

Elites in the context of DRC: the potential role for change

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What about?

Aim:

- Share with you the findings of our research on the potential role of elites for change in development and reconstruction in Eastern DRC (2 IRC-SV village projects in South-Kivu, 2008-2010).

Content: context of Eastern DRC, elites in the context of Eastern DRC / literature, cases, elites as levers of change / conclusion

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CONTEXT OF EASTERN DRC

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Main dislocative events in the DRC, 1996-2003

- 1996-97: rebels capture much of eastern Zaire while Mobutu is abroad for medical treatment.
- 1997 May: Rebels capture the capital, Kinshasa; Zaire is renamed the DRC.
- 1998 : Rwanda & Uganda back rebels, while Angola, Namibia & Zimbabwe side with Kabila.
- 2000: UN Security Council authorises a 5,500-strong UN force to monitor the ceasefire.

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Main dislocative events in DRC (Continued)

- ❑ 2001 : President Laurent Kabila is shot dead by a bodyguard. Joseph Kabila succeeds his father.
- ❑ 2002 : Peace deal signed in South Africa between Kinshasa government and main rebel groups.
- ❑ 2003: transition government (1+4).
- ❑ 2006: first elections (said democratic & fair).
- ❑ 2011: second elections (dominated by fraud).

DRC→ context of state fragility & post-conflict

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Reserach setting

Carte des Territoires du SUD KIVU



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Landscape and context



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ELITES IN THE CONTEXT OF EASTERN DRC / LITERATURE

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Bad elite versus good elite

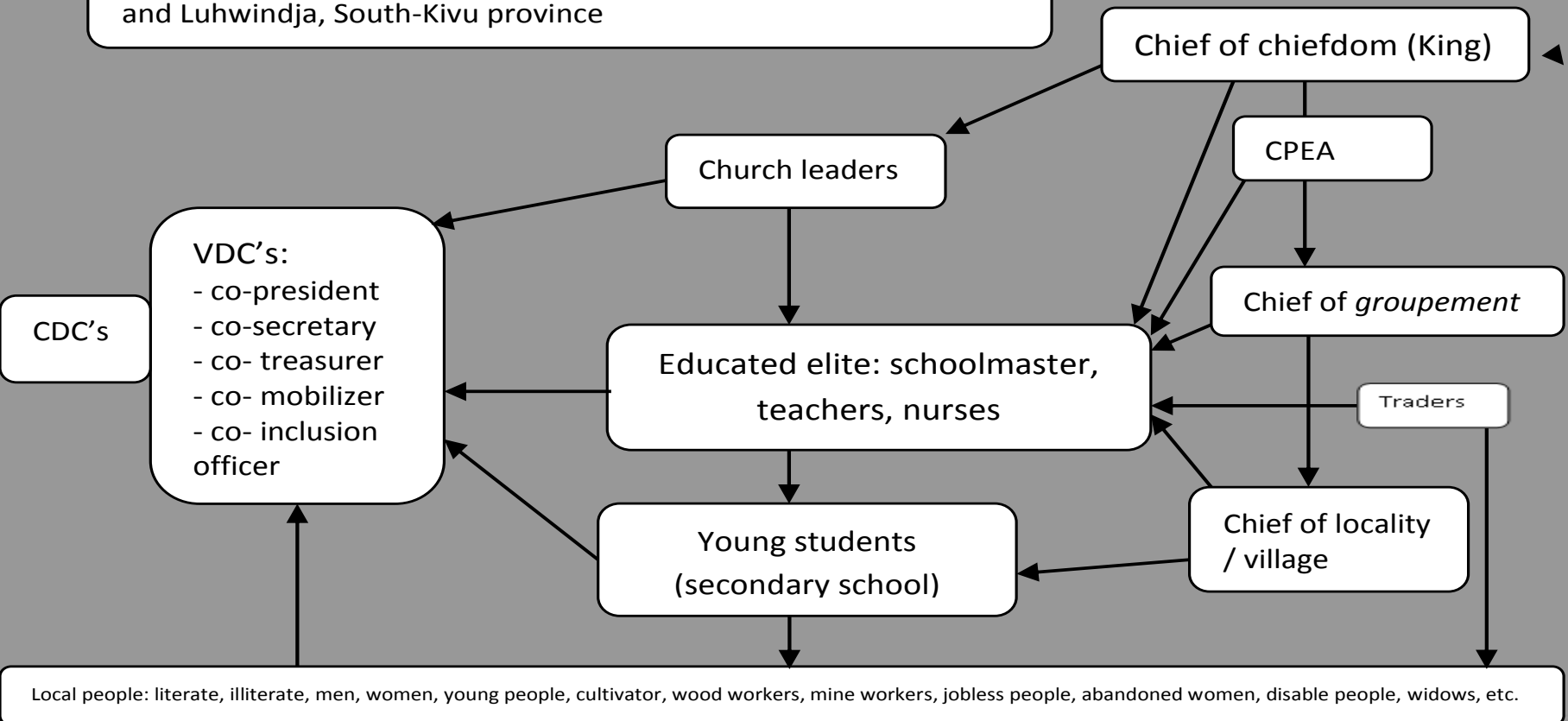
- ❑ Authority and elites → connected concepts in DRC; elites find their power in their position, economy and/or education. E.g: chiefs & state authorities, church leaders, ... (Kaplan)
- ❑ Elite capture: power is exercised for individual interest rather than for community interest; elite control is exerted for popular benefit rather than for personal enrichment.

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Existing power structure & VDC election

Figure 5.2: Existing power structure and VDC election in Burhinyi and Luhwindja, South-Kivu province



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Bad elite versus good elite (continued)

- ❑ Dasgupta and Beard (2007) note that not all elite → corrupt and that *elite control*, rather than *elite capture*, can also result in pro-poor projects.
- ❑ Booth (2009) argues that Africa's own institutional resources might be harnessed for developmental purposes, than viewed merely as barriers to change.
- ❑ Kelsall (2008) stated that extended family(people act honestly) & religion are developmental institutions.

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CASES

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Mubone: the role of elites in participatory development and reconstruction

- ❑ Mubone: village of Luhwindja chiefdom; 5e CELPA church dominates; residents → same ethnic group;
 - ❑ 2 / 10 positions occupied VDC → senior pastor & his wife/; public meetings held in the church; initiated church-primary school selected as village project.
 - ❑ Church leaders mobilized for meetings, for bricks production/burning, carrying out sand of project.
- Mubone illustrates case of *church/elite control*.

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Ciriri: accountability through inter-elite struggle

- ❑ Ciriri: village of Burhinyi chiefdom; 5e CELPA & chieftaincy dominate & overlap (senior pastor clan).
 - ❑ same ethnic group; people identified themselves to these 2 institutions; 1 primary school was targeted by 2 agencies for rebuilding (USD 3000 vs 25000).
 - ❑ Senior pastor mobilized people to work, attempted to misappropriate funding, thanks to the *Mwami*.
- Ciriri illustrates *elite capture vs elite control*.

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Church and chieftaincy (flag)



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ELITES AS LEVERS OF CHANGE / CONCLUSION

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Levers of change: should we be looking more at elites?

- ❑ yes, we should look more at elites as they are in one or another way levers of changes in the context of participatory development and reconstruction.
- ❑ Some elites work for the interest of their own people, while others can harm development/reconstruction.
→ A careful look at the way they operate on the ground is needed.
- ❑ Challenge: → use power over power/elite over elite!



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Public meeting influenced by local elite :



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Thank you for your particular attention

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