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La sociologie au Maghreb: Cinquante ans après

L'inconscient d'une discipline, c'est son histoire. – P. Bourdieu

Dresser un état des lieux de la sociologie au Maghreb n'est pas chose aisée. Les obstacles sont nombreux et seraient même décourageants. Le premier concerne les instruments nécessaires à toute évaluation. Ils n'existent pas toujours ou, lorsqu'ils existent, ne circulent pas d'un pays à l'autre. Ce n'est que récemment que les documentalistes, les bibliothécaires d'un côté, les chercheurs de l'autre, se sont préoccupés de la marche de leur discipline. Les recensions de thèses ne sont pas toujours disponibles, les revues publient de manière irrégulière leurs tables. Les bibliographies thématique, chronologique ou institutionnelle restent rares et rendent impossible toute exhaustivité. Des congrès, colloques, séminaires se déroulent sans que les communications ne soient éditées ou, lorsqu'elles le sont, connaissent une diffusion restreinte.

L'introduction de l'informatique dans l'enseignement supérieur, qui remonte à une dizaine d'années, est en train de bouleverser les habitudes et les méthodes de travail. La production scientifique sera d'accès plus facile dans l'avenir.

Le second obstacle est représenté par les traditions nationales de l'enseignement et de la recherche sociologique. Il est difficile de parler d'une sociologie maghrébine, sauf à l'opposer à des sociologies d'autres aires culturelles. Les contextes nationaux confèrent des styles quasi-nationaux à la place de la sociologie et des sociologues. Trois exemples le montrent bien.

La rupture entre la monarchie et le nationalisme au Maroc au lendemain de l'indépendance, range la grande majorité des intellectuels, dont des sociologues, dans l'opposition alors qu'ils sont en étroite symbiose avec les Etats en Egypte, Tunisie et Algérie jusqu'aux années 1980-1990. La mort du roi Hassan II, la question du Sahara occidental et la formation du premier gouvernement de transition présidé par A. Youssoufi rétablissent les liens entre les universitaires et la monarchie.

L'Egypte et la Tunisie bénéficient d'une tradition de réforme qui remonte au 19e siècle. Elle a touché les systèmes d'enseignement, y compris au niveau le plus élevé.

La défaite militaire de 1967 devant Israël a des conséquences importantes en Egypte. Elle suscite de lourdes interrogations dans les universités et chez les intellectuels et une réorientation de la réflexion et des recherches chez de nombreux sociologues.

Le troisième et dernier obstacle est relatif à la sociologie et aux sociologues eux-mêmes. La question de la 'discipline' et du 'métier' de sociologue n'est pas formulée en tant que question. Elle est intégrée dans des débats plus larges sur la culture, les intellectuels, les sciences sociales et humaines. Ils sont devenus permanents, alimentent une littérature abondante et débordent de part en part la sociologie et le 'métier' de sociologue qui ne sont apparus comme question particulière que ces dernières années.

Un état des lieux classique de la sociologie s'intéresserait aux tendances de la recherche, à sa production, aux paradigmes, théories et méthodes utilisées, aux débats est écoles qui agitent la communauté des sociologues.

L'exercice présenterait une utilité certaine mais s'avère insuffisant lorsque l'identité et les signalements de la discipline sont incertains. L'approche institutionnelle considérerait tout pratique, tout texte et tout usage public comme sociologique lorsqu'ils sont le résultat d'une institution ou d'un chercheur consacrés à la sociologie. La question de l'identité de la sociologie est moins, dans ce cas, celle des frontières qu'elles établit avec les autres sciences sociales que celle de ses rapports à des pratiques et des savoirs comme la religion, la politique, la morale et, en fin de compte, la 'tradition'.[1]

L'avènement et l'institutionnalisation de la sociologie sont l'objet d'une bibliographie abondante. P. Bourdieu est l'auteur de nombreux travaux dans ce domaine.[2] Ils sont un point de départ incontournable avec deux infléchissements nécessaires.

L'analyse strictement internaliste de la sociologie s'avère incomplète dans les situations où le contexte et les facteurs extérieurs à la discipline sont lourds et jouent un rôle important. En second lieu, la trop grande rigidité du système conceptuel bourdieusien, si elle permet d'analyser la reproduction, rend moins compte des mutations et du changement dans la perception et le traitement des faits sociaux. Il est rigoureusement impossible de suivre, en étant fidèle à P. Bourdieu, l'émergence de la sociologie et des autres sciences sociales et humaines à la fin du 19e et au début du 20e siècle. Une sociologie historique de la sociologie (ou une histoire de la sociologie) est plus indiquée pour suivre les trois composantes de la sociologie: les institutions, la communauté de professionnels et les savoirs. Les trois sont relativement bien avancés au Maghreb mais l'identité de la discipline reste encore très incertaine.

1.   L'héritage colonial

L'héritage colonial, dans les années 1950-1960, est inégal. Il est plus important en Egypte et en Algérie que dans les autres pays de la région. Il est également faible en matière d'institution et de formation de chercheurs mais aboutit à une somme respectable de savoirs et de connaissances sur les sociétés maghrébines qui pèsera lourdement sur l'évolution ultérieure de la sociologie.

Les universités médiévales d'Al Azhar (Egypte), d'Al Quarawiyine (Maroc) et d'Al Zitouna (Tunisie) sont définitivement déclassées dans l'entre deux guerres et remplacées, sans disparaître formellement, par de nouvelles institutions d'enseignement et de recherche.

L'université d'Alger est crée en 1909 en regroupant les quatre écoles supérieures qui existaient antérieurement: l'Ecole supérieure de médecine ouverte en 1857, l'Ecole supérieure des lettres, l'Ecole de droit et l'Ecole des sciences crées en 1879-1980.[3]

L'Ecole des lettres emploie, en 1905, huit professeurs titulaires et trois chargés de cours pour l'enseignement de la géographie et de l'histoire de l'Afrique du nord, la langue et la littérature arabe, le dialecte berbère, la littérature persane et égyptienne, les antiquités africaines, la philosophie et l'histoire musulmane. Plusieurs institutions sont crées pour coordonner les enseignements et les recherches: l'Institut de recherche saharienne en 1937, l'Institut d'études islamiques en 1946, l'Institut d'études philosophiques en 1952 et l'Institut d'études ethnologiques en 1956. Dans son autobiographie intellectuelle, le sociologue A. Sayed a laissé un témoignage intéressant sur l'enseignement et la vie d'un étudiant à l'université d'Alger dans les années 1950.[4]

En dehors de l'université, l'Institut de recherches économiques et sociales voit le jour en 1954.[5] Le Centre de recherches anthropologiques, préhistoriques et ethnographiques est crée en 1956 à la suite d'importantes découvertes. Il prend le relais du laboratoire d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistorique crée au sein de l'Université en 1949.

De nombreuses sociétés savantes éditent des revues et organisent des congrès: la Société de géographie et d'archéologie née en 1878, la Société de géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du nord qui date de 1896, La Société historique algérienne publie *La Revue africaine* dans laquelle des Algériens comme M. Ben Cheneb, Ben Choab, Soilah, Ben Mrad, A. Lacheraf, I. Hamet publient régulièrement des articles.

Au Maroc, devenu protectorat en 1912, l'Institut des hautes études marocaines ouvre ses portes en 1920 pour 'encourager les recherches scientifiques relatives au Maroc, propager la connaissance des langues et de la civilisation du Maroc et, accessoirement, préparer à certains examens de l'enseignement supérieur et professionnel'.[6]

D'autre institutions sont crées quelques années plus tard: en 1928, le Centre d'études juridiques situé à Rabat et à Casablanca pour former des licenciés en droit et, en 1940, le Centre d'études supérieures scientifiques qui ne démarre qu'en 1945. Dans les années 1950, l'Ecole marocaine d'administration est ouverte. En dehors de l'enseignement supérieur, la Résidence générale publie *Le Bulletin économique et social du Maroc* dans lequel les études concernant la population marocaine sont nombreuses.

En Tunisie, l'Ecole supérieure de langue et littérature arabe est crée en 1911 pour préparer au brevet et au diplôme d'arabe, accessoirement aux certificats de la licence d'arabe que les étudiants présentaient à l'Université d'Alger.

C'est le seul établissement de l'enseignement supérieur en Tunisie jusqu'à la création, après la seconde guerre mondiale, de l'Institut des hautes études tunisiennes qui est placé sous la tutelle scientifique de l'Université de la Sorbonne. L'enseignement y est réparti en quatre sections: les études juridiques, économiques et administratives qui préparent aux examens de la capacité et de la licence en droit; les études sociologiques et historiques pour accéder au certificat d'histoire et d'archéologie punique et aux cours d'histoire moderne de la Tunisie; les études philologiques et linguistiques pour la préparation des trois certificats de langue arabe (littérature, philologie, études pratiques) ainsi qu'au diplôme supérieur d'arabe. La création de la licence d'études sociologiques et historiques permet l'intégration de nouveaux enseignements et la présence d'universitaires français qui formeront la première génération de sociologues tunisiens.

La Comité d'études économiques et sociales de l'Institut des hautes études tunisiennes publie, à partir de 1952, une revue des sciences humaines: *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* qui abordent la société tunisienne, la géographie humaine et sociale, l'économie régionale, l'archéologie et l'histoire. La Résidence générale publie, elle, dès 1946, *le Bulletin économique et social de la Tunisie* qui traite des questions économiques et culturelles.

Ces institutions d'enseignement et de recherche reçoivent des étudiants et des chercheurs français dans leur quasi-totalité. Les autochtones y sont faiblement représentés comme le montre l'exemple de l'Algérie. Les étudiants algériens qui s'inscrivent à l'Université d'Alger de 1955, à 1961, c'est à dire à la fin de la période coloniale, se répartissent de la manière suivante:

1353 en lettres, 1384 en droit, 525 en médecine et pharmacie et 774 en sciences. Leur nombre qui s'élève à 4036 représente 11,88 pourcent du total des étudiants.[7] De 1870 à 1962, un nombre infime d'Algériens ont pu soutenir une thèse de doctorat.[8] A. Ben Fekar soutient, en 1908, à l'Université de Lyon une thèse de droit sur L'usure en droit musulman et des conséquences pratiques, puis, en 1910, une thèse complémentaire sur la commande (*al qirâd*) en droit musulman. M. Bencheneb est le premier Algérien a présenté une thèse à l'Université d'Alger, en 1922, sur Les mots turks et persans conservés dans le parler algérien. S. Khiat présente, en 1924, à l'Université d'Aix en Provence un travail qui est un Essai sur le statut personnel des Musulmans. S. Mahmassani est candidat au doctorat avec une thèse sur Les idées économiques d'Ibn Khaldoun. Essai historique, analytique et critique à l'Université de Lyon. T. Aït Amer s'est intéressé à la vente et le louage en droit berbère à l'université de Paris, en 1949. A. Nour présente, toujours en droit, une recherche sur L'agriculture algérienne autochtone et les tentatives de sa modernisation à Paris en 1954. Enfin, en 1961, M. Cherit défend une thèse en lettres à Paris sur Les formes des noms arabo-musulmans.

Si l'héritage colonial institutionnel et humain est faible, les savoirs et la connaissance des sociétés d'Afrique du nord sont plus importants. Leur intérêt

provient moins des progrès réalisés dans la compréhension des sociétés que de la contestation dont ils font l'objet dans les années 1950-1960.

Le Maghreb occupe une place modeste dans la formation de l'orientalisme et de l'islamologie en Europe. L'Egypte y joue un rôle majeur, dés la fin du 18ᵉ siècle, avec l'expédition de L. N Bonaparte en 1798 et la publication à Paris de la *Description scientifique de l'Egypte* rédigée par les savants qui l'ont accompagné.

Cette première expérience scientifique moderne est transférée en Algérie, au Maroc et en Tunis. Dès l'occupation coloniale de l'Algérie en 1830, la nouvelle administration, cherchant à définir le statut juridique de la propriété, fait venir un Coran du Caire. De nombreux médecins et interprétés qui font partie de l'Armée d'Afrique ont participé à l'expédition d'Egypte. Enfin, l'administration coloniale de l'Algérie inaugure une série d'ouvrages sous le titre: *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie sur le modèle de la Description de l'Egypte*.

Le Maghreb alimente néanmoins une littérature particulière qui passe par trois phases successives. Au 18ᵉ siècle, les auteurs sont des voyageurs, des consuls, des religieux et des naturalistes. La phase de conquête militaire et de colonisation fait intervenir surtout les militaires, les explorateurs en direction du Sahara et les publicistes. Le démarrage de la lutte anti-coloniale et du nationalisme suscite une intervention plus marquée de la recherche et des universitaires.[9]

Au total, les sciences sociales et humaines sont relativement absentes. La sociologie l'est encore plus. Les thèses soutenus à l'Université d'Alger, entre 1880 et 1962, se répartissent par champs disciplinaires de la manière suivante: l'économie (39,60 pourcent) et le droit (24,40 pourcent) viennent largement en tête. Ils sont suivis par l'histoire (15,60 pourcent), la sociologie (11,70 pourcent) et les études politiques (8,50 pourcent).

Sur les 48 thèses de sociologie, 11 concernent les *fellahs* (paysans), les communautés agraires, la vie indigène et les confréries, dix les Kabyles, les Berbères nomades et le Mzab, huit la femme, six l'enseignement, six la démographie, la population et les villes, cinq portent sur les Juifs, et deux sur la coexistence des communautés.[10] Parmi les articles publiés par *La Revue africaine* entre 1922 et 1950, 3,86 pourcent d'entre eux peuvent être considérés comme relevant de la sociologie au sens large.

En Tunisie, *La Revue de l'Institut des belles lettres arabes,* fondé par la Société des pères blancs en 1927 publie plusieurs études ethnographiques. Des thèmes comme la famille, les mœurs et coutumes, la langue populaire, la vie quotidienne, le folklore et la littérature sont fréquemment traités. Après la seconde guerre mondiale, la même revue publie des numéros thématiques parallèlement aux recherches 'd'une science académique qui s'applique au déchiffrement du pays'.[11] L'intérêt se déplace vers la linguistique et la

littérature, la sociologie et l'économie, l'histoire et l'ethnographie, l'Islam et la mystique, l'éducation et la pédagogie.

L'accumulation de savoirs et de connaissances au Maghreb participe peu à la construction de la sociologie comme discipline en France. P. Lapie qui est professeur au lycée de Tunis de 1893 à 1897 et prépare une étude de psychologie sociale sur les communautés et les civilisations tunisiennes est en relation avec une équipe d'universitaires en France. Il est, notamment, le collaborateur de E. Durkheim de *l'Année sociologique*. Par ailleurs des auteurs comme E. Masqueray, G. Hanoteau et G. Letourneux sont cités par Durkheim lorsqu'il traite de la division sociale du travail.

2.   L'expansion de la sociologie

A l'exception de l'Egypte, la sociologie ne se développe réellement qu'à partir des années 1960 et les indépendances politiques. Le sociologue A. Sayed date, de manière précise, les premières enquêtes de terrain aux années 1957-1958. Elles sont coordonnées par P. Bourdieu et portent sur l'emploi, l'habitat et la consommation en Algérie.[12]

L'héritage colonial perdure quelques années. Le premier Recteur de l'Université d'Alger après 1962 est A. Mandouze qui avait pris position pour l'indépendance de l'Algérie. Ch. A. Julien, un autre historien français, est sollicité par le Roi Mohammed V pour ouvrir la première Faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines du Maroc. L'héritage est renforcé par le recrutement de coopérants français pour enseigner dans les nouvelles universités.

Les politiques scientifiques des nouveaux Etats donnent une formidable impulsion à la sociologie. Son âge d'or commence dans tous les pays avec la croissance rapide des effectifs d'enseignant-chercheurs et d'étudiants. De nouvelles institutions de recherche voient le jour. Les premières thèses de doctorats sont soutenues. L'évolution est plus rapide en Algérie que dans les autres pays.

Les premières Universités sont crées en Egypte et en Algérie. Dans le premier pays, elle date de 1908. Le premier ouvrage de sociologie est publié en 1924 au Caire par Nqûla[13] al Haddâd qui est considéré aujourd'hui comme le fondateur de la sociologie dans le monde arabe.[14] Le second, édité en 1949, est celui de Abd al Aziz Izzat; il est intitulé: 'La sociologie et les sciences sociales'.

La première génération de sociologue algériens est formée à l'Université d'Alger avant la réforme de l'enseignement supérieur de 1971 qui modifie profondément les programmes et les objectifs de la formation.

Les témoignages d'une enseignante et d'un étudiant renseignent, de manière concrète, sur le démarrage de l'enseignement de la sociologie. M. Gadant, française d'origine, mariée à un membre du parti communiste algérien, arrive en Algérie l'année de l'indépendance. Elle enseigne la philosophie dans un lycée puis, de 1964 à 1967, au département de philosophie de la Faculté des

lettres d'Alger où les programmes français restaient la référence obligée. M. Gadant enseigne à l'Université les Présocratiques, Platon, Kant, Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche et Althusser. Les débats, rappelle t-elle, portaient beaucoup sur Fanon, Sartre, le marxisme mais jamais sur la religion et les femmes.[15] Les discours sur les modes de production, les formations sociales, le développement faisaient fureur. Les professeurs et les étudiants de doctorat se nourrissaient en grande partie de Althusser.

Un ancien étudiant distingue deux périodes dans l'enseignement diffusé. Jusqu'en 1967-1968, l'enseignement de la sociologie par un professeur conservateur pousse les étudiants à s'inscrire en philosophie avant de fournir la première génération d'enseignants en sociologie. Les années 1967-1968 et 1968-1969 sont celle de la 'diffusion fantastique des thèses althussériennes et bourdieusiennes perçues comme complémentaires...'[16] Bourdieu et Passeron ainsi que d'autres membres de l'école européenne de sociologie font de fréquentes interventions à l'université d'Alger.

La réforme de 1971 se propose de mettre fin à l'université coloniale en créant une nouvelle université tournée vers la résolution des problèmes nationaux. Elle se fixe comme objectifs immédiats la formation des cadres pour l'administration et le développement. La priorité est donnée aux sciences et aux techniques alors que les sciences sociales humaines auraient pour finalité l'édification de la Nation.

