibilities. Furthermore, these companies might also have a negative impact if they are, through bribery and corruption, supporting undemocratic regimes.

Criticism of Australian companies by the Australian media seems muted, perhaps because of a lack of information. For example, Bromby (2009), failed in his efforts to contact an Australian company involved in 'some alleged African argy-bargy over a potash project in Republic of Congo..' In October, 2009, the British magazine, **Private Eye**, (1246:28) criticized two Australian companies, one for links with Trafigura, a commodities dealer accused of illegal dumping, and one for selling uranium to India.

4. Fourthly, the number of Africans in Australia and New Zealand increased by around one-third between 2001 and 2006 (2008b: Lucas 2008c) and this influx led to more research on African Australians, as evidenced by the programmes for the 30th and 31st AFSAAP Conferences.

Although African countries may benefit from remittances that the migrants send home, the negative effect is that African countries are being stripped of their human resources (Kalule-Sabiti et al., 2003). Between 1996 and 2001 the number of South Africa- born persons in Australia who were employed in managerial, professional and associate professionals rose from 17,484 to 26,655, that is by more than 50% (Lucas et al. 2006:57). In general Australia gets a massive benefit because the costs of their education were met in their country of origin.

Aid policies which emphasise 'building capacity' and 'good governance' may be in conflict with Australia's immigration policies that seek skilled migrants, sometimes to offset its shortcomings in human resource development (Kalule-Sabiti et al., 2003: 127).

5. There are several thousand African students at tertiary institutions at Australian institutes, either as private students, or funded by their governments. In 2006/7 alone around 5,500 new student visas were issued to persons holding passports from African countries. Countries contributing more than 10% of this total were Mauritius, Kenya, Zimbabwe and Egypt.

The tertiary sector has obviously gained from the fees of overseas students. Even if the Government's target of 1,000 African scholarships by 2012/3 they will be outnumbered by private and government-sponsored students.

6. Finally, at the international level, conditions deteriorated very rapidly in some areas, notably Sudan and Zimbabwe which became the objects of world attention. Somalia joined the list as a perceived threat to world peace through piracy and as a training ground for terrorists. More recently it was recognised that African countries were numerically important in the United Nations,

Australia's role here must be positive, for example with aid to Zimbabwe. Sometimes a quid pro quo may be implied, as with Rwanda obtaining membership of the Commonwealth and supporting Australia's bid for a seat on the UN Security Council.

The Need for Cooperation

Greater cooperation and inter-action between Universities, business, diplomats and NGOs is needed. An example of successful cooperation was the lecture at the ANU by Archbishop Ncube, who visited Australia from Zimbabwe under DFAT's auspices in 2007. Almost 200 people attended because of cooperation between AFSAAP, the ANU's Centre for International Justice and the Commonwealth Round Table.

On the other hand, the Australia Africa Business Council held its annual conference in the Gold Coast, Brisbane, with the Queensland Government as its major sponsor, while AFSAAP held its conference in Brisbane later in the month. The original focus of the Australia Africa Business Council was southern Africa, but there is now a Nigeria-Australia Council, perhaps implying that the needs of West Africa were not being met.

The AFSAAP conferences have had several papers on the mining, and at the 30th Conference welcome from Tokyo, the Zambian High Commission to Australia, H.E.

Godfrey Simasaku who spoke about the Australian companies operating in Zambia. However although a representative form a major mining company was due to speak at the 31st AFSAAP conference, they did not turn up. I cannot remember when a representative from a major NGO last addressed an AFSAAP conference.

I think too that Universities are becoming more involved in self-promotion, which works against cooperation in the tertiary education sector. Furthermore, African Studies are fragmented and sometimes hidden within thematic University courses on, for example, poverty or health. A Centre of Excellence and an African Update, as suggested below, would be means of encouraging an exchange of ideas and facilitate an inventory of teaching and research activities.

Contacts in Canberra

Parliament

Unlike the UK Parliament, it is not easy to find out which Parliamentarians are interested in Africa. The British Parliament has a Register of All- Party Groups divided into two sections, Country Groups and Subject Groups. The former ranges from 'Africa' to 'Zimbabwe' with the purpose of the Africa group being 'To raise the profile of African and pan-African issues in Parliament'. The Subject Groups include 'Great Lakes Region and the Prevention of Genocide'. http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm/cmallparty/register/register.pdf

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

Because of the previous lack of interest in Africa, the most senior diplomats have little experience of Africa. This reflects a past of a tendency to appoint Heads of Mission to Africa who were not career diplomats or who were reaching the end of their careers. An example is Ed Ride who was posted to Lusaka even though he was suffering from Parkinson's disease (Ride 1991). Hopefully African expertise will build up over time as the current Heads of Mission in Africa advance their careers.

