

PRELIMINARY PROGRAMME

“International Conference on the Nature of State in Africa in the 21st Century: Challenges, Transformations and Prospects”, October 22nd – 24th, 2025

Theme: Rethinking the African State: Governance, Sovereignty, and the Struggle for Transformation in the 21st Century

**Host: Department of Political Science and Public Administration,
University of Nairobi**

Venue: Physical: University of Nairobi, Main Campus

Payment for the conference presenters & participants:-

Categories:

Local & International Students: -- Ksh. 2000 (US \$16)

Local scholars ----- Ksh. 5000 (US \$40)

International scholars-----Ksh. 7000 (\$50)

Payment can be done using the following 2 options:-

1. **Mpesa Paybill:** 522522. Account 1104698676

2. **Bank Deposit Account Name:**

UoN income generating activities: Account Number: 1104698676

Bank: KBC

Branch: University way

Swift code:KCBKENX

NB: For receipting purposes, please come with proof of payment during conference registration.

Conference Programme (22nd, 23rd & 24th October)

DAY ONE: Wednesday 22nd, 2025

Time	Speaker	Activity
Session 1: Conference Opening Ceremony – Moderator: Fred Jonyo		
8:00 am – 9:00 am	Conference Registration :Michael Kariuki	
9:00 am – 9:15 am	Oscar M. Otele: <i>Chair, Department of Political Science and Public Administration</i>	Welcome Remarks
9:15am – 9:25 am	Kenneth Ombongi: <i>Associate Dean Research & Postgraduate Studies, Faculty of Arts & Social Science</i>	Remarks
9.25am – 9.35am	Conference Partners/Sponsors: <i>Istvan Tarrosy: Director, African Research Centre, University of Pecs, Hungary</i> <i>Maureen Oduori: Country Director: Westminster Foundation for Democracy</i>	Remarks
9:35 am - 9:50am	Prof. Jack Odhiambo: <i>Dean, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences</i>	Remarks and welcomes the Associate Vice Chancellor, RIE
9:50 am - 10:10 am	Prof. Francis Mulaa: (Ag) <i>Associate Vice Chancellor, RIE</i>	Remarks and welcomes the Vice Chancellor
10:10 am - 10:40 am	Prof. Margaret Hutchinson: (Ag) <i>Vice Chancellor</i>	Remarks and Official Opening of the Conference
	Group Photo	
	Tea Break	
Session 2: Conference Keynote Address I – Moderator: Musambayi Katumanga		
11:10am – 12:45	Dirk Berg- Schlosser <i>University of Marburg, Germany</i>	“State Fragility and the Quest for Stability: Rethinking Development Paradigms in 21st Century Africa”
12.00 noon – 1.00 pm	Plenary	Q&A Session
1:00 pm – 2:00 pm	LUNCH BREAK	
Session 3 : “Historical Context and Evolution in the African State – Chair: Philip Nying’uro		
Time	Speaker (s)	Title
2:00 pm – 2:15 pm	Isaac Karanja Mwangi <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Urban Planning</i>	“Planning in the Context of the Kenyan Nation State: A Historical Recall and Future Prospects ”
2:15pm - 2:30 pm	Ben Sihanya <i>University of Nairobi Faculty of Law</i>	“Conceptualizing and Contextualizing the Afro-Kenyan

		Nation, State and Country Pre-Colonial, Colonial and Post-Colonial”
2.30pm-2.45pm	Rene Odanga <i>Emory University</i>	“Dispossession as Rule: Colonial Transformation and the Establishment of Control in British East Africa, 1885-1915”
2:45pm – 3.00pm	Antony G. Maina <i>University of Nairobi</i> <i>Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	“The Aftermath of Africa’s Century of Humiliation: The Reconceptualization of the Social Contract in African States”
3.00pm - 3:15pm	Mark O. Amuko <i>University of Nairobi</i> <i>Department of History & Archeology</i>	“The Kenyan State in Historical Context: From Colonial Rule to Global Engagement in a Changing World”
3.15pm-3.30pm	Tom Ocholla <i>University of Nairobi</i> <i>Department of Political Science and Public Administration</i>	“Democratic Governance in Pre-colonial and Post-colonial East African Political Systems: Continuities and Discontinuities.
3.30pm-3.45pm	Bashar, Bello Hassan & Nasiru Garba Kangiwa <i>Business Administration & Management, Waziri Umaru Federal Polytechnic, Nigeria</i>	“Building the African State from Below: Motivational Approaches to Youth Entrepreneurship in Nigeria”
3.45m- 4.30pm	Discussant: George Gona	Q&A Session
Time	Speaker (s)	Title
Governance and Legitimacy in the 21st Century- Chair: Agnes		
2.00pm- 2.15pm	Reginald M. J. Oduor <i>University of Nairobi</i> <i>Department of Philosophy & Religious Studies</i>	“Sovereignty, Social Contract, and Representation in the Quest for Democracy within the Kenyan Context: Insights for Culturally Plural Post-Colonial African States”
2.15pm-2.30pm	Patrick Nyanje <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	“Devolution and the future of the African state: Rethinking land governance for a new social contract”
2.30pm-2.45pm	Oscar M. Otele, Karuti Kanyinga, & Winnie Mitullah <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science & Public Administration and Institute for Development Studies</i>	“Kenya’s Resilient Democracy: Balancing Power and Accountability”
2.45pm-3.00pm	Ayaga Max Liambilah <i>University of Nairobi, Faculty of Law</i>	“The De Facto Dilemma: Rethinking the Recognition of Governments in the Age of Coups in Africa”