Techniquement, la réforme bouleverse les programmes et la pédagogie. La licence de sociologie est organisée en modules pendant huit semestres avec un tronc commun et des filières de spécialisation à partir de la troisième année. La liste des modules et leurs contenus sont fixés par l'arrêté ministériel du 15 juin 1974. Les filières prévues sont celles de la sociologie du travail, de la sociologie rurale et urbaine, de la sociologie de l'éducation et de la culture. L'enseignement post-gradué est couronné par la soutenance d'un magister puis d'un doctorat d'Etat dont l'organisation pédagogique est fixée plus tard.[17]

La continuité est plus marquée au Maroc où l'Université de Rabat est crée en 1959. La nouvelle Faculté des lettres est le résultat de la fusion du centre d'études juridiques, du Centre d'études supérieures scientifiques et de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes marocaines en sciences sociales et humaines elle comprend un département de sociologie.

L'Institut de sociologie est crée en septembre 1961 avec l'aide de l'UNESCO pour donner des enseignements et promouvoir la recherche. En raison du manque de chercheur, il assure surtout des enseignements dans deux sections en langues arabe et française. En 1965-1966, l'Institut compte 226 étudiants dont 19 ont une licence et un seul un diplôme d'études supérieures.

L'enseignement théorique pour le certificat de sociologie comprend les enseignements suivants: sociologie générale, histoire de la pensée sociologique et des théories sociologiques contemporaines, sociologie urbaine et rurale, sociologie juridique et sociologie politique, sociologie économique et

sociologie de l'entreprise. L'examen comporte les épreuves écrites et orales suivantes: sociologie générale, sociologie de l'Afrique et du monde musulman, une matière de sociologie spéciale, choisie, par le directeur de l'Institut, 35 jours avant la session d'examen. Les autres matières font l'objet d'une épreuve orale seulement. Selon A. Khatibi, la priorité donnée à la formation des enseignants et des scientifiques 'empêche sérieusement le développement de la sociologie'.[18]

L'enseignement de la sociologie précède la création de l'Université en Tunisie. La sociologie est enseignée dès 1958 dans le cadre de l'Institut des hautes études de Tunis et le Centre d'études en sciences sociales. Le programme, défini par le décret du 14 avril 1961, répartit la licence en quatre certificats: études supérieures en sociologie générale, en psychologie sociale, en sociologie et géographie, en sociologie maghrébine et islamique.

J. Duvignaud qui a été le directeur du Centre a fixé dans un rapport intitulé: 'La pratique sociologique dans un pays en développement'[19] les orientations, les priorités et les méthodes nécessaires pour la formation de 'cadres d'intervention sociologique'. Il mérite d'être cité en raison de son intérêt.

'La sociologie', écrit-il, 'doit opérer une révolution copernicienne de ses attitudes traditionnelles'. Elle devrait répondre aux défis que lui lancent les changements des structures globales, les métamorphoses de la mentalité collective à tous les niveaux, bref, répondre aux questions suivantes:

– Quels sont les effets du développement sur la société prise dans son ensemble? Et cela revient à faire le bilan des changements sociaux intervenus depuis l'indépendance.
– Comment la société traditionnelle, dans sa phase de développement, peut digérer et intégrer les problèmes nouveaux que pose le changement de structure? C'est l'étude des tensions socio-psychiques résultant de contacts entre milieux.
– Comment se modifient les attitudes mentales à tous les niveaux de la réalité dans l'optique des transformations planifiées? C'est l'étude des groupes et des mentalités.

Pour mener à bien ce programme, J. Duvignaud considère que toutes les méthodes doivent être utilisées sans dogmatisme et sans préjugés. 'Il s'agit de comprendre le changement, mieux encore de répondre au défi que lance au sociologue les transformations de structure'. Les enquêtes de terrain doivent prendre trois directions: les enquêtes monographiques partielles puis l'analyse globale de la société dans toute sa complexité, enfin l'établissement d'un lien entre les deux méthodes pour analyser la réalité sociale dans sa totalité.[20] Le rapport de J. Duvignaud formule les orientations principales de la création du département de sociologie et la formation de la première génération de sociologues tunisiens qui s'élève à une quinzaine de membres.

Les politiques scientifiques nationales sont aussi volontaristes dans le domaine de la recherche sociologique. Des centre nationaux de recherche sont crées dans tous les pays. La recherche elle-même se résume dans la préparation des thèses de doctorat. Des rencontres scientifiques, assez rares, sont organisées de manière ponctuelle jusque dans les années 1980-1990.

Les expériences de créations de centre de recherche sont très proches en Algérie en Tunisie et au Maroc. Dans ce pays, le Centre universitaire de la recherche scientifique date de 1962. Il a pour mission de développer les sections de recherche dans les Facultés et les Instituts, de coordonner leurs activités, de fournir à la recherche universitaire des ressources en hommes et en équipement et d'orienter la recherche en fonction du développement. Il participe également à la formation des chercheurs et sert d'intermédiaire entre les universités et les organismes étranger, aide à la publication des travaux, facilite l'accès à la documentation et l'échange de l'information scientifique. La section des sciences sociales du Centre comprend trois chercheurs en sociologie et en économie. Elle assure la rédaction du *Bulletin économique et social du Maroc* qui accorde une place importe aux thèmes sociologiques.

Son bilan est modeste et se limite à la publication irrégulière d'une revue très peu diffusée et très peu lue: *La Recherche scientifique*. En 1975, il est transformé en Institut universitaire de recherche scientifique spécialisé dans les sciences humaines et sociales.[21] Il comprend quatre départements (histoire, anthropologie et sciences sociales, science et société, rapports ville – campagne). L'Institut a publié, en arabe et en français, plusieurs ouvrages, manuscrits, thèses et revues dont le *Bulletin économique et social* et *Hesperis-Tamuda*.

L'Institut agronomique Hassan II est crée en 1963 et entre en fonction en 1966. Il pour un rôle important dans la recherche sociologique au Maroc grâce à la présence de P. Pascon. A la suite de sa disparition accidentelle le 21 avril 1985, le *Bulletin économique et social* publie, pour lui rendre hommage, un numéro spécial. P. Pascon a été actif dans de nombreux domaines (sociologie, ethnologie, histoire, droit, technologie…) et, selon le conseil de rédaction du *Bulletin*, son œuvre 'occupe une place énorme et de premier plan, non seulement dans les études rurales mais aussi dans la sociologie du Maroc des trente dernières années'.[22]

En Algérie, dans les nouvelles perspectives tracées par la réforme de l'enseignement supérieur est crée, en 1975, un Centre de recherche en économie appliquée qui devient, en 1986, Centre de recherche en économie appliquée au développement. En 1977, il regroupe huit équipes de recherche en économie rurale (13 chercheurs), éducation (seize chercheurs), technologie (huit chercheurs), accumulation et financement (trois chercheurs), environne-ment (quatre chercheurs), économie des assurances. Le Centre intègre la recherche sociologique avec la participation des sociologues de l'université

d'Alger. Il publie une revue (*Les Cahiers du CREAD*) et joue un rôle important dans l'accès à la documentation et au terrain pour les enquêtes.

Les travaux du Centre de recherches anthropologiques, préhistoriques et ethnologiques sont ralentis en 1969 après le départ des chercheurs français. En 1977, il compte 22 chercheurs dont seize préhistoriens, cinquante anthropologues, une ethno cinéaste, trois administratifs et dix-sept employés pour le soutien technique.

Le Centre d'études et de recherches économiques et sociales est crée en 1962 en Tunisie puis réorganisé en 1972. Il édite *la Revue tunisienne des sciences sociales* à partir de 1964, *le Cahier d'études et de recherches économiques et sociales*, les travaux des chercheurs et les actes des colloques. La quasi-totalité des recherches est faite pour le compte de l'administration et des institutions internationales. Il assure, avec le département de sociologie, l'essentiel de la production dans la discipline en Tunisie.[23]

Jusque dans la décennie 1980-1990, ces Centres de recherche participent plus à la formation des chercheurs qu'à la recherche sociologique elle-même.

Celle-ci est massivement située dans les Universités et consiste en la préparation de doctorats de 3e cycle. La quasi-inexistence d'enseignants de l'enseignement supérieur au moment des indépendances a eu, dans tous les pays, pour conséquence des recrutements massifs de personnels dans les années 1960-1980. Parallèlement à l'enseignement qu'ils assurent, ils poursuivent la préparation de thèses. Leur encadrement n'existant pas toujours sur place, ils sont inscrits en France pour les francisants, l'Egypte et la Syrie pour les arabisants.

Les premières post-graduations (diplômes d'études approfondies) sont ouvertes sur place dans les années 1975-1976. La préparation et la soutenance de thèses de 3e cycle ou de magister sont encore plus tardives. En 1991, il n'existe à l'Université d'Oran qu'une post-graduation en sociologie politique sur les problèmes du pouvoir politique et les approches théoriques et méthodologiques. Un diplôme post-graduation spécialisée, à finalité professionnelle, est ouvert en 1993-1994.[24]

Les Répertoires de thèses et mémoires[25] et les catalogues des éditions montrent la diversité et la nature des travaux universitaires. Celui de l'Office des publications universitaires recense sous la rubrique sociologie, pour la période 1976-1988, 33 ouvrages qui sont surtout des thèses, des actes de colloques, des manuels et polycopiés de sociologie.[26] Le catalogue de l'Entreprise nationale algérienne du livre fait figurer, pour les années 1989-1991, à la rubrique sciences sociales, dix ouvrages dont cinq thèses de doctorat d'Etat.[27]

Les rencontres scientifiques, peu fréquentes, sont organisées par les Ministères plutôt que par les Universités et les Centres de recherche. Les dates anniversaires ou le calendrier politique fournissent l'opportunité de réunions et de débats scientifiques.

3.   Les mutations de la sociologie

L'enseignement et la recherche en sociologie connaissent un tournant, proche du bouleversement, dans la décennie 1980-1990. Il est le résultat aussi bien de leurs dynamiques internes que du brusque changement des contextes nationaux et mondial. Des orientations nouvelles mettent l'accent sur la professionnalisation de la formation, la liaison étroite entre la recherche et le marché et une plus grande intégration dans les échanges scientifiques mondiaux.

Les mesures prises dans l'enseignement primaire et secondaire et les politiques de l'enseignement supérieur appliquées après les indépendances produisent leurs effets dans la décennie 1980-1990. A l'exception de l'Egypte où la sociologie était déjà arabisée, une nouvelle génération d'étudiants arabisés arrive à l'Université alors que les conditions d'exercice du 'métier' de sociologues se dégradent.

La question de la langue d'enseignement se pose avec moins d'acuité dans les universités égyptiennes que dans celles des autres pays où il s'agit de passer d'une sociologie en langue française à une sociologie en langue arabe.

Le Maroc et la Tunisie qui font, dans un premier temps, le choix du bilinguisme, procèdent à l'arabisation graduelle de l'enseignement supérieur. En fait, dans le domaine des sciences sociales, dont la sociologie, le processus et le résultat sont identiques dans les trois pays. L'arabisation de la sociologie est le produit, à la fois, de l'arabisation des enseignements primaire et secondaire et, plus directement, de l'enseignement supérieur lui-même. Le cas de l'Algérie est tout à fait représentatif de l'ensemble de la région.

En 1966-1967, la première année de l'école primaire est complètement arabisée. La seconde année l'est en 1967-1968. En septembre 1971, la philosophie, l'histoire, l'éducation civique et morale ne sont plus enseignées qu'en langue arabe dans l'enseignement secondaire général et technique.

En 1973-1974, à l'école primaire, les trois premières années et le tiers des trois années suivantes sont arabisées. Dans l'enseignement moyen, un tiers des classes des trois premières années est arabisé mais les matières scientifiques sont enseignées en français. En quatrième année, toutes les matières sont enseignées en arabe sauf les mathématiques, la géographie et les sciences naturelles. Dans les lycées, pour les filières littéraires, les premières et seconde AS sont complètements arabisées. En troisième AS, toutes les matières sont enseignées en langue arabe sauf les mathématiques et la géographie.

Un second tournant intervient en 1979. Avec l'application du projet d'école fondamentale, le processus d'arabisation totale est enclenché. Il touche l'enseignement secondaire en 1986 et l'Université en septembre 1989 avec l'arrivée de la première promotion de bacheliers arabisés dans toutes les filières.

La philosophe et l'histoire sont complètement arabisées dés 1971 et la réforme de l'enseignement supérieur. En 1978, 32 pourcent des étudiants des sciences sociales poursuivent leur formation en langue arabe. A la suite de la conférence nationale de juillet 1980, les textes portant arabisation de la première année des sciences sociales, juridiques, politiques, économiques et de l'information est arabisée. Le régime des deux sections arabisée et francisée disparaît et, au cours de l'année 1983-1984, l'arabisation de tous les diplômes (tronc commun et spécialités de la licence) est parachevée. L'année suivante, 95 pourcent des étudiants en sciences sociales étudient en langue arabe.[28]

La production de la sociologie s'effectue en langue arabe dans les mêmes années avec l'arrivée de sociologues formés en dans cette langue qui soutiennent des thèses de magister pour être recrutés.

A l'université de Tunis, la production sociologique en arabe qui était quasi-inexistante dans la décennie 1970-1980, s'élargit pour devenir, dés la décennie 1980-1990 majoritaire. Elle est trois fois plus importante que les publications en langue française ans la décennie 1990-2000. Sur la totalité des textes sociologiques écrits en 1970 et 2002, la répartition et la suivante: 31 pourcent en langue française et 69 pourcent en langue arabe. Les publications du CERES (*Revue Tunisie des sciences sociales* et *Cahiers du CERES*) recensées en 1997 en sont un autre indice. Les premiers articles en langue arabe apparaissent dans la *Revue tunisienne des sciences sociales* en 1980 dans le numéro 63.[29]

Le colloque sur Sociologie et Société en Algérie à Oran (4-6 mais 2002) enregistre la profonde modification des rapports entre les deux langues: sur 34 communications, 11 sont présentées en français. Les colloques antérieurs de 1984, 1986 et 1996 à Oran et à Alger s'étaient déroulés majoritairement en langue française.[30]

Les conditions de travail se sont, elles aussi, modifiées dans le sens d'une nette dégradation relevée par les enseignants, les experts et les syndicats.

Les conséquences de la démocratisation de l'enseignement primaire et secondaire ont été peu anticipées ou tardivement au niveau de l'enseignement supérieur. Elles touchent brutalement toutes les universités de la région dans la décennie 1980-1990 avec l'arrivée de cohortes nombreuses d'étudiants dont les profils ont changé.

La gestion des Universités et des Centres de recherche fait peu de place à la documentation, aux ouvrages récents et aux revues académiques. Les bibliothèques accueillent un nombre infime d'étudiants dont l'essentiel de la formation se résume dans le cours magistral donné par le professeur dans un amphithéâtre.

La préparation des thèses par les enseignants s'effectue dans des conditions difficiles. En sociologie, la durée de préparation est proche de quinze années. De nombreux enseignants renoncent à terminer leurs thèses ou abandonnent l'université. La fragilité de la formation reçue, l'absence de documentation, la

quasi-impossibilité des enquêtes de terrain qui sont strictement réglementées sont autant d'obstacles à surmonter.

Au plan matériel, les traitements versés en Algérie et en Egypte sont insuffisants et poussent les enseignants vers les fonctions administratives mieux rémunérées et vers le cumul avec des activités hors de l'Université pour améliorer les revenues.

Dans tous les pays, une plus grande liberté académique est revendiquée par les enseignants et les syndicats.

L'évolution interne de la discipline est accélérée par les importantes modifications des contextes nationaux et mondial. Sous la pression du Fonds monétaire international et de la Banque mondiale, une nouvelle politique de l'enseignement supérieur est appliquée. Elle se répercute sur l'enseignement et la recherche en sociologie: les formations sont professionnalisée alors que la recherche doit répondre aux besoins du marché.

La crise que traverse tous les pays de la région à la fin de la décennie 1980-1990 est d'abord et avant tout locale. Elle est celle de la construction nationale dont le développement économique n'est qu'un aspect.

L'avènement sur la scène politique, y compris par la violence, des mouvements islamistes suscite des interrogations nouvelles. L'application des plans d'ajustement structurel a des conséquences dramatiques sur l'emploi et le niveau de vie. Dans les relations internationales, la chute du mur de Berlin en 1989 puis la dissolution de l'URSS et du bloc socialiste réduisent la marge de manœuvre des Etats. Le nouveau monde est dorénavant dominé par une puissance unique.

La crise se traduit concrètement par une relative libéralisation politique des régimes autoritaires et l'instauration de l'économie de marché dans les pays où elle n'existait pas (Egypte, Algérie). En 1985, le rapport Ben Dhia sur l'enseignement supérieur tunisien parle de 'fracture universitaire' et fait un constat critique en soulignant la détérioration de l'enseignement primaire et secondaire, la politisation de l'espace universitaire et l'insuffisance des ressources financières. Le rapport de la Banque mondiale, daté de 1998 recommande, en ne retenant que les mesures qui affectent la sociologie de faire baisser les effectifs des filières littéraires et des sciences humaines, de professionnaliser les formations, de séparer l'enseignement supérieur de la recherche scientifique, de créer une catégorie d'universitaires se consacrant exclusivement à l'enseignement.[31]

La réforme de l'enseignement supérieur tunisien est achevée le 31 décembre 2003. En Algérie, elle est entrée en application dans dix établissements en 2003-2004 et doit être appliquée progressivement. L'enseignement de la sociologie, comme celui des autres disciplines, obéit à un nouveau schéma.