AusAID

AusAID is similar to DFAT in that senior staff are unlikely to have any African experience. In the past personal contacts have been difficult to maintain because of staff mobility and turnover; and most of staff working on Africa have been new to the area. It is hoped that this will change with the strengthening of the Africa Section of AusAID and the creation of an Africa branch in DFAT.

African Diplomats

The African Heads of Mission meet regularly in Canberra and are generally supportive of the activities of organisations concerned with Africa. The previous Dean, H.E. Mr. John Lenyasunya, at his farewell organised by the ACT Chapter of the Australia Africa Business Council, urged support of AFSAAP. Africa High Commissioners have addressed both AFSAAP conferences and AABC meetings.

Universities

Searching for 'Africa' on the University of Oxford website (www.ox.ac.uk), you learn that 'Oxford university graduates have been active in African affairs for several centuries.' A recent development is the MSc in African Studies which began in 2006.

Oxford also has more than 150 students in the Humanities and Social Sciences registered for doctoral degrees in African topics.

Although Australia may be hard pressed to match Oxford, with its head start of several centuries, Australian Universities as a whole probably do quite well in the African Studies, it's just that their efforts are hard to measure.

I was amused to find a photo from the ANU's *Staff News* in 1995 with the heading 'South Africa looks to ANU'. According to the caption, the ANU's Vice Chancellor, in addressing South Africa's Deputy President, F.W. de Klerk, said that the ANU hoped for collaborative research projects, and to promoted exchanges, attachments and secondments of staff. Well, if anything happened, I didn't hear about it. Finding out about African students and research at many Universities is quite a serious problem; it would probably mean looking at the webpage of each department and then at the titles of doctoral and other research, which may or may not reveal that a topic concerns Africa.

The Need for a Centre of Excellence

Australia needs a Centre of Excellence devoted to current African Studies, with headed by at least one Professor of Africa Studies. To the best of my knowledge there is only one University staff member in Australia with 'Africa' in their title, that is Caroline Mullins at Sydney University who is Program Officer, International Agencies and Africa.

One of the last acts of Victor Smorgon, who died in 2009 aged 96, was to endow the Chair of Jewish Studies at Monash University (Main 2009). There are several rich South Africans in Australia but they are perhaps too young to consider endowing a chair of African Studies. The new chair of Africa Development at the London School of Economics was funded partly by the LSE and partly by donations from alumni, once again possible but unlikely in Australia. See http://www2.lse.ac.uk/supportingLSE/pdfs/impactSpring2009.pdf

The title of the LSE chair should be noted, and the post was filled by Professor Mkandawire, a development economist. Australia has strengths in African history and politics but the Centre should lean towards 'hands on' experience in Africa, with agriculture as a key sector in which Australia has expertise. The Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research, which has completed over 40 projects in southern Africa since 1983 (see http://www.aciar.gov.au/country/South+Africa) while the Crawford Fund (2008) has drawn attention to the need for aid to Africa to improve food security. A 'hands on' area of research in which Australia needs more knowledge is micro-finance. Hayward-Jones (2008:3) has written that 'The British government in cooperation with key African governments has mobilised the leaders of major international companies to invest in Africa, to create employment opportunities, improve the quality of supply chains, help local companies to become internationally competitive and introduce innovation and technology.'

The Role of AFSAAP

Although I am no longer a member of the Executive of the African Studies Association of Australia and the Pacific, in this section I give my views on how AFSAAP could contribute to Australia's relations with Africa. Some of these tasks are quite labour intensive and AFSAAP might need financial support to accomplish them.

Table 1. AFSAAP's Means of Communication

Means	Content	In charge
Directory of Africanists	Mostly lists Africanists but	Editors: Counsel and
	also NGOs	Pelling (2005)
Australasian Review of	Articles, bibliography,	Editor: Tanya Lyons
African Studies (ARAS)	book reviews, research,	
	and notes	
Webpage	AFSAAP details, experts,	Web Designer: Graeme
www.afsaap.org.au	conference papers, etc.	Counsel
Habari kwa Ufupi	Brief news items, often	Editor: David Lucas
Monthly Newsletter	with hyperlinks	
Emails to members	Events, visits, contacts,	Secretary (Peter Wakholi)
	books etc.	