3.00pm-3.15pm	Martin Matiro, <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	“The State in Africa: Toward a Militarist Theorization for Robust Policymaking”
3:15pm - 4:00pm	Discussant: Solomon Owuoche	Q & A
Governance and Legitimacy in the 21st Century: Nkatha Kabira		
2.00pm-2.15pm	Alexander Makulilo, Richard Bosire, Oscar M. Otele & Ignatius Odanga <i>University of Dar es Salaam & University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	“Money, Power, and the Ballot: Rethinking Campaign Financing and Democratic Legitimacy in Tanzania”
2.15pm-2.30pm	Emmanuel Joseph Mallya <i>Open University of Tanzania</i> <i>Department of Political Science, Public Administration, History and Philosophy</i>	“Electoral Rhetoric in Tanzania’s 2025 General Election: An Analysis of Parliamentary Campaign Promises in Dar es Salaam”
2.30pm-2.45pm	Olayode, Kayode Adesoye, Magutu Justine & Henry Amadi <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	“Elections and Electoral Financing in Nigeria: The Role of Democratic Regulatory Institutions in the Fourth Republic Political Dispensation”
2.45pm-3.00pm	David Asante-Darko <i>Afrobarometer/Ghana Center for Democratic Development</i>	“Spiting Democracy: Factors of Low Voter Turnout in Nigeria’s Presidential Elections”
3.15pm-3.30pm	Sahra Mohamed, Tonny Ogutu, Mollyne Achilla & Barrack Ogada <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Geography, Population & Environmental Studies</i> <i>Studies Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	“Structure of Election Management Bodies in Africa: Functionality of Kenya’s Electoral Commission Without Commissioners, and Its Impact on Governance”
3.30pm-3.45pm	Adams Oloo & Tonny Ogutu <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	“The Paradox of Electoral Technologies in Kenya: A Test of State Legitimacy in the Era of Democratic Consolidation”
3.15pm- 4.30pm	Discussant: Melinda Szappanyos	Q & A
Governance and Legitimacy in the 21st Century: Wainaina Samuel Ngigi		
2.00pm-2.15pm	Sammy M. Waweru <i>Karatina University, Department of Social Sciences</i>	Trade and Democratization: Limits to U.S AGOA Policy on Democracy Promotion in Sub-Saharan Africa.
2.15pm-2.30pm	Mwachofi Singo & Barrack Ogada <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	Governance Deficits in Kenya’s Public-Private Partnerships: A Test of State Legitimacy

2.30pm-2.45pm	Philip Kaudo & Fred Jonyo <i>University of Nairobi</i> <i>Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	The Limits of Public Participation in Strengthening Responsible Governance in Africa: The Case of Kenya.
2.45pm-3.00pm	Nurudeen Haruna & Olatunji Stephen Ademulegun, <i>Business Administration & Management,</i> <i>Waziri Umaru Federal Polytechnic, Nigeria</i>	“Education, Governance, and State Transformation: Integrating Entrepreneurship into the Almajiri System in Kebbi State”
2.45pm-3.00pm	Onyango Olang <i>University of Nairobi</i> <i>Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	“Governance, Legitimacy, and State Transformation: Lessons from Comparative Global Experiences”
3.00pm-4.00pm	Discussant: Joseph Obosi	Q & A

DAY TWO: Thursday 23rd October, 2025

Session 1: Keynote Address 2– Moderator : Fred Jonyo

8:30 am – 9:00 am	Istvan Tarrosy: <i>Director, African Research Centre, University of Pecs, Hungary</i>	"Shifting Sands: Geopolitics, South-South Alliances, and the Future of Sovereignty in Africa"
9:00 am – 9:15 am	Q & A	