La réforme, dite L.M.D, vise l'amélioration de la qualité de la formation, l'harmonisation du système de formation avec le reste du monde, la création de parcours de formation diversifiés et adaptés, la facilité de la mobilité et

l'orientation des étudiants, la mise en place de dispositifs d'accompagnement des étudiants, la capitalisation et la transférabilité des acquis, le développement de la formation tout au long de la vie, à côté de la formation initiale, l'ouverture de l'université et des formations sur le monde extérieur, la promotion de l'autonomie des établissements. Au plan pédagogique, la nouvelle architecture des enseignements est articulée en trois paliers: le niveau licence (L) correspond à un cycle de formation de trois années après le baccalauréat, le niveau master (M) à deux années supplémentaires après la licence, le doctorat (D) à deux années supplémentaires après la licence, le doctorat (D) à trois années après le master. L'enseignement est semestrialité en unités d'enseignement: fondamentales lorsqu'elles regroupent les matières de base d'une discipline donnée, méthodologiques lorsqu'elles offrent l'apprentissage des outils pédagogiques comme les mathématiques, les langues étrangères, l'informatique, la recherche documentaire et de découverte lorsqu'il s'agit de matières relevant d'autres spécialités ou champs disciplinaires pour renforcer la culture universitaire et faciliter les passerelles de réorientation. La formation peut-être à vocation académique en débouchant sur le master et le doctorat ou professionnelle lorsqu'elle est qualifiante et orientée vers le monde du travail. Enfin, il faut noter que parmi les unités de découverte, des thèmes tels que l'histoire et la philosophie des sciences, les enjeux de société, le sport, la culture et l'engagement associatif, la culture scientifique sont proposés à l'ensemble des étudiants.[32]

La réorientation de la recherche est aussi importante que celle de l'enseignement. Dans ce domaine également, la sociologie connaît de nombreux changements. Tous les pays de la région adoptent des Programmes nationaux de recherche (PNR) pour définir les priorités, assurer, en principe, le financement et la création de laboratoires de recherche.[33]

La loi du 22 août 1998 portant loi d'orientation et de programme quinquennal de la recherche scientifique et le développement technologique définit, en Algérie, 31 programmes nationaux dont un consacré à la population et à la société et un second aux sciences humaines. De nombreux autres programmes incluent la dimension sociologique: l'habitat, la santé, l'éducation et la formation, la jeunesse et les sports, la culture et la communication, la linguistique. Ils sont pris en charge par les nouveaux laboratoires crées au sein des Universités et dans les Centres crées au sein des Universités et dans les Centres de recherche.

L'annuaire publié par l'ANDRU en 2005[34] recense les laboratoires crées dans les Universités et donne le dernier état des lieux de la recherche sociologique en Algérie. Le recensement effectué à partir des mots-clés: sociologie, population, anthropologie, ethnologie et démographie permet de faire deux constats.

– Les laboratoires de sociologie sont crées massivement dans les départements de sociologie: trois à l'université de Constantine, une à Alger,

deux à Oran, une à Oran, cinq à Annaba, une à Batna, une a Bejaïa , une à Chlef et trois à Tlemcen.

– La recherche sociologique s'effectue dans les universités les plus importantes (Oran, Alger, Constantine, Annaba). A l'exception de Tlemcen et de Biskra, elle est moins présente dans les Centres universitaires et les universités de création plus récente. Elle est totalement absente dans les Universités scientifiques et technologiques (Alger, Oran, Boumerdes, Blida).

– L'analyse par domaines et thèmes des projets et des équipes de recherche fait ressortir un véritable éclatement de la discipline.

Le Programme national de recherche Population et société comprend 19 projets de recherche répartis dans quatre centres situés à Alger et Oran. Il couvre les domaines suivants: villes et espaces, espace rural; famille, femme et société; mobilité sociale; travail et emploi; savoirs, expression et imaginaires. Les résultats des recherches effectuées dans le cadre du PNR ont fait l'objet de journées scientifiques organisées par le CRASC les 21 et 22 février 2005.[35]

Les besoins en formation de chercheurs et d'enseignants restent, sauf en Egypte, relativement aigus. La croissance rapide des effectifs des étudiants demande de nouveaux recrutements dans tous les pays. En Algérie, leur nombre a été multiplié par six dans les années 1970-1980. Il doit doubler d'ici à 2008 pour atteindre le million d'étudiants en 2001. Par ailleurs, le déficit en enseignants de haut niveau (professeur et maître de conférence) doit être comblé. En 2004-2005, sur un total de 23,500 enseignants du supérieur en Algérie, 15 pourcent seulement sont de rang magistral.[36] Le taux est encore plus bas dans les sciences sociales et la sociologie. Selon le ministre de l'enseignement supérieur, l'Algérie doit recruter 25,000 nouveaux enseignants avant l'année 2008 pour être aux normes internationales.[37] en 2004, le recrutement de 600 professeurs étrangers est lancé.

Un nouveau programme de formation massive débute en 2003-2004. L'Algérie octroie 500 bourses à l'étranger tous les ans à des enseignants effectuant des recherches universitaires et à ceux qui préparent des doctorats d'Etat sur place. L'objectif est de former 2,600 enseignants avant l'horizon 2008.[38]

Les écoles doctorales sont une nouvelle formule de formation de jeunes enseignants-chercheurs. Elles se multiplient dans tous les pays de la région depuis les années 2000. Elles mettent en réseau des universités locales et étrangères et s'adressent à des doctorants pour une formation initiale ou un perfectionnement. Les écoles doctorales qui regroupent des étudiants à l'échelle régionale sont de plus en plus nombreuses.

Enfin, la formation est également assurée par des Universités étrangères implantées localement. L'annonce de la création d'une université franco-tunisienne est faite le 2 avril 2005. L'Algérie envisage un projet

identique dés octobre 2002. La future université franco-algérienne est conçue comme un réseau d'établissements des deux pays avec, au cœur du dispositif, des établissements pilotes porteurs d'expériences appelées à se diffuser dans toute l'Algérie.

En Egypte et au Maroc, la présence des Universités étrangères est plus ancienne.[39] Elles sont surtout américaines. L'Université américaine du Caire, dont le projet date de 1914, est fondée par des groupes missionnaires et incorporée, le 5 octobre 1920, sous la loi du district de Columbia (Washington). L'enseignement supérieur démarre en 1925 dans le cadre d'une Faculté des lettres et des sciences. Aujourd'hui, les sciences sociales et humaines, notamment la sociologie et l'anthropologie, occupent une place importante dans les programmes. Des nombreux diplômes de post-graduation (master et PhD) sont soutenus chaque année par des étudiants égyptiens ou étrangers.

Al Akhawayn University, localisée à Ifrane au Maroc, plus récente, compte une Faculté des humanités et des sciences sociales. Elle assure, au niveau de la licence, des enseignements sur la communication, les ressources humaines pour le développement et les études internationales. Au niveau du master, un programme d'études internationales et de diplomatie est proposé. Le personnel enseignant comprend aussi bien des Américains que des étrangers.

Dans le domaine de la recherche, la coopération internationale est encore plus dense. Après un affaiblissement dans les années 1960-1980, elle s'est considérablement intensifiée et diversifiée. Des Centres de recherche en sciences sociales sont en activité dans tous les pays.

Les Universités américaines en Egypte et au Maroc, poursuivent, parallèlement à la formation, des programmes de recherche. Les fondations étrangères, totalement absentes auparavant, entament leurs premières activités. La coopération algéro-française a beaucoup décliné en raison de la politique des visas et de la violence armée dans les années 1990. Elle est l'objet d'une relance ambitieuse. Le Comité mixte d'évaluation et de programmation lance, en 1986, un programme de recherche et de formation doctorale. En octobre 2003, il a sélectionné 126 projets dont 33 nouveaux. Le Haut conseil franco-algérien, universitaire et de recherche, qui prend la relève, est créé le 29 novembre 2003. Il a pour objectifs, d'aider à la mise en place de formations professionnalisantes, à la mise en œuvre de formations doctorales et post-doctorales pour la formation des enseignants-chercheurs et la réalisation de projets de recherche communs.

Les sciences sociales et humaines, considérées comme un secteur fortement déficitaire, sont retenues comme une priorité. Un fonds de solidarité prioritaire démarre en 2004 pour une période de trois ans pour développer les échanges entre jeunes chercheurs et enseignants. L'Algérie souhaite également une plus grande ouverture à l'international, notamment au cadre euro-méditerranéen.

Les universités étrangères localisées dans la région son un autre canal de coopération en matière de recherche. Le Centre de recherches sociales rattaché

à l'université américaine du Caire est fondé et organisé grâce à une donation de la Fondation Ford. Il a pour vocation l'étude des phénomènes sociaux au Moyen-Orient, la formation des étudiants aux techniques de recherche sociale et d'encourager les projets de recherche sociale au Moyen-Orient. Il s'intéresse, en particulier, aux problèmes d'urbanisation et d'industrialisation et aux problèmes sociaux crées par les mouvements migratoires. Il regroupe actuellement 14 chercheurs égyptiens et étrangers. Les enseignants-chercheurs et les étudiants de la Faculté des humanités et des sciences sociales de Al Ahaqawayn University, au Maroc, sont les auteurs de nombreuses publications dans les revues académiques. Quelques exemples, parmi d'autres, donnent idée de l'éventail couvert par les travaux. M. Willis publie un article sur 'Algérian Terrorism: Domestic and International Links' dans le *South African Journal of International Affairs* (vol. 10, no. 2, Winter/Spring 2003), puis un second sur 'Marroco's Islamists and the Legislative Election of 2002: The Strange Case of the Party that did not Want to Win', dans *Mediterranean Politics* (vol. 9, no. 1, winter 2004). D. Maghraoui est l'auteur d'une contribution sur *French Civilization and Its Discontents: Nationalism, colonialism, Race* (Rowman and Little Field. Pub Inc, 2003).

Le troisième canal de recherche en coopération est représenté par les Centres de recherche eux aussi localisés dans la région. Les deux réseaux les plus importants sont français et américains et couvrent tous les pays.

Le Centre d'études et de documentation économiques, juridiques et sociales a été crée au Caire par l'accord de coopération franco-égyptien de 1968. Pluridisciplinaire, ses travaux portent sur l'Egypte et le Soudan contemporains dans toutes les disciplines des sciences sociales et humaines. Le Centre encadre les jeunes chercheurs pendant la préparation de leur doctorat, élabore des études lorsque des demandes d'expertise lui sont adressées. Il met en œuvre, avec des partenaires égyptiens, soudanais, français et européens huit programmes de recherche: autobiographies politiques, fabrique des élections, migrations entre les deux rives du Sahara, modernisation et modernité des sciences, patrimoines en partages, souci du citoyen, Soudan post-*naivasha*, un SIG pour le sud Soudan et archives. Son directeur A. Roussillon a publié plusieurs travaux sur la sociologie de la sociologie égyptienne et islamique.

Le centre Jacques Berque pour les études en sciences sociales et humaines est crée à Rabat en 1999 pour promouvoir des recherches en partenariat au Maroc et en Mauritanie dans les domaines des sciences sociales, de la réforme économique, des villes et de l'urbanisme, de l'aménagement du territoire, des sociétés, de l'Islam et de la politique. Il a deux programmes en cours (Lire et comprendre le Maghreb et ville et espaces) alors que d'autres sont à l'étude (culture et patrimoine, systèmes éducatifs, anthropologie du Maghreb, les réformes: économie, justice, institutions politiques).

La coopération avec les Etats-Unis s'est renforcée depuis deux décades et joue maintenant un rôle appréciable dans la recherche et la formation des

chercheurs. Deux Centres se trouvent à Tanger et à Tunis depuis les années 1980. La création d'un Centre américain pour les études maghrébines est prévue en Algérie. Il sera localisé à l'Université d'Oran pour servir de trait d'union entre les chercheurs maghrébins et américains dans le domaine des sciences sociales et humaines.[40]

Le dernier lieu de production de la recherche est celui des fondations étrangères. Deux fondations allemandes (F. Ebert et K. Adenauer) sont présentes dans tous les pays de la région. Elles organisent, en partenariat avec les Centres de recherche nationaux des programmes de recherche et interviennent également auprès de partenaires de la société civile (associations et syndicats).
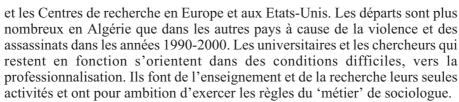
La Fondation du roi Saoud Abd Al Aziz, dont le siège est à Casablanca, au Maroc, est entièrement consacrée aux sciences sociales et humaines maghrébines. C'est une institution privée documentaire, scientifique et culturelle crée répondre aux besoins en information et en documentation ressentis par la communauté des chercheurs et des opérateurs. Elle sert la recherche scientifique et représente, dans la région, la plus importante institution consacrée à l'information et à la documentation en sciences sociales.[41] Son Centre de documentation fournit des services de recherche bibliographique de la reproduction en Internet et à distance avec un accès à des bases de données internationales. Elle élabore elle-même des banques de données et des bibliographies. Sa revue semestrielle de recherche et de bibliographie présente les acquisitions de la bibliothèque et des articles. La Fondation a édité, en décembre 2005, un ouvrage et un compact disc qui recense, de manière systématique, les publications en langue arabe, française et anglaise sur le 'Maghreb dans les sciences sociales'. Ses activités scientifiques et culturelles annuelles sont devenus un espace de débats actifs au Maroc et dans toute la région.

Au terme de ce parcours de prés d'un demi-siècle, où en est la sociologie aujourd'hui au Maghreb? Existe-t-elle? Produit-elle et renouvelle t-elle les savoirs? Existe-il une communauté professionnelle de sociologues? Les usages publics de la recherche font-ils de la sociologie, une discipline utile socialement? Dans tous ces domaines, l'identité de la sociologie est incertaine.[42]

La professionnalisation et la communautarisation, processus récents, sont fragiles. Le statut des sociologues, comme celui des autres spécialistes des sciences sociales, est bouleversé par la crise des années 1980-1990. La relative homogénéité antérieure éclate pour donner quatre figures du sociologue. Certains font leur entrée en politique dans les partis crées suite aux libéralisations politiques et se consacrent à leurs nouvelles fonctions. D'autres, tout en restant à l'Université, pratiquent l'expertise au profit des entreprises privées et des organismes nationaux et internationaux (FMI, BM, PNUD, UNESCO). La troisième trajectoire est celle de l'émigration vers les Université

et les Centres de recherche en Europe et aux Etats-Unis. Les départs sont plus nombreux en Algérie que dans les autres pays à cause de la violence et des assassinats dans les années 1990-2000. Les universitaires et les chercheurs qui restent en fonction s'orientent dans des conditions difficiles, vers la professionnalisation. Ils font de l'enseignement et de la recherche leurs seules activités et ont pour ambition d'exercer les règles du 'métier' de sociologue.

Leur communautarisation fait l'objet de nombreuses tentatives. Ils sont à l'origine de la création d'associations nationales et régionales. Ils se regroupent plus rarement autour des revues. Les syndicats sont maintenant plus nombreux mais la syndicalisation est relativement faible. En fait, les sociologues, comme l'ensemble des intellectuels, restent profondément divisés, les conflits l'emportant sur les collaborations et le travail collectif. La reconnaissance et la légitimité passent moins par les proches collègues que par les institutions et les chercheurs au niveau international.

Les usages publics de la sociologie font eux-mêmes débat. La demande de sociologie est d'abord et avant tout celle des Etats.[43]

Elle est moins la reconnaissance du travail sociologique que la recherche de la légitimation des Etats. Ceux-ci disposent de leurs propres institutions pour la collecte de l'information statistique et les enquêtes de terrain. Ils font, par ailleurs, appel à l'expertise étrangère. La demande locale de sociologie est plutôt l'illustration et la confirmation des discours tenus par le 'leadership'. Les affinités entre les Etats et les sociologues sont très fortes jusqu'à la crise des années 1980-1990.

Elle révèle au grand jour l'absence des intellectuels dont les sociologues. Elle est vivement ressentie devant la stagnation du développement, la mondialisation néo-libérale, l'irruption des mouvements islamistes et de la violence. Le phénomène islamiste a été pour les sociologues une grandes surprise. Certains, procèdent à leur auto-critique et reconnaissent s'être peu intéressés antérieurement à l'Islam et à la religion Globalement, ils sont sommés d'expliquer la crise et de suggérer les voies les plus pertinentes pour en sortir. Le regard et l'intérêt des sociologues doivent alors se tourner vers la société et l'analyse de ses multiples dynamiques.

Enfin, les savoirs sociologiques, menacés de disparition, demeurent incertains. Dans l'enseignement, leur simple reproduction se dégrade de plus en plus. Les pères fondateurs de la discipline (M. Weber, E. Durkheim et K. Marx) ne sont pas toujours connus. Les règles du 'métier' de sociologues sont insuffisamment connues et pratiquées. Les Etats et les entreprises mettent en question la formation des étudiants au nom de l'adéquation de la formation et de l'emploi.

Dans le domaine de la recherche, les sociologues procèdent, dès les années 1950-1960, à la critique des méthodes et savoirs de la sociologie coloniale, de l'islamologie et de l'orientalisme. Le 24e Congrès de l'Association internationale de sociologie, qui se déroule à Alger en 1974, condamne
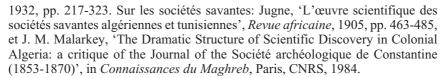
l'ethnologie coloniale.[44] L'article de A. Abd al Malek sur la crise de l'orientalisme est lu par tous les sociologues.[45] L'ouvrage de E. Saïd est traduit en arabe et en français quelques années plus tard.[46] Cette critique se poursuit aujourd'hui. Elle déconstruit la sociologie dominante et ne doit pas être sous-estimée malgré ses accents polémiques.

Elle précède les essais de fondation d'une sociologie en correspondance avec les données de la société et de la culture de la région. Ils s'orientent dans trois directions qui se chevauchent. Dans une première approche, la sociologie, comme l'histoire, doit être décolonisée. Le retour à Ibn Khaldoun s'inscrit dans cette perspective. Son œuvre fournirait les concepts susceptibles d'expliquer le passé du Maghreb et les blocages du présent.[47] Dans la seconde approche, il s'agit, comme le suggèrent A. Khatibi[48] d'élaborer une sociologie arabe. Deux thèses soutenues dans des universités américaines s'inspirent de cette approche: celles de A. Hammoudi[49] et de H. Sharabi.[50] Dans la dernière la plus récente, l'objectif serait de fonder une sociologie islamique.[51] Elle est plus active en Egypte que dans les autres pays de la région.

Le défi auquel font face la sociologie et les sociologues a toutes les chances de perdurer dans le proche avenir. La fondation de cette discipline des sciences sociales est encore à faire. Elle passe par la vigoureuse critique de la tradition religieuse et politique.