AFSAAP should accept the responsibility for monitoring Australian research on Africa and on African Australians. As shown in Table 1, AFSAAP has five means of communication, mostly electronic. The journal, *The Australasian Review of African Studies* (ARAS) is now online with a two—year window.

AFSAAP already has various ways of doing this: the journal ARAS has a section devoted to research matters, the Newsletter can give details of PhDs awarded, and the list of Postgraduate Workshop presenters could be put on the webpage. A considerable number of past conference papers are on the AFSAAP website, but the list is incomplete. My view is that all AFSAAP conference papers should be available online, with those that have been fully refereed being identified.

Unfortunately Australia once again fall short of the U.K. and does not have anything comparable to the *Thesis Register of Research in Commonwealth Studies* that covers higher degrees at British universities and includes an Africa file, see http://hdl.handle.net/10065/313 It is possible to search the Catalogues of University Libraries in Australia for Keywords such as 'Africa' but you may only meet with limited success, similarly with research on Africa. Some Universities have Africa Interest Groups or Africa Experts Groups, with UNE and Sydney as examples while Newcastle's website shows a strong interest in Africa.

AFSAAP should seek to update and expand its Directory to provide a listing of researchers and their past and present projects, and of courses on Africa currently offered in educational institutions. I have already compiled a tentative list of dozens of Australian businesses that operate in Africa; an inventory of NGOs working in Africa could also be included.

Libraries and Galleries

According to Article 2 of its Constitution, AFSAAP's role includes to 'coordinate African Studies programs and the acquisition of African materials by Australian and Pacific libraries'. A particular problem relates to the disposal of personal libraries, which sometimes include thousands of items. University Libraries seem reluctant to take such collections, perhaps because of lack of staff and the cost of cataloguing. One Canberra bookshop apparently sold its entire African holding to another bookseller 'for a song'.

However University Archivists seem more receptive, and the ANU Archives are expected to take the working papers of distinguished Africanists such as Anthony Low and Jack Caldwell, while La Trobe has acquired the papers of John Barnes who had spent a part of his early career with the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in Lusaka

I tried a primitive online search of several University websites using the keyword 'Africa' with some surprising results, one being that the ANU, which has no declared interest in Africa, does as well as other more interested institutions in terms of recent purchases. If a Centre of Excellence existed (see above), it should have sufficient funds to provide a specialist library service.

An African Update?

Around ten years ago Kitchen (2000:26) recommended 'a major high-profile Round Table' on (say) 'The Crisis in Africa'. An Update could show what progress some parts of Africa have made since 2000, and provide an opportunity for Africanists to exchange ideas and discuss collaboration.

At the 2006 AFSAAP General Meeting I received support for the idea of a one-day Africa Update, modelled on the Updates currently given at the ANU and elsewhere on Indonesia, Papua New Guinea and other countries. However these Updates need funding, from AusAID, a multinational or a University. I am still hoping that the first could be held in 2011.

When I met Bob McMullan in February, 2009, he was encouraging but suggested testing the waters before planning a full day event. So, with the unanimous support of the African Heads of Mission, a lecture/panel discussion will be held at the ANU on May 24th, 2010, to discuss 'The future of Australia's relationship with Africa'. The Dean of the African Heads of Mission, H.E. Mrs Marie-France Roussety, is chairing a small planning committee, which includes representatives of AFSAAP, the ANU, the Commonwealth Round Table and the ACT Chapter of the Australia Africa Business Council. This demonstrates a degree of cooperation that is often lacking in other Africa-related activities.

Postscript

I am consistently being surprised by the new information I receive about Australia and Africa. Last Saturday I read that two PhDs had been granted by the ANU for work on Africa, of which I was unaware. This morning I read for the first time about

the Australian Africa Children's Aid Support Association (Low 2009) and received a message from the Director of Environmental Programs at the University of Melbourne, saying that his course on Africa's environment had over a hundred students.

I am sure that this Inquiry will greatly enhance our knowledge of who in Australia is involved in Africa.

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