Session 2: State Sovereignty in the Age of Globalization- Chair Amb. Peter Ogego

Time	Speaker (s)	Title
9:15 am - 9:30am	Noor Abdikadir <i>United State International University- Africa</i>	“Negotiating Sovereignty: The African State in the Age of Foreign Aid, Debt, and Global Governance”
9.30am-9.45am	Keren Weitzberg <i>Queen Mary, University of London</i>	“Keeping People Out of Camps: Biometric Technologies Humanitarian Governance and Contested Sovereignty along the Kenya-Somalia Borderlands”
9:30am - 9:45am	Oscar M. Otele & Phillip Kaudo <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science</i>	“Torn Between Thrones: Africa’s Sovereignty Crisis in the Shadow of China”
9.45am – 10.00am	Tom M. Ocholla <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	“State Sovereignty and International Obligations: An Analysis of National Interests and State Responsibility in Kenya’s Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era”

10:00am – 10.15am	Samuel Kivuitu & Antonny Maina <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	“Multinational Topography of Power: Why BRICS is A Strategic Place for African States?”
10.15a.m – 10.30am	Mollyne Achilla, & Tony Ogutu <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	“Globalization and Public Policy Autonomy in Kenya”
10.30am-11.00am	Discussant: Zoltan Voros	Q & A
Session 2: State Sovereignty in the Age of Globalization- Chair Wamae Muriuki		
9.15am-9.30am	Mary Simprose Bwakali <i>Mount Kenya University</i>	“Balancing borders and bonds: African State sovereignty in the age of globalization”
9.30am-9.45am	Christopher Isike <i>University of Pretoria</i>	“Recentring Africa in International Relations Theory and Practice: Harnessing Indigenous African Thought for Alternative Theory
9.30am-9.45am	Eugene Otieno Owade <i>University of Nairobi</i>	“Globalization and the Reconfiguration of State Sovereignty in Africa: Opportunities and Challenges”
9.45am-10.00am	Barrack Oriwo <i>University of Nairobi</i>	“The African State’s Struggle for Sovereignty in the Era of Techno Imperialism”
10.00-10.15am	Maxwel Wandera Oduol <i>University of Nairobi</i>	“Eroding Borders: Globalization, Technology, and the Future of Sovereignty in Egypt”
10.00-10.15am	Kefa Simiyu <i>University of Nairobi Department of Economics & Development Studies</i>	“Indebtedness is Injustice: Revisiting the Sovereign Debt-Inequality Nexus in East Africa”
10.15am-11.00am	Discussant: Melinda Szappanyos	Q & A
Regional Integration and Pan-Africanism: Chair- James Kariuki		
11.30am-11.45am	Kanhaiya Kumar <i>Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar University, Agra</i>	“Continental Unity in Practice: Regional Integration and the Revitalization of Pan-African Ideals in the 21 st Century”
11.45am-12.00noon	Ezekiel Mbitha Mwenzwa <i>Karatina University, Department of Social Sciences</i>	“Towards a Regional Gender Policy in the East African Community: Challenges and Possibilities”
12.00pm-12.15pm	Kefa Simiyu <i>University of Nairobi Department of Economics & Development</i>	“Women in Government and Pro-poor Growth in East Africa”

	<i>Studies</i>	
12.15-1.00pm	Discussant: RoseAnne Njiru	Q & A
Regional Integration and Pan-Africanism: Chair- Henry Amadi		
11.30am-11.45am	Kizito Sabala <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Diplomacy & International Studies</i>	“The Admission of South Sudan into the EAC and Implications for the Principles of Good Governance, Democracy, and Rule of Law in Integrating Africa”
11.45am-12.00noon	James Muiga <i>United States International University – Africa</i>	“Borders, Brotherhood, and National Security: Transnational Activism, Sovereignty, and the Security Dilemma in East African Integration”
12.00pm-12.15pm	Brian O. Kepher <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	“Cultural Politics: An Impediment towards Pan-Africanism and African Unity”
12.15pm-1.00pm	Discussant: Tom Odhiambo	Q & A
State Fragility and Conflict: Chair David Masika		
2.00pm-2.15pm	Pamela Chemelil <i>University of Pécs, Hungary</i>	“Conceptualizing humanitarian neglect in African conflict zones: A case of the Tigray conflict”
2.15pm-2.30pm	George Katete <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	“Negative Peace and Civilian-Police Relations in Eastern Africa: Comparative analysis of Kenya and Uganda”
2.30pm-2.45pm	Juanita Kasili <i>Independent Researcher</i>	“Women’s Involvement and Contributions in Peace Creation Processes in Africa ICTs in Participatory Peace Processes in Africa”
2.45pm-3.00pm	Tonny Ogutu & Anthony Wekesa <i>University of Nairobi</i>	“Disinformation and the Fragility of State Authority in Electoral Democracies: The Case of Kenya (2013-2025)”
3.00pm- 4.00pm	Discussant: Hezron Mugambi	Q& A
State Fragility and Conflict: Chair: Justus Ondigi		
2.00pm-2.15pm	James Muiga <i>United States International University – Africa</i>	“Statecraft in Ruins: How Institutional Fragility Fuels Perpetual Conflict and Threatens the DRC’s