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34. Les auteurs de l'Annuaire rappellent néanmoins que cette première édition n'est pas exhaustive, tous les laboratoires n'ayant pas répondu à l'enquête Pour le Maroc et la Tunisie, voir '50 ans de développement humain et perspective', 2025, Document de synthèse du rapport général et Vers l'instauration de la société du savoir. La nouvelle réforme du système éducatif tunisien. Programme pour la mise en œuvre du projet 'Ecole pour demain' (2002-2007). Tunis, octobre 2002.

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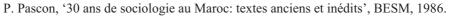
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La Sociologie en Afrique Centrale: Etats des lieux, problèmes et perspectives

Resumé

La présente étude porte sur la sociologie en Afrique Centrale: état des lieux de l'enseignement et de la recherche, pays par pays, et analyse des problèmes, notamment politiques, que rencontre cette science dans la sous-région concernée, des indépendances à nos jours. Globalement, on peut dire qu'en Afrique centrale, la sociologie est une réalité et qu'elle connaît même, par-delà la diversité et l'inégalité des situations particulières, une certaine vitalité, comme au Cameroun. Il reste pour les Etats à transcender les complexes, les rivalités et les conflits de tous ordres qui hypothèquent le développement rapide, intégré et harmonieux de la sociologie dans une région qui, dès les années 1960, apparaît, avec les travaux de Georges Balandier, comme un laboratoire vivant des mutations à l'œuvre dans les sociétés africaines postcoloniales.

Introduction

En termes géopolitiques, l'Afrique centrale désigne deux entités territoriales superposables certes, mais distinctes. Elle est d'abord définie, lato sensu, comme 'l'Afrique médiane latine (...), espace géopolitique composé des pays ayant en partage les langues d'origine latine',[1] c'est-à-dire, essentiellement, des anciennes colonies françaises, belges, espagnoles et portugaises, plus le Cameroun (ancien protectorat allemand placé sous mandat franco-britannique à l'issue de la première Guerre Mondiale. Cette 'Afrique médiane latine' s'identifie à la Communauté Economique des Etats de l'Afrique Centrale (CEEAC). Mais l'Afrique Centrale est aussi, stricto sensu, constituée des cinq pays ayant historiquement formé l'Afrique Equatoriale Française (AEF) et qui, sur le plan économique, se sont, après les indépendances, regroupés au sein de l'Union Douanière et Economique de l'Afrique Centrale (UDEAC) devenue, en 1998, la Communauté Economique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (CEMAC). Ces pays sont le Congo Brazzaville, le Gabon, la République Centrafricaine (RCA), le Tchad et le Cameroun, auxquels il convient d'adjoindre la Guinée Equatoriale, une ancienne possession espagnole membre de la zone Franc.

C'est à cette Afrique Centrale, c'est-à-dire aux pays de la CEMAC, que veut se consacrer la présente étude. Elle voudrait porter sur une description de la situation de la sociologie dans les pays concernés. Cette description s'appuie

sur une double démarche analytique et synthétique, exposant, dans un premier moment, la situation de la sociologie pays par pays,[2] et dégageant, dans un second moment, quelques points de convergence et problèmes généraux du développement de la sociologie dans la sous-région en question.

I.   Etat Des Lieux

Dans cette première partie, nous esquissons un état des lieux, à partir des situations particulières, c'est-à-dire des informations collectées dans quatre pays de la sous-région, à savoir le Congo, la RCA, le Tchad et le Cameroun.[3] Ces informations concernent essentiellement l'évolution historique de la sociologie, la structuration des enseignements et la recherche.

1.   La sociologie au Congo Brazzaville[4]

1.1. *Historique*

Les activités de la sociologie au Congo sont menées au niveau de l'Université Marien Ngouabi de Brazzaville, dans le cadre du Département de sociologie. Celui-ci a été créé en 1973, au sein à l'Institut Supérieur des Sciences de l'Education (INSSED), actuellement Ecole Normale Supérieure. Il était alors dirigé par un assistant. Depuis la rentrée de 1979-1980, le Département est rattaché à la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines.

1.2. *Structuration des enseignements*

Pendant la première décade de son existence, le Département de sociologie n'a assuré que la formation du cycle de licence (03 ans). Au début des années 1980, il a été instauré un cycle conduisant au Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures, c'est-à-dire Bac + 05 ans. A partir de 1985, l'Université a adopté de nouvelles réformes instaurant notamment une Maîtrise classique (Bac + 4 ans) assortie de la présentation d'un mémoire. L'arrimage de l'Université Marien Ngouabi, et donc du Département de sociologie, au système Licence-Master-Doctorat (LMD) est prévu, en principe, pour octobre 2006.

Voici, du reste, à titre d'illustration, la structuration actuelle des enseignements de sociologie au niveau I.

1.3. *Les enseignants*

S'agissant des enseignants, on peut dire que leur situation est à la fois difficile et relativement instable. Depuis sa création, le Département n'a eu qu'un seul enseignant de rang magistral, en la personne de Côme Manckassa, retraité en 2001. Les autres enseignants sont titulaires soit du Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies (DEA), soit du Doctorat de 3ᵉ cycle, soit du Doctorat unique français. Le Département compte actuellement treize enseignants dont quatre assistants et neuf maîtres assistants dont un est membre du gouvernement et,

par conséquent, absent du Département. C'est, d'ailleurs, une tendance générale parmi les sociologues et chercheurs congolais. Beaucoup sont attirés vers les fonctions politico-administratives sans doute plus confortables et plus rémunératrices, telles que celles de préfet, directeur de cabinet, directeur général, conseiller à la présidence de la République, conseiller de ministre, ministre, etc.

Tableau n° 1: programmes de DEUG I

Volume horaire annuel: 550 h

Modules	Code	Nombre d'heures annuelles	Unités de valeur	Volume horaire hebdomadaire		
				Cours	TD	Total
Sciences de l'homme	SOC 101	150	1- Sociologie générale	1h	1h	6h
			2- Anthropologie générale	1h	1h	
			3- Psychologie générale	1h	1h	
Economie et Epistémologie	SOC 102	150	1- Economie politique	1h	1h	6h
			2- Mathématiques	1h	1h	
			3- Epistémologie sociologique	1h	1h	
Sociologie de l'action collective et des mouvements sociaux	SOC 103	125	1- Etude des mouvements sociaux	1h	1h	5h
			2- Sociologie de l'action collective	1h	1h	
			3- Philosophie générale	30 mn	30 mn	
Culture générale	SOC 104	125	1- Histoire et Civilisation du Congo	1h	1h	5h
			2- Langue anglaise	1h	1h	
			3- Questions morales et politiques I	1h		
TOTAL	550		12	11h30	10h30	22h

Au demeurant, à cause des guerres civiles à répétition entre 1973 et 1998, beaucoup d'enseignants ont dû prendre le chemin de l'exil quand ils n'ont pas tout simplement changé de nationalité, à l'instar, entre autres, de Joseph Tonda, maître de Conférences, qui vit à Libreville, au Gabon.

1.4. La recherche

La recherche ne semble guère pâtir de cette difficile situation du corps enseignant puisqu'on relève l'organisation de colloques et l'existence de publications. Le Département, en effet, prévoit la tenue, tous les deux ans, d'un colloque de sociologie. A ce jour, deux colloques ont pu avoir lieu: celui de 1986 sur la 'sociologie des bars' et celui de 1988 dont les Actes ont été publiés sous le titre 'Le Congo, figure du changement social'.

D'une manière générale, les recherches s'effectuent à titre individuel, surtout à des fins de promotion en grades. Elles ont pour thèmes de prédilection les questions d'ethnicité et d'urbanisation,[5] les conflits en Afrique et au Congo, le dépérissement de l'Etat, la construction identitaire, les violences politique et juvénile au Congo, l'exclusion sociale, le phénomène religieux, etc.[6]

2.   La sociologie en RCA[7]

2.1. Historique

L'Université de Bangui constitue le point focal du développement de la sociologie en RCA. La trajectoire de ce savoir n'a cependant pas toujours été en phase avec les nobles objectifs de cette institution. Créée, il est vrai, en 1971, à l'initiative de Bokassa qui voulait défier les Européens et mettre les Centrafricains à l'abri des tracasseries dont ils étaient victimes dans les institutions étrangères, l'Université a plutôt établi, au départ, des rapports hostiles avec la sociologie.

Sous le règne de l'empereur Bokassa, en effet, la sociologie et la philosophie étaient considérées comme des savoirs rimant avec opposition, subversion et révolution: leur enseignement était donc interdit ou, tout au plus, étroitement contrôlé. Le premier sociologue centrafricain, Alphonse Blague, ancien séminariste, ministre et recteur, était encore en résidence surveillée dans son village Kouango lors des mouvements sociaux de 1979 qui marquèrent la chute de Bokassa.

Après ces années sombres, une timide reprise est amorcée, en 1981, avec la création de la section Sociologie, rattachée au Département de Philosophie et Sciences sociales créé et dirigé par Jean-Paul Ngoupande, proche de l'ancien président André Kolingba, et ancien premier ministre de Patasse.

C'est en 2004 que la sociologie prend véritablement son envol, avec sa séparation de la philosophie. Chacune de ces deux disciplines devient autonome au sein d'un département distinct. Cette scission sera extrêmement bénéfique à la sociologie qui, désormais logée au Département des Sciences

Sociales, va entamer un nouveau départ, grâce à une position pratiquement hégémonique dans ledit département. Structure la plus peuplée de la Faculté, la sociologie draîne désormais, chaque année, près de 500 étudiants, tous les quatre niveaux d'études confondus.[8] Cet engouement s'observe particulièrement chez les jeunes filles dont une centaine s'oriente vers des études supérieures de sociologie. On note aussi la présence de nombreux travailleurs sociaux ainsi que des Tchadiens. La filière la plus prisée est la sociologie rurale.

2.2. Structuration des enseignements

Jusqu'alors, les enseignements allaient du niveau I à la Maîtrise en sociologie urbaine et rurale. Le Master est entrée en vigueur pour l'année académique 2005-2006.

Les sociologues dont les œuvres sont les plus utilisées et qui sont des références au Département sont Comte, Durkheim, Weber, Marx, Gurvitch, Crozier et Touraine.

Les différents tableaux qui suivent donnent une vue d'ensemble des programmes du premier cycle de sociologie à la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Bangui.

Tableau n° 2: DEUG 1 de sociologie

Code	Intitulé de l'Unité de Valeur	Jour	Heures	Enseignants
So 101	Sociologie générale: concepts fondamentaux	Jeudi	7h – 9h	Mogba
So 102	Histoire de la pensée sociologique	-//-	9h – 11h	Gotoas
So 103	Introduction aux théories sociologiques	-//-	11h – 13h	Tébéro
So 104	Anthropologie sociale et culturelle	-/-	13h – 15h	Ndolombaye
So 105	Psychologie générale	-//-	15h – 17h	Loudégué
So 106	Initiation à l'économie	Vendredi	7h – 9h	Banyombo
H107B	Histoire coloniale	-//-	9h – 11h	Département Histoire
So 107	Atelier de sociologie	-//-	11h – 13h	Théchoupard
So 108	Méthodologie des sciences sociales	-//-	13h – 15h	Djangha

So 109	Statistiques	-//-	15h – 17h	Bébé
So 110	TP de méthodologie			
	1er groupe	Lundi	7h – 9h	Konzegué
	2e groupe	Mardi	7h – 9h	Bekpa
	3e groupe	Mercredi	7h – 9h	Zoninguéra
	4e groupe	Samedi	11h – 13h	Tchéchoupard
Eng 111	Options: langues	Voir Dpt LV		

Document signé: François Banyombo, Chef de Département des Sciences Sociales.

Tableau n° 3: DEUG 2 de sociologie

UV1:	Dynamiques sociales
UV2:	Développement
UV3:	Epistémologie
UV4:	Travaux pratiques de méthodologie
UV5:	Statistiques et démographie
U6:	Sociolinguistique
UV7:	Sociologie de la famille
UV8:	Sociologie de l'éducation
UV9:	Anthropologie de la santé
UV10:	Anglais
UV11:	Sociologie rurale

Source: Crépin Konzegue, assistant au Département des sciences sociales (sociologie).

Tableau n° 4: licence de sociologie

Code	Intitulé de l'Unité de Valeur
So 301	Méthodologie de la recherche
So 302	Sociologie du changement social
So 303	Sociologie et Anthropologie politique
So 304	Sociologie de la santé et de la population

So 305	Sociologie et Anthropologie du travail
So 306	Sociologie de la communication
So 307	Genre et développement
So 308	Développement et environnement
	MODULE SPECIFIQUE: DEVELOPPEMENT
So 309a	Approche sociologique du monde urbain
So 309b	Politique de décentralisation et régionalisation
So 310c	Sociologie des organisations
So 310d	Gestion et planification des ressources humaines
	MODULE SPECIFIQUE: DEVELOPPEMENT
So 311e	Approche sociologique du monde rural
So311f	Financement des micro-projets
So 312g	Animation et coopération en milieu rural
So 312h	Economie rurale

Source: François Banyambo, Chef de Département des Sciences Sociales.

2.3. Les enseignants

La pertinence des programmes ci-dessus est indéniable; ils allient culture sociologique et anthropologique fondamentale et interdisciplinarité. La formation est dispensée par un corps enseignant constitué essentiellement de titulaires du Doctorat de 3e cycle et numériquement insuffisant.

D'après notre informateur principal, 'le recrutement des enseignants se fait d'une manière cruellement sélective pour des causes égoïstes', c'est-à-dire alimentaires, chacun tenant à 'se gaver des vacations et heures supplémentaires'.

A en croire notre informateur, il s'agit là d'une tendance lourde de conséquences sur la recherche puisque, précise-t-il, les enseignants manifestent 'peu d'engouement' pour la recherche, car ils 'ne font pas de publications ou des conférences'. D'ailleurs, 'l'université reste une anti-chambre pour les postes politiques'.

3. La sociologie au Tchad[9]

A maints égards, le Tchad peut bien apparaître, à côté des pays précédemment traités, comme le petit poucet, tant la sociologie y est encore émergente. Il y a à peine quatre ans que la sociologie a été introduite à l'Université de Ndjamena où elle fonctionne comme une section du Département de Linguistique de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines.

Pour l'instant, les enseignements semblent se limiter au premier cycle. Ces enseignements sont encore organisés selon le modèle classique, c'est-à-dire en matières et non en unités de valeur. Les examens portent sur les épreuves/matières exposées aux tableaux ci-dessous:

Tableau n° 5: enseignements de première année

Session de juin 2004:
I- 1ère Série d'épreuves écrites 1- Méthode de recherche sociologique 2- Sociologie générale 3- Histoire de la sociologie I 4- Société et personnalité 5- Sociologie de la déviance
II- 2ème Série d'épreuves écrites 1- Anglais 2- Introduction à la démographie 3- Urbanité et Ruralité 4- Pouvoir et Société

Source: feuille individuelle des notes d'un étudiant.

Tableau n° 6: enseignements de deuxième année

Session de juin 2005:
I- 1ère Série d'épreuves écrites 1- Méthode et Statistiques 2- Eléments d'anthropologie 3- Histoire de la sociologie 2 4- Epistémologie des sciences sociales 5- Psychologie
II- 2ème Série d'épreuves écrites 1- Sociologie du travail 2- Sociologie du développement 3- Sociologie de la communication 4- Anglais 5- Méthode de la recherche

Source: feuille individuelle des notes d'un étudiant.

Comme le montrent les tableaux précédents, la sociologie est certes encore embryonnaire au Tchad, mais elle est prometteuse. Les matières proposées à l'examen et, par déduction, les programmes d'enseignement, ne manquent ni de substance ni de consistance, moins encore de pertinence. On peut espérer

qu'au Tchad la sociologie est bien partie et qu'elle pourra, dans les années à venir, rivaliser avec certains poids lourds de la sous-région.

4. La sociologie au Cameroun[10]

L'un des poids lourds de la sociologie en Afrique centrale, c'est justement le Cameroun. Avec ses six universités d'Etat et l'Université Catholique d'Afrique centrale qu'il abrite, le Cameroun se pose objectivement et incontestablement comme le géant de la sociologie de la sous-région. Mais de 1962, date de la création de l'Université Fédérale du Cameroun au renouveau actuel, que de chemin parcouru, que de difficultés rencontrées, que d'obstacles surmontés, que de batailles livrées et remportées!

4.1. Historique

Trois faits marquants dominent l'évolution de la sociologie au Cameroun: le monolithisme politique originel, les rapports étroits mais parfois ambigus avec l'ethnologie/anthropologie et la démocratisation politique des années 1990.

4.1.1. Le règne du parti et de la pensée uniques

Comme l'observe pertinemment Pierre Titi Nwel, un des vétérans, si l'on ose dire, de la sociologie au Cameroun, 'l'Université Fédérale du Cameroun est contemporaine des lois sur la subversion (1962) et l'instauration du parti unique dit unifié' (1966), l'Union Nationale Camerounaise (UNC).

Notion aux contours extrêmement variables, la subversion constitue non seulement une arme redoutable contre les opposants au régime mais surtout un mode d'infantilisation du peuple et de musellement de la pensée. Le délit de subversion correspond, en effet, à un délit d'opinion puisque la subversion s'étend à l'expression même des idées et à la possibilité, pour les acteurs sociaux, de construire un espace public compris au sens habermassien de ce concept, comme un espace de pensée concurrentiel, hétérodoxe et opposé à l'espace officiel qui seul a prétention à dicter l'orthodoxie (du grec 'orthodoxa', opinion droite, conforme).

En vertu de cette approche officielle, la sociologie, savoir subversif par excellence[11] va connaître de longues années d'incertitude, voire de turbulence, tantôt menacée d'exclusion pure et simple de l'Université, tantôt reléguée au rang de discipline ancillaire de l'histoire, tantôt traitée comme un appendice ou une science auxiliaire de la philosophie, délivrant, pendant de longues années, une licence de philosophie, avec une spécialisation sociologie.

4.1.2. L'ethnologie, porte d'entrée de la sociologie

L'autre fait important de l'histoire de la sociologie au Cameroun, c'est que celle-ci a pris pied dans ce pays par le truchement des ethnologues français dont le plus célèbre est sans doute Philippe Laburthe-Tolra. Le Département a

d'ailleurs été dirigé jusqu'à la fin des années 1970, par des ethnologues d'abord expatriés puis nationaux. Parmi ceux-ci, il convient de mentionner Joseph Mboul, ancien chercheur au CNRS, qui deviendra plus tard Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Yaoundé, ministre de l'Education Nationale et député à l'Assemblée Nationale. C'est en 1978 que lui a succédé, à la tête du Département, un sociologue, Jean Mfoulou.[12] Celui-ci a dirigé le Département jusqu'en novembre 2004, date à laquelle il a passé le relais à Valentin Nga Ndongo, sociologue lui aussi, actuellement en poste.[13]

Les rapports entre la sociologie et l'ethnologie/anthropologie ont souvent été ambigus, difficiles, voire incestueux, en tout cas, pas vraiment mutuellement enrichissants ni bénéfiques pour l'image auprès du public, des deux disciplines.

Ces propos de Pierre Titi Nwel, lui-même ethnologue et acteur important de la période de l'hégémonie de l'ethnologie (et qui sait donc de quoi il parle), résument assez bien la situation: 'Les monographies sont à la mode au cours des deux premières décennies de l'Université, mais on se garde bien, dans l'étude des traditions ethniques, de les considérer eu égard aux situations concrètes que vivent les Camerounais à la recherche de l'unité nationale. Pendant ce temps, soucieux de se faire une place dans le Cameroun moderne, peu d'étudiants qui s'inscrivent dans notre université choisissent la 'filière d'étude des coutumes' (…) La distinction actuelle entre sociologie et anthropologie, que l'on fait correspondre à la différence entre modernité et tradition, reste un boulet que traîne l'Université'.[14]

Cette ambiguïté des rapports de la sociologie à l'ethnologie/anthropologie se trouve d'ailleurs reflétée dans les changements successifs de la dénomination du Département: tantôt Département de Sociologie, tantôt Département de Sociologie et Anthropologie, tantôt encore Département de Sociologie-Anthropologie, l'appellation actuelle. En réalité, les ethnologues n'ont eu de cesse de clamer leur inconfort dans une structure alliant les deux savoirs, et de revendiquer leur autonomie, au nom de leur identité et de leur différence. Une telle attitude ne laisse pas d'étonner quand on sait que la sociologie et l'ethnologie, bien qu'historiquement distinctes pour des raisons purement idéologiques et non scientifiques,[15] tendent aujourd'hui plus à se rapprocher qu'à s'éloigner, plus à se corrompre sinon à fusionner qu'à se séparer, c'est-à-dire à entretenir plus un rapport de complémentarité que d'antinomie. Le sociologue Georges Balandier, lui-même ethnologue au départ, met d'ailleurs en garde contre les 'cartes d'identité scientifiques' qui 'sont toujours fautives'.[16] Dans ces conditions, le débat soulevé et entretenu par les ethnologues/anthropologues camerounais paraît totalement décalé sinon anachronique.

4.1.3. Le renouvellement de la sociologie camerounaise

Au début de la décennie 1990 se produisent deux événements majeurs qui vont non seulement accélérer l'histoire du Cameroun mais révolutionner la sociologie dans ce pays. Il s'agit de la 'réforme' de l'université et du processus de démocratisation de la vie politique.

Et d'abord la réforme. En 1992-1993 intervient au Cameroun ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler la 'réforme universitaire'. Celle-ci se traduit notamment par l'éclatement de la seule université de Yaoundé et la création de six universités d'Etat, à savoir: Yaoundé I, Yaoundé II, Douala, Dschang, Ngaoundéré et Buéa. Hormis Yaoundé II, à spécialisation juridique et économique, les cinq autres universités comprennent chacun leur structure académique, Département ou Section, en charge de l'enseignement de la sociologie. Celui-ci va au moins jusqu'en licence (comme à Buéa et Dschang) et atteint souvent le cycle de maîtrise (cas de Ngaoundéré), voire de doctorat Ph.D comme à Yaoundé I qui fonctionne comme le déversoir naturel des autres institutions en ce qui concerne tout au moins les études doctorales.

Le processus de démocratisation, concomitant, d'ailleurs de la 'réforme' (car il n'y a guère de hasard dans l'histoire), est également venu à point nommé modifier positivement la trajectoire de la sociologie au Cameroun. On peut affirmer que les avancées de la libéralisation, avec l'abrogation des lois d'exception et de lutte contre la subversion, ont produit des effets bénéfiques sur le développement de l'enseignement et de la recherche en sociologie dans ce pays. Cette discipline est, en effet, sortie de l'ostracisme, de la marginalisation, voire du ghetto où elle avait longtemps été confinée. D'ancillaire ou d'auxiliaire qu'elle était, elle est devenue une matière à part entière, avec ses programmes totalement autonomes conduisant à une diplomation également autonome. Très attractifs et collant aux réalités politiques, économiques et socioculturelles de l'environnement africain, les programmes de sociologie des universités comptent parmi les plus prisés des Camerounais, jeunes ou adultes, fonctionnaires ou travailleurs sociaux. Le seul Département de Sociologie-Anthropologie de Yaoundé I, héritier, en quelque sorte, de l'ancienne et unique université nationale, comprend, à la rentrée 2005-2006, près de 1700 étudiants dont près de 1200 pour la filière sociologie. Parmi les étudiants, on dénombre, bien entendu, des Camerounais sans distinction de sexe ni d'origine sociale, mais aussi des Centrafricains, des Tchadiens, des Congolais-RDC, des réfugiés rwandais et burundais, des stagiaires allemands, etc. D'une centaine seulement au début des années 1990, le chiffre des étudiants de sociologie a brusquement gonflé, sans doute à cause des possibilités d'emploi et d'insertion professionnelle qu'offre cette discipline dans un environnement dominé par des préoccupations relatives à la pauvreté, à la démocratisation, aux droits de l'homme et à l'émergence de la société civile. Ces étudiants sont encadrés par une douzaine d'enseignants permanents (de tous grades) et une quinzaine de vacataires.

Voici, dans les tableaux qui vont suivre, et à titre d'illustration, les programmes 2005-2006 du Département de Sociologie-Anthropologie de l'Université de Yaoundé I. On y notera: le souci d'une formation sociologique à la fois basique, interdisciplinaire et enracinée dans l'humus fécondant des mutations à l'œuvre dans la société africaine, avec notamment le retour du fait politique au devant de la scène africaine, les dynamiques urbaines, la question paysanne et l'éternelle problématique du développement.

Chaque unité de valeur est subdivisée en cours magistral et travaux dirigés, d'un volume semestriel total de 56 heures.

Tableau 7: niveau I (04 Modules / 10 U.V.)

Codes et intitulés des modules	Codes U.V.	Intitulés des U.V.
MSO 101: Sociologie générale (03 UV)	111	Méthodes de recherche en sociologie
	112	Sociologie générale
	113	Histoire de la sociologie (I)
MSO 102: Individu et société (02 UV)	121	Société et personnalité
	122	Sociologie de la déviance
MSO 103: Sociologies (03 UV)	31	Introduction à la démographie
	132	Urbanité et ruralité
	133	Pouvoir et société
MSO 104: Module complémentaire (02 UV)	141	Formation bilingue
	142	Option: Sociologie générale

Tableau 8 : niveau II (04 Modules / 10 U.V.)

Codes et intitulés des modules	Codes U.V.	Intitulés des U.V.
MSO 201: Sociologie générale (03 UV)	211	Méthodes statistiques
	212	Histoire de la sociologie (2)
	213	Eléments d'anthropologie
MSO 202: Sciences connexes (02 UV)	231	Epistémologie des sciences sociales
	232	Psychologie

MSO 203: Sociologies (03 UV)	221	Sociologie du travail
	222	Sociologie du développement
	223	Sociologie de la communication
MSO 204: Module complémentaire (02 UV)	241	Formation bilingue

Source: documentation du Département.

Tableau 9: niveau III (licence)

A- Modules de tronc commun (03 Modules / 08 U.V.)		
Codes et intitulés des modules	Codes U.V.	Intitulés des U.V.
MSO 301: Méthodes et pratiques de recherche (03 UV)	311	L'enquête sociologique
	312	Sociologie de la connaissance
	313	Recherche appliquée (projets de développement)
MSO 302: Sociologies (03 UV)	321	Sociologie de l'environnement
	322	Sociologie des religions
	323	Women and gender studies
MSO 303: Sciences connexes (02 UV)	331	Economie politique
	332	Formation bilingue
B- Modules et U.V de spécialisation (01 module MSO 304 / 02U.V. par spécialisation)		
Spécialisation	Codes U.V.	Intitulés des U.V.
1. Population et développement (PODEV)	341	Sociologie de la santé
	342	Dynamiques sociales et développement en Afrique
2. Urbanité et ruralité	351	Entreprise, management et marketing
	352	Le rural et le politique
3. Sociologie politique (SOPOL)	361	Sciences politiques
	362	Sociologie des relations internationales

Source: documentation du Département.

Tableau 10: niveau IV (Maîtrise)

A- Modules de tronc commun (01 Module / 02 U.V.)		
Codes et intitulé du module	Codes U.V.	Intitulés des U.V.
MSO 401: Méthodes	411	Méthodes de recherche (1)
	412	Méthodes de recherche (2)
B- Modules de spécialisation (02 modules par spécialisation)		
B.1. Spécialisation 1: Population et développement	Codes U.V.	Intitulés des U.V.
Module 1 (02 UV)	421	Histoire économique et sociale
	422	Population et environnement
Module 2 (03 UV)	423	Sociologie de la famille
	424	Communication et population
	425	Santé, population et développement
B.2. Spécialisation 2: Sociologie urbaine	Codes U.V.	Intitulés des U.V.
Module 1 (02 UV)	431	Espaces, cultures et société
	432	Habiter la ville
Module 2 (03 UV)	433	Société et entreprise
	434	Economie politique
	435	Le développement en question
B.3. Spécialisation 3: Sociologie politique	Codes U.V.	Intitulés des U.V.
Module 1 (02 UV)	441	Sociologie de la dépendance
	442	Sociologie de l'art et de la littérature
Module 2 (03 UV)	443	Sociologie de l'Afrique traditionnelle
	444	Sociologie de l'Afrique contemporaine
	445	Sociologie du Cameroun contemporain
B.4. Spécialisation 4: Sociologie rurale	Codes U.V.	Intitulés des U.V.

	451	Recherche sur les sociétés paysannes
Module 1 (02 UV)	452	Enjeux fonciers et sociétés paysannes
	453	Sociétés paysannes et changement social
Module 2 (03 UV)	454	Sociétés paysannes et politique
	455	Anthropologie économique

Source: documentation du Département.

Tableau 11: niveau V (Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies ouvrant droit à une inscription sélective en Doctorat PhD)

A- Modules de tronc commun (03 U.V.)		
Codes et intitulé du module	Codes U.V.	Intitulés des U.V.
	511	Sciences sociales et devenir de l'Afrique (1)
MSO 501: Méthodologie	512	Sciences sociales et devenir de l'Afrique (2)
	513	Sciences sociales et devenir de l'Afrique (3)
B- Modules de spécialisation (01 module par spécialisation)		
B.1. Spécialisation 1: Population et développement	Codes U.V.	Intitulés des U.V.
	521	Questions de population
	522	Questions de développement
	523	Séminaire
B.2. Spécialisation 2: Sociologie urbaine et industrielle	Codes U.V.	Intitulés des U.V.
	531	Sociologie de l'environnement urbain
	532	Sociologie des organisations
	533	Séminaire
B.3. Spécialisation 3: Sociologie politique	Codes U.V.	Intitulés des U.V.

	541	Sociologie de l'éducation
	542	Sociologie des opinions
	543	Séminaire
B.4. Spécialisation 4: Sociologie rurale	Codes U.V.	Intitulés des U.V.
	551	Dynamiques paysannes
	552	Recherche action en milieu rural
	553	Séminaire

Source: documentation du Département.

4.2. La recherche

Assez paradoxalement, la recherche n'a pas souvent été exposée aux mêmes aléas que l'enseignement. Sans doute présentait-elle, aux yeux du pouvoir, un enjeu de moindre importance et un danger de moindre gravité que l'enseignement, compte tenu du fait que les travaux de recherche sont très peu vulgarisés auprès du grand public. Non pas que le pouvoir ait laissé faire les chercheurs mais, de son point de vue, leurs travaux avaient un impact et un effet socialisateur bien plus faibles que les enseignements de sociologie.[17] Ainsi, pendant qu'à l'université l'enseignement de la sociologie rasait les murs, la recherche a pu se déployer dans au moins trois directions majeures, à savoir les structures institutionnelles, les publications institutionnelles, les travaux individuels et la recherche-action ou appliquée.

4.2.1.   Les structures institutionnelles

Diverses structures ont accueilli des sociologues, à titre individuel ou dans le cadre d'une équipe de recherche. C'est le cas de l'Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD) qui a succédé à l'Office de la Recherche pour les Territoires d'Outre-Mer (ORSTOM). C'est aussi le cas d'une structure nationale, l'Institut des Sciences Humaines (ISH), créé à la fin des années 1970, à l'initiative du gouvernement et dissous au début des années 1990, au moment même où la sociologie à l'université prenait son envol.[18] L'ISH fut d'ailleurs un temps dirigé par un sociologue, Samuel Ndoumbe Manga.[19]

4.2.2.   Les supports institutionnels

Beaucoup de sociologues ont régulièrement eu les faveurs des colonnes des supports institutionnels tels que les *Annales* des Facultés des Arts, Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Yaoundé I, Douala et Ngaoundéré, *Les Cahiers* de l'Université Catholique d'Afrique Centrale (UCAC) et bien d'autres revues et publications de la place.

4.2.3. Les travaux individuels

Les travaux individuels s'entendent comme les thèses et les ouvrages. Pour ceux-ci, le lecteur pourra utilement se reporter à la suite du présent texte (paragraphe 4.5) ou consulter la bibliographie en fin d'article.

Pour ce qui est des thèses,[20] le Département de Sociologie-Anthropologie de Yaoundé I se distingue par un relatif dynamisme. Seul Département du système universitaire à pouvoir, pour l'instant, conduire des travaux de ce type, il compte plusieurs thèses à son actif, surtout depuis la 'réforme' de 1993, comme le montre le tableau suivant:

Tableau n° 12: thèses de sociologie à Yaoundé I (2003-2006)

Année	Sujet de la thèse	Type de Doctorat	Auteur	Observations
Janvier 2003	Overcoming socio-economic constraints to rural development: a case study of Nweh Women in Cameroon	Doctorat de 3e cycle	Mme Rebecca N. Ntongho	Vacataire au Département
Décembre 2003	Les processus de démocratisation en Afrique, un mariage à négocier entre tradition et modernité	Doctorat Ph.D	Mme Nkoyok Jacqueline	_
Juillet 2004	Bureaucratie publique, capital étranger et société au Cameroun: essai d'analyse du collaborationniste administratif et des résistances locales subséquentes	Doctorat Ph.D	Afane Brice	Assistant à Ngaoundéré

Juin 2005	es élections au Cameroun: contribution à l'explication du vote dans les localités dites acquises au RDPC et au SDF	Doctorat d'Etat	Zambo Belinga Joseph Marie	Chargé de Cours au Département
Novembre 2005	Crise et dynamiques des médias publics en Afrique: l'expérience camerounaise	Doctorat d'Etat	Ndembiyembe Paul Célestin	Chargé de Cours à l'Université de Yaoundé II
2005	Bonne gouvernance et nouvel ordre politique au Cameroun: contenus, dynamiques et non dits	Doctorat Ph.D	Onana Hugues François	Journaliste à la CRTV, Thèse déposée en attente soutenance
2005	De la nature économique à la nature sociale des richesses chez les Beti du Cameroun	Doctorat Ph.D	Onana Onomo Joseph Patrice	Assistant au Département, Thèse annoncée pour juin 2006
2006	Les dynamiques de l'habitat à Yaoundé	Doctorat Ph.D	Mbouombouo Pierre	Attaché de recherche au Centre National de l'Education, Thèse annoncée pour septembre 2006

4.2.4.   La recherche-action

Les travaux ci-dessus portent, comme on peut le constater, sur des sujets d'intérêt national. Il est vrai que, de plus en plus, la sociologie est constamment sollicitée tant par le gouvernement que par les partenaires au développement, les associations et les ONG, pour apporter son éclairage à l'intelligibilité des problèmes de nos populations des villes et campagnes.

Des sociologues sont aussi impliqués, à titre individuel ou collectif, dans des projets dits de développement comme la lutte contre le VIH-SIDA, la stratégie

de réduction de la pauvreté, la stratégie de lutte contre la pauvreté en milieu urbain, la lutte contre l'onchocercose, les villes plus sûres, etc. Il faut bien, cependant, regretter que le choix de certains soi-disant sociologues impliqués dans ces processus soit parfois fondé sur des critères flous, subjectifs ou sentimentaux, privant ainsi ces projets de l'expertise des sociologues à la compétence avérée et reconnue, et posant, du même coup, une problème éthique dans la profession de sociologie, qui reste à organiser, à normaliser et à rationaliser, tant les enjeux financiers deviennent de plus en plus importants au niveau de cette recherche appliquée. On évitera ainsi que, comme dans d'autres secteurs d'activité, l'argent ne vienne tuer la sociologie.

On pourrait aussi déplorer que les domaines de recherche, les problématiques, les hypothèses de terrain ainsi que les méthodes et techniques de collecte des données soient souvent fixés ailleurs et imposés aux chercheurs qui les acceptent et tentent de les opérationaliser sous la seule et unique motivation financière.

4.5. Les tendances de la sociologie au Cameroun

Quoi qu'il en soit, la vigueur de la sociologie dans ce pays reste intacte et autorise à dégager quelques tendances majeures et, au-delà, à identifier quelques figures marquantes de cette science au Cameroun.

La pensée sociologique s'organise, grosso modo, autour de quatre pôles principaux constitués par l'Université de Douala, l'Université de Yaoundé I, le développementisme, et le nouvel africanisme.