		State Integrity”
2.15pm-2.30pm	Nyabuto Samwel Nyakundi <i>University of Nairobi</i>	“Interrogating State Fragility in Africa Through Shakespearean Tragedy and Machiavellian Realism”
2.30pm-2.45pm	Barrack Ogada & George Katete <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	Political Violence and State Fragility in Kenya
2.45pm-3.00pm	Leonor Toscano <i>University of Oslo</i>	Gender Inclusion and Local Peacebuilding: Women’s Participation in Peace Committee in Kenya
3.00-3.15pm	Brian Odhiambo Opiyo <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	Silencing the Future? Leadership, Youth Movements, and State Insecurity in Kenya
3.15pm- 4.00pm	Discussant: Esther Omondi	Q & A

DAY THREE: Friday, 24th October 2025

Session 1: Keynote Address – Coordinator: Musambayi Katumanga

8:30 am – 9:10 am	Adams Oloo <i>President’s Council of Economic Advisors</i>	“Rethinking the Role of African State in Service Delivery”
9:10 am – 9:40 am	Q&A Session	

Session: Economic Transformation and the Role of the State- Chair: Justine Mogendi

Time	Speaker(s)	Title
9:40am – 9:55am	Paul Kamau <i>Daystar University</i>	“Economic Transformation and the Role of the State: Lessons for Kenya”
9:55am-10.10am	Keren Zhu <i>Department of Political Science, Davidson College, North Carolina</i>	“The Rise and Fall of Economic-Centered Coalitions in China’s Belts and Road Initiative: Case Study of the Kenya Standard Railway”
9.55am-10.10am	Nekesa Margaret Wabwile <i>University of Nairobi</i>	Beyond the State in Cycles: Re-imagining Statecraft for a Transformative and Self-Renewing African States in the 21 st Century
10.10am-10.25am	Gregory Muhoya Litalala <i>University of Nairobi</i>	“An Inquiry Into The Effects of Secret Offshore Financial Havens on The Economy of African States”

10.25am-11.00am	Discussant: Evaristus Irandu	Q&A Session
Session: Economic Transformation and the Role of the State: Chair: Dickson Wandeda		
9.40am-9.55am	Phelix O. Adwar & Oscar M. Otele <i>University of Nairobi</i>	“The Stationary States and the Illusion of Economic Transformation in Africa: A Critical Analysis of Development Projects and Policies in Kenya”
9.55am-10.10am	Richard Kyalo Mutuku <i>Independent Researcher</i>	“Cryptocurrency Adoption in Hyperinflation Economies: A Quantitative Study of Zimbabwe and South Sudan”
10.10am-10.25am	Emmanuel Odhiambo Owiti <i>University of Nairobi</i>	“Public Discontents and Backlashes in Public-Private Partnership as an Alternative Model of Development”
10.25am-11.00am	Discussant: Zoltan Voros	Q&A Session
Security and National Defense: Chair- Tom Ocholla		
Time	Author(s)	Title
11.30am-11.45am	Ogunyemi, Titilayo Oluwakemi & Olayode, Kayode Adesoye <i>Coventry University West Midlands, United Kingdom</i>	“National security in Nigeria: Assessing the Role of Inter-Agency Collaborative Protection Against Terrorism and Insurgency of Oil Infrastructure”
11.45am-12.00noon	Virgilius Kawama <i>University of Nairobi</i>	“National Security and Defense: A Perspective of Niger State-Nigeria”
12.00noon-12.15pm	Juanita Kasili <i>Independent Researcher</i>	“Terrorism and Ungoverned Spaces in Africa: A Case Study of Kenya”
12:15pm – 1.00pm	Discussant: George Katete	Q&A Session
Security and National Defense: Chair- Justine Magutu		
11.30am-11.45am	Constance Ayabei <i>Rongo University</i>	“Understanding the Nexus Between Community Social-Cultural Orientation and International Terrorism Along the Southern Kenya-Somalia Border”
11.45am-12.00noon	Lucy Shule <i>Independent Researcher</i>	“Security Dynamics of Africa’s Blue Economy”
12.00noon-12.15pm	Anthony Nudi <i>University of Nairobi, Department of Political Science & Public Administration</i>	“Countering Global Terrorism: An Assessment of Kenya’s Anti-Terrorism Strategy”
12.15pm-1.00pm	Discussant: Singo Mwachofi	Q & A
1.00pm – 2:00 pm	LUNCH BREAK	