4.5.1. 'L'Ecole' de Douala

Le pôle de Douala, ville d'affaires et capitale économique du Cameroun est animé par Emmanuel Kamden, sociologue de l'organisation. Titulaire d'une Habilitation à diriger des recherches (HDR), Emmanuel Kamden est professeur des universités. Il est le tout premier Camerounais à accéder à ce prestigieux grade académique. Actuellement Directeur de l'Ecole Supérieure des Sciences Economiques et Commerciales (ESSEC) de l'Université de Douala, il y conduit, avec son assistante doctorante, Rose Ikelle, une expérience originale en Afrique noire: celle d'un enseignement de sociologie à des étudiants en management. De l'avis de tous, et nonobstant les multiples difficultés rencontrées, cette expérience est un succès puisque «la sociologie (...) a considérablement influé sur le changement organisationnel de l'ESSEC de Douala'.[21]

Auteur d'au moins onze articles scientifiques, de cinq contributions à des ouvrages collectifs, sans compter les nombreux rapports de recherche et contributions à des revues de vulgarisation, tous travaux consacrés aux questions de travail et de culture, Emmanuel Kamden a publié, en 2002, un important et remarquable ouvrage sur le management interculturel, les trajectoires

culturelles du management en Afrique, avec le Cameroun comme terrain d'expérimentation.[22]

4.5.2. 'L'Ecole' de Yaoundé I

Autant 'l'Ecole' de Douala subit l'influence bienfaisant de l'environnement économique, autant 'l'Ecole' de Yaoundé reste, elle aussi, marquée par le milieu ambiant de Yaoundé, ville administrative, capitale politique et siège des institutions du pays.

Animée par Jean Mfoulou et Valentin Nga Ndongo, 'l'Ecole' de sociologie de Yaoundé I a des centres de réflexion éminemment politiques, avec une forte prédilection pour les héritiers de l'Ecole de Francfort et tenants de la sociologie critique et dynamiste, en particulier Georges Balandier et Jean Ziegler. C'est ainsi que Jean Mfoulou, Doctorat PhD de Boston University, Chef de Département de 1978 à 2004, oriente ses recherches vers les questions d'unité et de construction nationales en Afrique.[23] Les champs d'investigation de Valentin Nga Ndongo, Doctorat d'Etat de Paris X – Nanterre et Chef de Département depuis 2004, portent, eux, sur la sociologie de la connaissance (communication sociale, opinions, idéologies, mentalités, mythes, etc.) et sur la construction d'une sociologie africaine subsumant les réalités spécifiques d'une Afrique en quête de libre-arbitre historique et politique.[24]

Autour de 'l'Ecole' de Yaoundé I gravitent de jeunes et talentueux chercheurs, à l'instar de Joseph Marie Zambo Beliga, observateur des comportements politiques, et Henri Brice Nfane, spécialiste des problèmes relatifs à la bureaucratie publique africaine.[25]

Hormis les travaux individuels de ses membres, 'l'Ecole' de Yaoundé I a à son actif l'organisation, en novembre 2005, à Yaoundé, d'un colloque international de sociologie, en hommage au professeur Jean Mfoulou, retraité.[26] Elle a également fondé, en août 2004, au sein du Département, la *Revue Camerounaise de Sociologie et Anthropologie* qui 'a pour but de favoriser l'éclosion d'une pensée sociologique (…) authentiquement africaine et d'en assurer la diffusion et le rayonnement'.[27]

4.5.3. 'L'Ecole' développementiste

On peut regrouper, dans cette tendance, tous les sociologues qui s'intéressent non seulement aux questions stricto sensu de développement comme Axelle Kabou, ou des mutations sociales, comme Jean Nzhie Engono, mais aussi les populationnistes tels que Paulette Beat Songue et Honoré Mimche, les urbanistes comme Jacqueline Ekambi et Pierre Mbouombouo, les ruralistes, à l'instar notamment de Motaze Akam.[28]

4.5.4. La nouvelle 'Ecole' africaniste

La tendance néoafricaniste est sans doute la plus connue et la plus solidement implantée de la sociologie camerounaise. Elle est animée par Jean-Marc Ela,

personnalité multidimensionnelle, à la fois théologien, anthropologue et sociologue. Auteur prolifique et essayiste à succès, il a publié de nombreux ouvrages sur les sujets les plus divers: la condition paysanne en Afrique, la pauvreté en Afrique, la ville africaine, les sciences sociales en Afrique, etc. La démarche et les thématiques de ces œuvres s'inspirent essentiellement du courant dit du 'nouvel africanisme politique' ou de la 'nouvelle vague de l'africanisme politique' et qui a pour figures de proue, entre autres, Jean François Medard, Jean François Bayart et Achille Mbembe.[29]

Après avoir enseigné une dizaine d'années au Département de Sociologie de Yaoundé, Jean-Marc Ela a dû quitter le Cameroun en 1994 pour le Canada, où il vit actuellement en exil.

On peut aussi rattacher à cette tendance dominée par Ela les travaux de Louise Eteki-Otabela, auteur, entre autres, d'un ouvrage fort retentissant sur la misère et la grandeur de la démocratie au Cameroun.[30] Voici, du reste, un récapitulatif des principales orientations de la sociologie au Cameroun.

Tableau n° 13: une vue synthétique de la sociologie au Cameroun

Tendances	Centres d'intérêt	Figures marquantes
L'Ecole de Douala	Sociologie des organisations, management, travail, interculturalité	Emmanuel Kamdem, Rose Ikelle
L'Ecole de Yaoundé	Sociologie politique, sociologie de la connaissance, sociologie dynamiste, sociologie africaine	Jean Mfoulou, Valentin Nga Ndongo, Joseph Marie Belinga, Henri Afane
Le développementisme	Questions de développement, mutations sociales, sociologie urbaine, sociologie rurale, sociologie de la population	Axelle Kabou, Jean Nzhie Engono, Jacqueline Ekambi, Motaze Akam, Paulette Beat Songue
Le nouvel africanisme	Politique africaine, pauvreté africaine, Etat et société, dynamiques sociales en postcolonie	Jean Marc Ela, Marie-Louise Eteki-Otabela

L'état des lieux de la sociologie en Afrique étant ainsi dressé, il convient, à présent, de passer à la seconde phase de notre exposé, c'est-à-dire aux commentaires généraux qu'entraînent nécessairement les situations particulières précédemment analysées.

II.   Sociologie et Environnement Sociopolitique Sous-Regional

Un certain nombre de conclusions générales peuvent être tirées de l'état des lieux, en référence aux réalités politiques de la sous-région.

1.   Une réalité multiple

Indéniablement, la sociologie est une réalité vivante en Afrique Centrale. Elle existe dans tous les pays visités. Mais en procédant à une analyse comparée des situations particulières, on se rend compte que les niveaux de développement de la sociologie sont loin d'être homogènes; ils sont même très différents d'un pays à l'autre, voire disparates, pour ne pas dire inégaux. On peut ainsi parler d'une sociologie à plusieurs vitesses, avec, en tête de peloton, le lièvre qu'est le Cameroun dont la structuration des enseignements et la diplomation subséquente, depuis la 'réforme' universitaire de 1993, n'auraient pratiquement rien à envier à celles de certaines grandes universités en Europe ou ailleurs.

2.   Le poids de l'environnement politique interne

Mais qu'il s'agisse du Cameroun, du Congo, de la RCA ou du Tchad, on peut relever, partout, le poids de l'environnement politique interne sur le développement de la sociologie. C'est ainsi qu'au Cameroun et en RCA, la férule du monolithisme et de la pensée unique a considérablement perturbé l'éclosion et l'évolution de la sociologie, bien souvent contrainte de prendre le maquis face aux menaces et injonctions du pouvoir d'un Ahidjo ou d'un Bokassa. Au Congo, où l'idéologie officielle de la révolution scientifique aurait normalement dû favoriser l'émergence de la sociologie, les guerres civiles à répétition ont créé une instabilité politique qui a finalement desservi la cause de cette discipline. Quant au Tchad, la sociologie en est encore à ses balbutiements à cause, sans doute, de l'instabilité chronique de ce pays où les hommes politiques ont probablement dû entretenir, pendant longtemps, beaucoup de méfiance vis-à-vis de cette science de la subversion 'qui dérange'.[31]

3.   L'influence des pesanteurs sous-régionales

Poids des difficultés politiques internes mais aussi influence des difficultés politiques externes surtout liées à la très lente marche vers l'intégration régionale. Zone pourtant ethnologiquement, historiquement et culturellement homogène, l'Afrique Centrale peine à construire son intégration économique et politique.

   Le quotidien national *Cameroon Tribune* constate, à l'issue du septième sommet des chefs d'Etat de la CEMAC tenu à Bata, en Guinée Equatoriale: 'Le sommet a mis l'accent sur la nécessité de mettre en œuvre, progressivement,

des réformes structurelles importantes en vue de booster l'intégration sous-régionale ... Toutefois, pour de nombreux observateurs, l'Afrique Centrale semble se hâter lentement vers la voie de l'intégration sous-régionale. A preuve les résolutions prises dans ce sens lors de précédents sommets rencontrent maints obstacles dans leur mise en œuvre et, dans certains cas, ne connaissent même pas un début d'exécution'.[32]

Les sources de frictions ou de conflits entre les peuples de cette sous-région sont, en effet, innombrables, enracinées et profondes: conflits territoriaux, rivalités politiques de toutes sortes, conflits de leadership sous-régional, chauvinisme et xénophobie, susceptibilités personnelles, complexes de toute nature, etc. Et le politologue Ntuda Ebode d'observer, le ton grave: 'Ne pouvant se projeter à l'extérieur, la sous-région opère une sorte d'introspection qui la retourne vers une autodestruction marquée par des conflits endémiques entre les différents Etats sous-régionaux'.[33]

Certains de ces conflits remontent à la période coloniale; d'autres sont d'origine plus récente et ont un lien plus ou moins direct avec la mauvaise conjoncture économique et la découverte du pétrole dans le golfe de Guinée, zone dont l'importance stratégique va croissante, exacerbant ainsi les tensions.

Quoiqu'il en soit, les crises récurrentes ont pour conséquences désastreuses: méfiance mutuelle, stigmatisation,[34] haine et, surtout, faible circulation des biens et des personnes, notamment les universitaires et les chercheurs et donc, nécessairement, les sociologues de la sous-région. Ceux-ci entretiennent très peu sinon pas du tout de contacts entre eux, et il n'existe aucun cadre, aucun espace de débat, aucune plate-forme d'échange susceptible de connecter, de réunir et de fédérer les énergies et les intelligences en matière de sociologie dans la sous-région. Le colloque international de sociologie organisé en novembre 2005 par 'l'Ecole' de Yaoundé I avait ainsi connu la participation de nombreux Français, Burkinabé et Sénégalais mais d'un seul ressortissant – non sociologue, du reste – d'Afrique Centrale, venu de RCA. Les difficultés que nous avons rencontrées dans la collecte des informations pour la présente étude traduisent, d'ailleurs, dans une large mesure, le degré presque zéro des relations professionnelles, de la circulation des idées et de la communication des connaissances, bref des échanges entre les sociologues d'Afrique Centrale. Et cet état de choses est, sans conteste, une des retombées négatives des difficultés observées au niveau de l'intégration politique et économique de la sous-région.

4. Quelques tentatives de regroupement

Comme pour corroborer une telle analyse, il s'est souvent constitué, au gré des circonstances, quelques axes de collaboration ou couples politiques plus ou moins durables, plus ou moins éphémères, entre certains Etats de la sous-région, avec forcément des incidences sur la sociologie, où se sont également formés des axes et des couples à l'identique de la politique.

Le premier couple en la matière comprend le Congo et le Gabon dont l'entente paraît constante et les relations au beau fixe, consolidées par le mariage du président Bongo avec la fille du président Sassou. Des liens aussi forts ne peuvent qu'avoir des répercussions positives sur la mobilité observée entre les sociologues congolais et gabonais, Libreville apparaissant comme le débouché ou la terre d'accueil presque naturelle des chercheurs venant de Brazzaville.

La seconde catégorie des couples politiques s'est construite autour du Cameroun. On note ainsi l'axe Yaoundé – Ndjamena, bâti sur le projet du pipeline Tchad – Cameroun qui permet de transporter, à travers ce dernier, sur une distance de plus de 1200 kilomètres, du pétrole extrait au Sud du Tchad pour le recueillir au large de Kribi au Sud-Ouest camerounais. Le jour de l'inauguration du projet, à Kribi, le président camerounais a eu ces mots chargés de signification: 'Désormais, ce qui est bon pour le Tchad est aussi bon pour le Cameroun'. Cette communauté d'intérêts, constitue, par-delà les méfiances et les incompréhensions, le socle durable d'un rapprochement entre les sociologues des deux pays. En fait, depuis assez longtemps, le Département de Sociologie de l'Université de Ngaoundéré accueille de nombreux étudiants tchadiens. Beaucoup d'entre eux ont obtenu leur Licence ou leur maîtrise en sociologie avant d'aller poursuivre leurs études doctorales en Occident. C'est également le cas des étudiants centrafricains, dans le cadre du couple Cameroun – RCA. Le Département de sociologie-anthropologie de l'Université de Yaoundé I reçoit, régulièrement et prioritairement d'ailleurs[35], de nombreux étudiants centrafricains au niveau surtout du cycle doctoral (Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies (DEA). Certains d'entre eux sont aujourd'hui enseignants à l'Université de Bangui, à l'instar de Konzegu et Bekpa.

On peut, du reste, observer une frappante similitude entre les programmes de sociologie en vigueur à Yaoundé I et ceux mis eu œuvre à Ndjamena et à Bangui, ce qui montre bien que malgré tout, la coopération entre les sociologues d'Afrique Centrale peut fonctionner, fût-ce à titre informel.

Peut-être faudrait-il conclure par les remarques qui précèdent. On voit bien, en effet, qu'en vertu, sans doute, de la proximité et du voisinage géographiques, une certaine osmose se dessine, comme naturellement, entre des pays de la sous-région d'Afrique Centrale. Cela prouve à suffisance que, sauf à changer de voisins, des peuples ou des Etats partageant une même aire géopolitique sont, pour ainsi dire, condamnés à s'entendre, à transcender leurs divisions, à surmonter leurs méfiances réciproques, pour prendre en mains leur destin commun. Le savoir sociologique, étroitement associé à l'anthropologie, pourrait d'ailleurs aider, à la suite des travaux fondateurs de Balandier, à une meilleure intelligibilité des dynamiques à l'œuvre dans les formations sociales de la sous-région.[36] Il pourrait ainsi favoriser un rapprochement des peuples, en mettant à jour les similitudes des situations politiques, historiques,

économiques, sociales et culturelles ainsi que l'identité des problématiques du développement dans une sous-région aux enjeux géostratégiques de plus en plus marqués et importants. Depuis les recherches de cette grande figure du courant dynamiste qu'est Balandier, l'Afrique Centrale est devenue, en quelque sorte, un véritable laboratoire africain de la sociologie; elle doit s'efforcer de le demeurer.

Dans cette perspective, le réalisme commanderait peut-être de construire cette coopération sous-régionale en matière d'enseignement et de recherche en sociologie en prenant, pour pays focal, le Cameroun dont l'étude a révélé la significative avance prise sur les autres pays, en termes de programmes, de diplomation et de masse critique. Un tel rôle, s'il était dévolu au Cameroun, pourrait, sans doute, comme en d'autres circonstances, gêner, voire agacer certains voisins. Mais ce rôle devrait être conçu non comme celui d'un leader solitaire et arrogant, mais comme celui d'un animateur à la fois conscient des enjeux de la sociologie dans nos sociétés postcoloniales en construction et guidé par cette sagesse qu'énonce la devise de l'Université de Yaoundé I: 'Sapientia collativa cognitio', la science est une quête collective où chacun apporte sa part.

Notes

1. Ntuda Ebode, 'Géopolitique des régions africaines: Quel destin pour l'Afrique médiane latine?', *Diplomatie Magazine*, no. 11, novembre – décembre, p. 38 et suiv.

2. Faute de données sur tous les six pays, seuls seront pris en compte ici le Cameroun, le Congo-Brazzaville, la RCA et le Tchad. Les efforts pour obtenir des informations fiables sur le Gabon et la Guinée Equatoriale sont restés infructueux.

3. Nous exposons et analysons uniquement les informations qui nous ont été fournies, sans nullement garantir leur exhaustivité.

4. Ce passage a été rédigé grâce aux données mises à notre disposition par Mme Mélanie Banhui, assistante au Département de sociologie, Brazzaville.

5. Cf. les travaux de Henri Ossebi.

6. Cf. les travaux de Jean Pierre Missie.

7. Notre source principale d'information est M. Crépin Konzegue, assistant de sociologie, Université de Bangui.

8. Voir infra.

9. Sources diverses.

10. Notre enquête à Yaoundé.

11. 'Le métier de sociologie est toujours un métier subversif … Quelle que soit l'intention du savant, toute saisie réelle d'un objet est en soi un acte subversif, c'est-à-dire un acte qui entre en conflit avec les stratégies sociales dominantes' (Jean Ziegler, *Retournez les fusils ! Manuel de sociologie d'opposition*, Paris, Seuil, 1980, p. 20.)

12. Voir infra.

13. Voir infra.

14. Document inédit.

15. 'La sociologie, à l'origine, c'est la 'fille de la révolution'. (Jean Duvignaud), c'est-à-dire la science des sociétés structurées par les transformations politiques, économiques et sociales qu'a connues l'Europe depuis 1789 et qui ont abouti à l'émergence de la société bourgeoise et industrielle. L'ethnologie, devenue plus tard l'anthropologie, c'est, au contraire, l'étude des 'sociétés' non européennes et donc non industrielles, archaïques, primitives. Le modèle d'analyse ici est fondé sur l'évolutionnisme. Cette division du travail scientifique initiale tend à s'estomper aujourd'hui.

16. Georges Balandier, *Sens et puissance (les dynamiques sociales)*, Paris, PUF, 1971; Voir aussi: *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire (dynamique sociale en Afrique)*, Paris, PUF, 1984.

17. L'Institut des Sciences Humaines (ISH) fonctionnait d'ailleurs comme le 'Robben Island', le lieu de déportation des bannis de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines. C'est le cas notamment de Marcien Towa, Chef de Département de Philosophie à l'Université qui fut affecté à l'ISH pour occuper un poste identique mais loin de la jeunesse estudiantine.

18. Beaucoup de chercheurs venant de l'ISH ont d'ailleurs été reversés à l'Université en particulier au Département de sociologie.

19. Décédé en 2001, alors qu'il était enseignant au Département de Sociologie, à Yaoundé I.

20. Nous faisons volontairement grâce au lecteur des mémoires de Maîtrise et de Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies. Pour la seule année 2004-2005, à Yaoundé I, 25 mémoires ont été soutenus en Maîtrise, 08 en Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies.

21. Emmanuel Kamden et col.: 'L'enseignement de la sociologie à des étudiants en management: l'expérience de l'ESSEC de Douala', communication au colloque de sociologie de Yaoundé, 15-17 novembre 2005, texte inédit, p. 15.

22. Emmanuel Kamden, *Management et interculturalité en Afrique: expérience camerounaise*, Québec, Les Presses de l'Université de Laval, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2002.

23. Voir bibliographie en fin de texte.

24. Voir bibliographie en fin de texte.

25. Cf. tableau no. 12.

26. Ce colloque avait pour thème: 'La sociologie et l'anthropologie aujourd'hui: statuts, enjeux et débats'. Les Actes sont en cours de préparation.

27. 'Avis au lecteur', in vol. 2, no. 1, juin 2005, p. 5.

28. Pour la plupart de ces noms mentionnés, voir bibliographie à la fin du texte.

29. Pour les principaux ouvrages de Jean-Marc Ela, voir bibliographie en fin de texte.

30. Voir bibliographie en fin de texte.

31. Pierre Bourdieu, *Questions de sociologie*, Paris, Minuit, 1984, p. 19.

32. *Cameroon Tribune*, no. 8558/4757 du jeudi, 16 mars 2006, p. 2.

33. Ntuda Ebode, op cit., p. 42.

34. Voir, vg., Saïbou Issa, 'Cameroun-Tchad: image de l'autre et attitude', in Daniel Abwa et al., *Dynamiques d'intégration en Afrique Centrale*, t. 1, Yaoundé, P.U., 2001, pp. 313 et suiv.

35. Les critères d'admission appliqués, en DEA, aux Camerounais sont assouplis en ce qui concerne les ressortissants tchadiens et centrafricains, au nom de la coopération sous-régionale.

36. Georges Balandier, *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire (dynamique sociale en Afrique Centrale)*, Paris, PUF, 1963.

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Sociological and Anthropological Training in Ethiopia

Introduction

Formal training in sociology and social anthropology in Ethiopia has a relatively long history, having commenced under the University College of Addis Ababa (UCAA) established in 1951.[2] In this relatively long period of time, training in sociology and social anthropology has passed through many stages. Courses in the two related disciplines have been offered in various forms being packaged in one undergraduate programme. The organisational structure within which undergraduate level training in sociology and social anthropology is placed has mutated and assumed a number of forms that were accompanied by successive revisions of curriculum. For these reasons, the paper offers a brief overview of the evolution and development of sociological and anthropological training in Ethiopia over the last 55 years before moving on to discuss current programmes and activities.

The Evolution and Development of Sociological and Anthropological Training

The teaching of sociology and social anthropology in Ethiopia began and developed within the auspices of the Addis Ababa University (AAU) system going through five distinct phases of (i) 'Modest beginnings: 1951-61', (ii) 'Formative years: 1962-73', (iii) 'Interregnum: 1974-77', (iv) 'Struggle for survival and revival: 1978-89', and (v) 'Expansion and development: 1990 to present'. In passing through these phases it has on occasion changed its structure, its curricula, and even its appellation – from Department of Sociology and Anthropology, to Department of Applied Sociology, then to Department of Sociology and Social Administration, and finally to the current Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology. Although the route was at times rough and reversals were not unknown, the teaching of sociology and social anthropology has steadily progressed from being offered as a sub-component of a freshman introductory course in the 1950s to its present standing in which it is handled by a joint sociology and social anthropology undergraduate programme, a minor programme in sociology, and two separate MA programmes – one in social anthropology and the other in sociology (the latter due to start in September/October 2006).

Modest Beginnings: 1951-61

The University College of Addis Ababa consisted of two faculties: science and arts. Students of the Faculty of Arts were given a kind of generalist education covering the subjects of history, geography, economics, philosophy, and sociology; and only in their final years were students permitted to specialise in disciplines of their choice. Students at UCAA received an average of two hours of sociology per week during their freshman year.

An interesting development as regards the evolution of training in sociology and social anthropology during the UCAA days was the foundation of the Ethnographic Society. The Society encouraged its member students to collect ethnographic materials on various subjects when they travelled back to their place of origin during their summer break, and published their findings in its bulletin – the *Ethnographic Bulletin*. The articles appearing in the *Bulletin* were of such a high standard that they have stood the test of time to the extent that the Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers and Social Anthropologists (ESSSWA) has found it worth reprinting all of its numbers (Pankhurst, 2002).

Formative Years: 1962-73[3]

The year 1962, the time of the founding of the Haile Selassie I University that replaced the UCAA, represented a watershed in the development of the teaching of sociology and social anthropology, as it probably did for many other disciplines. The true birth of sociology as an independent discipline within the Ethiopian tertiary education system can be traced to this period at the beginning of which it acquired institutional recognition in the form a separate department. The newly reorganised Faculty of Arts of the new University was made to consist of five separate departments, one of which was the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

The establishment of the Department, over and above giving impetus to the teaching of the disciplines on the basis of a coherent syllabus, provided the opportunity and the forum for thinking through the direction that the teaching of the two interrelated disciplines ought to take in Ethiopia. The available information indicates that the decision of the founding fathers of the Department – Georges Savard and William Schack, in particular – was motivated by their belief that social anthropology is the sociology of African societies, as well as practical considerations of available manpower and resources. The reasoning that social anthropology would focus more on the study of the traditional, whereas sociology would take care of the study of the developing modern sector such as the urban-industrial nexus, and that they would share the middle ground to the study of which they would each bring their peculiar approaches and methods, appears to be justified. It has allowed for interdisciplinary synergy without diluting the disciplinary boundaries of sociology and social anthropology, as testified by later developments.

In its twelve years of existence, the Department of Sociology and Anthropology offered only a minor programme in sociology for students majoring in other social science disciplines, in addition to teaching faculty-wide common course, namely, 'Introduction to Sociology' and a few other service courses. However, the hopes of starting a full-fledged degree programme were kept alive, and by 1972, a curriculum for such a programme was readied although its approval and ultimate launching were overtaken by the revolutionary events of 1973-74 and the consequent closure of the University for some three years.

Interregnum: 1974-77

The University was closed in 1974 and remained so for all practical purposes until the academic year 1976/77, all students and the Ethiopian staff having been shipped off, mostly to the rural areas, on the 'Development Through Cooperation Campaign' that officially lasted until the summer of 1976. Although the University was formally reopened in 1976/77, the normal conduct of its activities did not resume until the academic year 1977/78.

In spite of the suspension of teaching at the University, some tangible achievements were made during this interim period. Expatriate members of the Department were set to work on the development of teaching materials and the finalisation of the curriculum for a fully-fledged sociology and anthropology major undergraduate programme.

After going through the appropriate University approval mechanisms, this curriculum briefly went into effect upon the resumption of teaching in 1976/77. It was however abandoned after it was used in the training of only a single batch (with the fortuitous number of thirteen!), and replaced by the curriculum of the Applied Sociology programme that is discussed in the section that follows.

Struggle for Survival, and Revival: 1978-89

With the consolidation of the revolution in the late-1970s, Marxism-Leninism became the official ideology of Ethiopian society. Under these circumstances, it was only a matter of time before the only University in the land, the single most important centre of higher learning, was brought in line with the new ideological orientation. Consequently, the Department of Sociology and Anthropology became a target for an overhaul because of its presumed redundancy in the light of Marxist dialectical and historical materialism that were to be taught by the Department of Philosophy. The School of Social Work was found equally dispensable since it was perceived to be an instrument of bourgeois reformism by those in power.

Thus, in 1978 following the University-wide organisational restructuring, the College of Social Sciences was set up replacing the old Faculty of Arts, the Business School, and the School of Social Work. The Department of Sociology and Anthropology and the School of Social Work were presented with a *fait accompli* merger into a single unit called Department of Applied Sociology.

The staffs of the two units grudgingly accepted the decision and began to work together in the new unit in order to save the integrity of their respective disciplines – albeit under difficult circumstances.

Most probably, the important achievement of this period lies in the fact that the teaching of sociology and social anthropology was kept afloat. Considering the political and ideological climate of the 1970s and 1980s the mere continuation of the teaching of the two related disciplines was a success in itself. We can now look back to the period and appreciate both the seriousness of the danger that was looming as well as the appropriateness of the decision by the staff of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and the School of Social Work to accept and make the best of the uneasy merger. By being flexible and allowing the merger of the two units to materialise they avoided a crisis that could as well have led to the vanishing of sociology/social anthropology as disciplines from Ethiopian educational scene.

The merger of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology with the School of Social Work in the newly created Department of Applied Sociology had the additional unintended benefit of bringing together the very few sociologists and social anthropologist that were split between the two units into a teaching team of a minimum working size. After the mass departure of almost all expatriate and many national staff in the wake of the revolution, AAU found itself in a deep crisis on account of a shortage of teachers. While some departments partially overcame their staff shortages by launching their respective graduate programmes, such a possibility was not available for the Department of Applied Sociology that was struggling to keep going its BA programme that was itself too new. Thus in the mid-1980s the Department had no more than seven full-time instructors at any one time, of which only two to three had PhD-level training.

The curriculum of the Department of Applied Sociology had four major shortcomings that became clear shortly after it went into effect (Seyoum G. Selassie and Yeraswork Admassie, 1989). Firstly, it was heavily loaded with redundant courses such as 'Marxist Sociology' and 'Marxian Anthropology' that were simply imposed upon the Department and whose contents were already covered by four freshman course ('Political Economy of Capitalism', 'Political Economy of Socialism', Dialectical Materialism', and 'Historical Materialism'). Secondly, some of its courses lacked coherence since topics that deserved to be offered in one course were compartmentalised into different courses. Thirdly, it lacked balance in that some social institutions and fields of sociology were given undue prominence, being made the subject matter of whole courses (such as 'Sociology of the Family' and 'Sociology of Law') while others (for instance, religion, education, and polity) were totally ignored. Finally, it included courses (such as 'Principles of Accounting I' and 'Principles of Accounting II') that were in no way related to sociology, social anthro-

pology, or social work, and were only meant to widen the employment opportunity of graduates.

In 1984, thanks to the relative relaxation of the political atmosphere, the staff of the Department revised the Applied Sociology curriculum and got it approved together with a commensurate name change for the Department – the Department of Sociology and Social Administration. The introduction of the new curriculum was a significant step forward in the relentless attempt to maintain the integrity of the Department as an academic institution that kept a delicate balance between science and application, social theory and social research, as well as between giving students for whom the BA degree is terminal practically relevant education and providing a good grounding in science of society for promising students that are likely to continue with graduate education (Seyoum G. Selassie and Yeraswork Admassie, 1989).

The Sociology and Social Administration curriculum that addressed the limitations of its predecessor was sound enough that it continued to secure as the basis of the teaching of sociology, social anthropology, without any major changes until 2002. Yet, it was abundantly clear that it was not doing justice regarding the teaching of social work, for which it was still officially responsible. It was obvious that the three social work courses that made up part of the SoSA curriculum were too few to constitute any meaningful training in social work, except in name. Furthermore, the situation was getting even worse as the Department's competence to give training in social work was being progressively eroded together with its failure to replace its retiring social work educators. Thus, the situation was unsatisfactory to all concerned parties within and outside the Department, and it was only a matter of time before the social work question had to be dealt with the kind of radical solution it called for.

Expansion and Development: 1990 to Present

With the launching of a graduate programme in Social Anthropology in 1990, the teaching of sociology and social anthropology in Ethiopia entered into an era of sustained development. A number of factors contributed to this epoch-making development, chief among which was the cooperative agreement with and the technical and financial support obtained from Norway's Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI). Yet, a push for the establishment of a graduate programme in social anthropology that came from government circles starting around 1987 has played a contributory role by making the University authorities amenable to the idea. This was in its turn motivated by the government's growing realisation of the need to systematically appraise social factors and take them into consideration in development intervention planning – a lesson that arrived on the back of the military-socialist regime's bitter disappointment with its *dirigiste* approach to development in the areas of state-farms, cooperatives, resettlement, and the like.

The launching of the MA programme in Social Anthropology and the cooperative agreement with CMI that has lasted over fifteen years and continues at present in the form of a research cooperation programme that has benefited not just teaching and research in social anthropology. It has directly and indirectly contributed towards the strengthening of the teaching of sociology in the joint undergraduate programme as well as to the preparations for the launching of the MA programme in sociology that has been successfully completed at the time of the writing of this paper. To this end, starting as early as 1997, the CMI rendered financial support towards the postgraduate training of six staff members in Western universities in sociology alone. So also, it has supported the department to acquire books and journals without which the launching of an MA programme in sociology would be impossible.

The establishment of the MA programme in Social Anthropology in 1990 signalled a definitive turn in the academic orientation of the Department. As pointed out earlier, ever since the merger of the old Department of Sociology and Anthropology with the School of Social work in 1978, and up until the 1990s, the Department strove to make the best out of the difficult task of accommodating three disciplines within one undergraduate programme. In the 1970s and the 1980s, most of the instructors in the Department, particularly the senior ones, were sociologists and social anthropologists who had started their academic career in the old School of Social work. Then, together with the wide opportunity for the training of young academic staff in social anthropology that materialised following the launching of the MA programme, and with more and more of these MA holders immediately setting out to pursue their PhD-level training in social anthropology overseas, the centre of gravity started to shift in favour of social anthropology.

The Department was well aware of the skewed nature of the new development and the need to take timely measures to rectify it; and starting in 1997 it acted to that effect by devoting the remaining overseas scholarships at its disposal to the training of its young staff in sociology and social work. However, while the majority of those who went abroad to pursue training in the former returned home with MAs and PhDs to resume their teaching duty in the Department, those who were sent to Western countries for training in social work or social work-related sociology invariably chose not to return – obviously, African social workers were in demand in Western countries with sizeable African immigrant populations and the terms of employment of AAU were no match to the greener pastures of the West.

To make matters worse for the social work component, two of the most senior staff of the Department with social work background were retiring after decades of dedicated service, and one other was forced to leave the University altogether for political reasons. Furthermore, it was becoming almost impossible to even secure part-time instructors qualified to teach social work.

These developments culminated in the inevitable: the complete institutional separation of the teaching of sociology and social anthropology from that of social work. Thus in 2002, the Department revised the curriculum of its under-graduate programme to concentrate on the teaching of sociology and social anthropology: effectively, a double-major undergraduate programme in sociology and social anthropology. It also underlined the importance of the shift by accompanying it with a name change of the Department to properly reflect its new contents: the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (SOSA). Also, when in 2001 the Department was approached by the Jane Adams College from the USA with an offer of support to strengthen its social work component, it instead put forward a counter proposal in favour of reestablishing a separate and independent Graduate School of Social Work, which was realised in 2003 with the active involvement of the Department of SOSA. Thus, after sailing together through difficult times the teaching of sociology and anthropology and that of social work have parted their ways. Interestingly enough, however, cooperation continues, as the time has arrived for the Department of SOSA to pay back its debt to social work by continuing to provide the new Graduate School with instructors until such time as it is strong enough to stand on its own.

Current Programmes and Activities of the Department

Currently, the Department of SOSA runs both undergraduate and graduate programmes, offers a minor programme for other departments, gives services courses for different institutions largely within AAU, and participates in inter-disciplinary teaching of postgraduate courses. As shown in Table 1, the Department's own programmes include an undergraduate degree in sociology and social anthropology offered to regular and evening students, a minor programme in sociology, and a postgraduate degree programme in social anthropology. As stated earlier, the Department has completed preparation to launch a graduate programme in sociology in September/October 2006.

Table 1: Number of Students by Programme, Academic Year 2005/06

	Programmes	Number of Students		
		Male	Female	Total
1	Undergraduate in sociology & social anthropology, regular	220	128	348
2	Undergraduate in sociology & social anthropology, evening	225	291	516
3	Minor (undergraduate) in sociology programme, regular	36	117	153

4	Minor (undergraduate) in sociology programme, evening	345	108	453
5	Postgraduate in social anthropology, regular	94	10	104
6	Postgraduate in sociology, (to be admitted in Sept, 2006)	?	?	(10)*
Totals		920	654	1,574

* Proposed size of intake, not included in the total.

Undergraduate Programmes: BA in Sociology and Social Anthropology, and Minor in Sociology

The Bachelor of Arts Programme in Sociology and Social Anthropology is based on a curriculum that was revised and approved in 2002 – the story is discussed under Section 1.5. The programme is a kind of a 'double-major' undergraduate programme that 'is inspired by the desire and commitment of the faculty to enable sociology and anthropology to play their rightful role in development processes and enable them to make significant contribution to nation building efforts'. It is guided by the general objective of providing 'a broad range of high quality courses that expose students to sociological and anthropological perspectives, leading to an understanding of our own as well as other societies and cultures' (Curriculum of the Bachelor of Arts Programme in Sociology and Social Anthropology, 2003: 2).

The core of the programme is made up of two courses on sociological theory, two method courses, eight courses on special fields of sociology, nine common sociology and anthropology courses, seven courses on anthropological theory and special fields of anthropology, four social policy and practice courses, five related courses offered by other departments, and finally, a senior essay.