Session 4: The Rise of Digital Technologies and Innovation: Rethinking State Power, Governance, and Citizenship in 21st Century Africa: Chair Silas Oriaso		
Time	Author(s)	Title
2:00 pm – 2:15pm	Ronald Eshiwani Lumumba & Japheth Ondiek <i>Strathmore University</i>	“Expansionism of China- United States Artificial Intelligence Digital Infrastructure: Techno-Political Implications for African States”
2:15pm – 2.30pm	Otinga Mare, Kevin Faustine, & Grok 3 <i>University of Nairobi</i>	“Reimagining the African State: Leveraging AI and Smart Cities for 21st-Century Resilience”
2.30pm – 2.45pm	Rebecca Wanyama <i>University of Nairobi</i>	“Digital Sovereignty or Digital Dependency? Rethinking Financial Inclusion and the African State in the Global Tech Order”
2.45pm-3.00pm	Mark Otiende Amuko <i>University of Nairobi</i> <i>Department of History & Archeology</i>	“Digital Natives in a Fragmented State: Gen Z Engagement with Democracy and Governance in Kenya”
3.00pm-3.15pm	Benson M. O. Agaya <i>University of Nairobi</i> <i>Department of Sociology, Social Work & African Women Studies,</i>	“Digital Technologies, Government, and the Reshaping of the Modern State in Kenya”
3.15pm-3.30pm	Martina Mutheu <i>University of Nairobi,</i> <i>Department of Journalism & Mass Communication</i>	“Digital Revolution and Inclusive Development in Africa: Empowering Communities through Technology”
3.30pm-3.45pm	Bernard Kirui <i>National Intelligence and Research University College</i>	“Artificial Intelligence and Arms Control in Kenya: A Critical Intersection”
3:30pm – 4:30pm	Discussants: John Oredo & X.N Iraki	Q& A
Session 4: Climate Change, Environmental Governance and the Future of the African State: Chair Alice Odingo		
2.00pm-2.15pm	Heman Johnson <i>University of Nigeria, Abuja.</i>	“The Impact of Climate Change on Biodiversity in the Lake Chad Basin: Implications for Peace and National Development in Nigeria”
2.15pm-2.30pm	Zoltan Gluck <i>American University</i>	“Private Security and the Production of Nature: Conservancies, Climate Crisis and Security Governance in Kenya”
2.30m-2.45pm	Audrey Muyuni, Davis Wapelwa, Dorcus Mwanza, Hope Phiri <i>Mulungushi University, Kabwe</i>	“Climatic Morality: Rethinking Traditional Models in Training Religious Education Teachers in Higher Learning Institutions – A Case of Two Universities in Kabwe Urban”

	- <i>Zambia</i>	
2.45pm-3.00pm	Mark Otiende Amuko <i>University of Nairobi</i> <i>Department of History & Archeology</i>	“Climate Change Governance and the Postcolonial State in Kenya: Legacies of Exclusion, Contestation, and Reform”
3.00pm-3.15pm	Tonny Ogutu, Phelix Adwar, and Barrack Ogada <i>University of Nairobi</i>	“County-Level Climate Governance and Resource-Based Conflicts in Marsabit County, Kenya (2013–2025)”
3.15pm-3.30pm	Laureen Maclean, Christopher Gore & Jenniffer Brau <i>Indiana University & Toronto Metropolitan University</i>	“Do Kenyan Citizens Care about Climate Change? Political Support and Resistance Towards the Green Energy Transition”
3.30pm-4.30pm	Discussant: Sam Owuor	Q & A
Closing Remarks: Amb. Dr. Richard Bosire		
Vote of Thanks: PhD Student Rep		

APPENDIX

LIST OF EXHIBITORS

1. Westminster Foundation for Democracy

SPONSORS OF THE CONFERENCE

1. Prof. Francis Mulaa, DVC-RIE, University of Nairobi.
2. Ms. Maureen Oduori, Country Director, Westminster Foundation for Democracy

-----END-----