The minor programme in sociology is a recent development that came into the picture in 2003 together with the rising popularity of sociology and anthropology that was in turn a reflection of the new demand for graduates of the Department.[4] It is constituted of nine courses that include introductory courses on sociology and anthropology respectively, as well as courses on social institutions, sociological theories, research methods, rural and urban sociology, and gender, culture and society. It is presently offered to the regular and evening students of the Departments of Geography, History, and Philosophy, and many other Departments have also been filing requests for a minor in sociology largely with the view to make their graduates competitive on the job market. However, unlike other departments, the Department of SOSA does not seek minor programmes for its students because there is currently enough employment opportunity for its graduates, and the existing programme is like a 'double major' in sociology and social anthropology with no room to accommodate a third discipline.

The Department also offers undergraduate service courses to different programmes within AAU (such as the Faculty of Law and the Department of Community Health in the Medical Faculty) and the Ethiopian Police College. Some of the courses offered in these programmes include introduction to sociology, research methods, criminology and correctional administration, and medical anthropology. The Department also participates in teaching and supervising students of interdisciplinary postgraduate programmes. In this regard, some staff of SOSA offer courses for, and advise students of, several AAU institutions, such as the Regional and Local Development Studies (RLDS), the Demographic Training and Research Centre (DTRC), the Centre for Research and Training of Women in Development (CERTWID), the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES), and the School of Social Work, the Department of Biology in the Science Faculty. Some of the postgraduate courses offered in these institutions include research methods, social development, and gender and development.

On a positive note, we should mention the progress that has been made towards closing the gender-gap in student enrolment. From the gender disaggregated data in Table 1, we can see that, currently, female students account for 49 and 37 percent of the total student population in the undergraduate Major and Minor Programmes respectively. The present situation shines in comparison with the horrendous gender imbalance of a few years back when female students made up less than ten percent of the student population. Obviously, the positive change is mainly due to the recent expansion in primary and secondary school coverage in general and the enrolment of girls in particular throughout the country. However, the attractiveness of sociology/anthropology to female candidates – both as disciplines and for the type of employment opportunity they create – must be playing a contributory role.

BA Senior Essay Research

The senior essays that students write during their final year in partial fulfilment for the requirement of a BA degree remains an important aspect of the undergraduate programme. Such has always been the case since the Department started a degree programme in the late 1970s. The senior essay continues to provide students with the opportunity to bring together and put to test in real life situations their newly acquired knowledge in social theory, special fields of sociology/anthropology, and research methods.

Until quite recently, the University administration which was in favour of centralised management did not allow departments to maintain their own libraries; and as the central libraries themselves were not capable of managing the masses of senior essays and theses produced every year, they stored only those that earned top grades, leaving the rest unattended. Unfortunately, for this and other reasons such as the high turnover rate of academic staff during the

same period, the Department's records on senior essays produced in the course of the last thirty years since the Department began running a BA degree programme are incomplete.

In spite of the incompleteness of the records, there is sufficient information to throw light on the kind of topics that were most commonly picked by students for their senior essays. A list of senior essay titles complied by a staff of the Department (Bulletin of the Founding Workshop Bulletin of ESSSWA, 1996) and updated for the purpose of this paper by the authors, indicates the existence of a number of interesting patterns in students' choice of research topic.

Table 2, which is based on the above mentioned list, reveals a number of interesting aspects of the topics on which students write their senior essays. Firstly, choice of senior essay topic is heavily skewed towards urban issues. The table that follows shows that four times as many senior essays were written on urban areas as on rural ones (70 percent: 17 percent). Moreover, three-quarters of the senior essays on urban areas concern Addis Ababa, the only big city in the country. Obviously, this is mainly due to the limited resources and time that are available to undergraduate students whose research is only rarely sponsored and supported by anybody else other than themselves and their families. However, the 'urban bias' of the students who are by and large from bigger or smaller towns themselves and therefore for whom urban issues have greater appeal, cannot to be discounted as a relevant factor in topic selection.

Table 2 also shows that the urban sector offers more varied topics for research making it more attractive to students who are beginners in social research. We should also add that this tilt in the direction of urban issues could very well be an indication of the emerging importance of urban centres in Ethiopian society and the growing relevance of urban studies within academia in general and sociology/social anthropology in particular.

A second pattern that leaps out of the table is the attraction that evaluative research commands among students. This could be due to the straightforward nature of evaluative research and because it is easy to have a clear direction and focus thanks to the project documents and the physical and social boundaries of the project for the study. The evaluation of projects and programmes, particularly those of interventions operated by NGOs, could also be sought for more pragmatic reasons such as acquiring knowledge of the NGO environment and establishing contact in the process with the ultimate aim of securing employment with that particular or similar organisation after graduation.

Third, not surprisingly, the study of HIV/AIDS, gender, and urban pathology of various sorts are popular among undergraduate students because of their currency in both academic and development circles, as well as for having a higher probability of being supported by the few sponsoring organisations in existence.

Table 2: Distribution of Senior Essay Topics by Urban-Rural, and by Subject

SUBJECT	URBAN AREAS	RURAL AREAS	GENE-RAL	TOTAL
Project or Programme Evaluation	153	46	52	251
Health and HIV/ AIDS	122	6	15	143
Family and Marriage	76	43	21	140
Street Children, Prostitution, Begging, Alcohol, Drugs, and Crime	118	1	6	125
Associations	65	35	16	116
Education	80	3	15	98
Gender	53	23	13	89
Culture and Religion	23	31	16	70
Disability and Aging	47	2	9	58
Migration, Displacement, Resettlement, Refugees	35	19	4	58
Work and the Informal Sector	50	3	4	57
Children	40	0	6	46
Urbanisation	42	2	0	44
Housing, Slums, and Burial Grounds	42	0	0	42
Agriculture, Pastoralism, and Rural Development	2	16	2	20
Environment	15	1	1	17
Transport	8	1	0	9
Development	5	0	1	6
Other	36	8	11	55
Total Number	1,012	240	192	1,444
Percent of Total	70%	1%	13%	100%

Rural topics, on the other hand, are usually picked mostly by students coming from small towns and who make use of their inter-semester or summer vacations in their natal area to collect data on subjects related to the surrounding rural areas.

It ought to be noted, however, that in spite of their being subject to the same standard requirements in terms of size and substance, senior essays vary in their quality. Furthermore, there are worrying signals that their general standard is gradually declining, of late. There is probably very little that the Department

can do about this, as this is only an aspect and an expression of the prevailing trend towards poor quality tertiary education, which is itself a consequence of the declining quality of primary and secondary-level education as well as the huge and sudden increase in student intake and class-size. Nonetheless, it would be tragic if the Department is forced by circumstances that are beyond its control to abandon the senior essay as a requirement for a BA degree, considering the contribution it has made over the years and is likely to continue to make towards the production of a huge amount of sociological and ethnographic reference material, over and above providing a valuable training opportunity for prospective graduates working towards their first degree in sociology and social anthropology.

Masters Programme in Social Anthropology

The MA programme in social anthropology at Addis Ababa University was established in 1990 following the 1988 cooperative agreement between the College of Social Sciences (on behalf of the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology) and the Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI) of Norway. Based on this agreement, the CMI provided generous technical and material assistance, including finance, books, computers, vehicles, and various equipments. Moreover, the Institute supported the human resource development of the Department of SOSA, in which staff members and some successful graduates of the MA programme in social anthropology were sent to Europe and the USA for doctoral studies. The 1988 agreement was renewed a couple of times and phased out in 2001/2002. As discussed later under the research and publication section of this paper, a new research collaboration agreement was signed between the Department of SOSA and the CMI in 2003 and this represents another chapter in the long-standing relationships between the two institutions.

The postgraduate programme in social anthropology aimed at establishing social anthropology as an academic discipline in Ethiopia by training professional socio-cultural anthropologists who are knowledgeable in theories and methods of anthropology, and who can undertake field studies, analyse quantitative and qualitative data, and write sound ethnographic reports. Such skills are crucial for understanding the diverse social, cultural, and economic systems in Ethiopia. The Department realises that to survive in today's world and to contribute to their country, students need appropriate skills, perspectives, and tools for practising anthropology. Therefore, special attention has been paid to the development of professional competence that would enable graduates take active part in the formulation, planning, and implementation of development projects and programmes.

With the objective of providing a wide range of high quality education that would meet the needs of students, employers, and the country at large, the Department has revised the curriculum of the MA programme in social anthro-

pology twice in the last fifteen years. The latest revision took place in 2006 mainly in response to the recent unprecedented rise in the postgraduate intake that followed AAU's graduate expansion policy. The recent curriculum modification involved the introduction of thesis and non-thesis options into the programme.

The courses offered in the programme emphasise developing competence in theoretical, methodological, and ethnographic analysis of social life. In all course offerings, special efforts are being made to relate presentations and discussions to African and Ethiopian realities. The first semester courses focus on lectures and extensive reading assignments, while emphasis is placed on seminars and student presentations on selected topics during the second semester. In the course of their training years, students are evaluated on the basis of their performance in examinations, term papers, projects, various presentations, and class participation.

The Department of SOSA has made phenomenal accomplishments in terms of producing competent and professional social/cultural anthropologists in Ethiopia. Independent external assessors have reviewed the programme in 1996 and 2001, and both reviews were positive about the achievements of the programme.

The social anthropology programme is set to respond to the manpower needs of the Department and other academic units and institutions of higher learning in Ethiopia. Between July 1993 and December 2005, a total of 127 students had completed their postgraduate studies. In the early 1990s, the then Department of Sociology and Social Administration had only two Ethiopian anthropologists with doctoral degrees, while in the mid-1990s there were none – the aforementioned two having left the Department. By 2005, however, the number of Ethiopian anthropologists with PhD degrees reached seven, five of whom were former graduates of the MA programme in social anthropology. Moreover, many junior teaching staff members of the various universities in the country have been trained in social anthropology. Some of the former graduates are currently working on their doctoral and/or postdoctoral degrees in major European and American universities. Regarding job opportunities, the graduates of the social anthropology programme are well received by government institutions, NGOs, international agencies, and the private sector. The demand for the programme's graduates is on the rise.

When compared with other MA programmes in the College of Social Sciences, the social anthropology programme has performed relatively better in terms of both total output and gender participation (Gebre, 2006). A total of eleven female students (about nine percent) have graduated between 1993 and 2005, and there are ten female students currently enrolled in the programme; whereas there were only six females among the 196 graduates of the MA programmes in Geography, History and International Relations put together.

Still female enrolment in the social anthropology programme is below what it should be. The low female participation may be explained, at least partly, in terms of the relatively extended research requirement, which involves months in the field, sometimes in remote and quite inaccessible rural villages. The challenge of fieldwork in anthropology is not gender specific and former female graduates have performed as well as male students in the field. Another partial reason for the low female enrolment in the MA programme is definitely the low gender imbalance that was rampant in undergraduate education for a long while, and the resultant narrow supply of female applicants for graduate programmes until recently.

The research/thesis requirement is not mandatory any longer. The recently introduced non-thesis option allows students to graduate without undertaking fieldwork and/or writing theses. Hence, potential applicants, including females, who may have been discouraged by the thesis research requirement, may now reconsider joining the MA programme. Also, it is very likely that the number of female applicants will start to grow as the increasing enrolment of women in undergraduate programmes makes itself felt in the form of larger number of applicants for graduate programme in a short while. However, it needs to be noted that the Department ought to make conscious effort to increase the enrolment of female students in the MA programme.

MA Thesis Research

Between July 1993 and December 2005, a total of 127 MA theses have been produced on different thematic areas. The thematic assessment of thesis research reveals that a wide range of issues have been explored. It also became apparent that certain topics attracted the attention of many students for quite understandable reasons. Agriculture (which contributes 45 percent to GNP and employs 85 percent of the Ethiopian population) and related livelihood strategies have been studied by 28 (23.5 percent) of the graduates. This is followed by studies on voluntary and forced population movements (for example, planned resettlement programmes, economic migrations, and refugees), which make up 22 (18.5 percent) of the MA theses submitted so far. Given the historical and current massive population movements within Ethiopia and across its international borders, it is hardly surprising for students to be attracted to such high profile and contemporary issues of national and global interest.

Fourteen (11.7 percent) of the MA theses were written on gender issues (most of them focussing on the status and role of women in different societies), while another fourteen works explored health, HIV/AIDS and other social problems. Local governance, disputes and conflict resolution mechanisms have been studied by 10 (8.4 percent) of postgraduate students. The remaining studies focussed on a number of other topics, including indigenous knowledge

and practices, resource management, civic organisations, religion, artisanship, inter-ethnic relations, pastoral economy, education, social change, and others.

In the tradition of anthropological research, it is quite normal to explore the same research theme and/or different dimensions of the same theme by different researchers. However, most anthropologists prefer opening fresh research frontiers to uncover unexplored topics, marginally addressed issues, and unresolved problems. This would enable researchers to discover new findings of high academic and policy relevance and avoid unnecessary research duplication.

Geographically, 25 percent of the MA thesis researches were conducted in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR); as were 24 percent in Oromia region, 19 percent in Amhara, 16 percent in Addis Ababa, and 15 percent in the remaining regions of Tigray, Afar, Somali, Benishangul-Gumuz, and Gambella. Thus, about 85 percent of the studies were undertaken in four of the regions heading the list. Why has social anthropology thesis research, to date, focussed on these areas? Firstly, the first three regions' spatial vastness (55 percent of the 1.13 million sq. km area of Ethiopia), their sheer size (80 percent of the country's population, 74.2 million in 2005), and the complexity of life and social differentiation in Addis Ababa seem to provide wide research options. In this regard, SNNPR provides a unique opportunity because it hosts more than 50 percent of the 80 plus ethnic groups found in Ethiopia.

Secondly, given the limited time and funds available to undertake fieldwork, distance and logistic factors tend to dictate the selection of research sites. Compared to the other regions in the country, the four regions are relatively close to Addis Ababa and therefore to the University compared to the rest of the regions such as Somali, Benishangul-Gumuz and Gambella, Afar and Tigray. Third, there is a general tendency on the part of most postgraduate students to study areas and cultures that they are familiar with; and as most of the candidates for the MA degree are from these four regions, it is not surprising that these regions top the list.

Studying ones' own group (or what some writers refer to as 'anthropology at home') has some clear advantages. Knowledge of the language and the culture of the people to be studied would contribute to smooth communication and easy entry. This means that the research could be undertaken rather efficiently with limited resources (time and money) that would otherwise be difficult in an unfamiliar environment. The other advantage is that the researcher could use the opportunity to contribute to his/her home.

On the other hand, the notion of 'anthropology at home' is rarely embraced by those who feel that the insider can hardly be critical of his/her own culture. The concern is that the researcher, consciously or unconsciously, may take certain cultural values and practices for granted and thus remain less critical. While respecting student choices of research topics and research sites, we

would like to underline that anthropology is also about understanding other cultures and regions. As a matter of fact, it is more about appreciating cultural similarities, differences, and interrelations.

The concentration of MA research in central and highland Ethiopia may eventually create a huge gap in terms of knowledge about societies and practices in regions located far away from Addis Ababa. The ever-dwindling budget allocation for postgraduate research is likely to exacerbate the existing bias in research interest against distant sites. It deserves to be acknowledged and appreciated that the Benishangul-Gumuz Region recently encouraged and sponsored a female student to undertake her MA research in the region on a topic of her own choice. Government institutions, NGOs, and others could take similar initiatives to encourage graduate level research in small and remote regions of Ethiopia. The other option is to establish a system where some national sponsors (for instance, government agencies, foundations, citizens, etc.) would provide adequate research grants to graduate students on a competitive basis.

MA thesis research is also facilitated by the Departmental Seminar – commonly referred to as the 'Wednesday Seminar' – which is an integral part of the postgraduate programme. However, it has now become a department-wide forum at which staff members, postgraduate students, and invited guests present professional papers, research proposals, and research progress reports.

Masters Programme in Sociology

Having made the necessary preparations in terms of putting together a sound curriculum, qualified instructors, and teaching material, the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology is about to take yet another major step by launching its Masters Programme in Sociology in the September/October 2006 term. The MA Programme in Sociology focuses on the urban-industrial-development nexus without being oblivious to the rural-agrarian worlds. As Ethiopia is largely a rural and agrarian country, the study of rural society and rural development remains an important field of sociological training and research. However, since the country is going through accelerating processes of urbanisation with its urban population expected to grow three-fold in the coming 25 years, the social changes associated with this are bound to pose major challenges for academics, policy makers, and development practitioners. Hence, the current lacunae in terms of in-depth and accurate research-based information on the process of urbanisation, industrialisation and development as well as the acute shortage of high-level trained manpower for sociological inquiry call for the upgrading of the sociological training that is offered at AAU to a postgraduate level.

The Masters Programme in Sociology is guided by its stated objective of producing professional sociologists who are knowledgeable in sociological

theory and methods at a more advanced level so as to be able to independently carry out research on the process and problems of the socio-cultural dimensions of rapid urbanisation, industrialisation and development and hence inform the formulation and implementation of social development policies and programmes. Hence, the programme is designed as a two-year programme consisting of two alternative components: a course-work with-thesis and a course-work-only plan that students join on the basis of their cumulative GPA at the end of the First Year and their preference. Students who join the thesis option are expected to acquire – through the rigour of practice – research knowledge that includes designing a research project, developing the appropriate conceptual and methodological tools, undertaking data collection and analysis as well as interpreting and presenting them in a coherent manner. Moreover, their thesis-based research education is likely to prepare them for further training at the PhD-level. Those students that join the alternative course-work-only stream, on the other hand, are likely to contribute in the capacity of policy analysts, policy makers and practitioners.

The MA programme consists of compulsory courses that are offered over a two-year period. In the fist year, six courses, namely, Sociological Theories, Political Sociology, Social Research, Rural Sociology & Development, Industrial & Organisational Sociology, and Quantitative Data Analysis are offered. During the first semester of their second year of training all students are required to take two more courses: Urban Sociology and Social Policy and Planning. Then, while those that follow the thesis stream concentrate on their thesis research and write-up task for the remainder of the year, those in the non-thesis stream will be required to take two additional courses – Contemporary Social Issues and Sociology of Health – in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the MA degree in sociology.

Research by Department Staff

Faculty members are expected to carry out research, publish the results, and use those works for teaching as well as academic promotion. However, the University or the Department does not allocate funds for staff research. Therefore, staff members have to secure resources on their own, for instance, by engaging in commissioned research undertaken for the University, government organisations, and international agencies, often on a demand basis. In the last 15 years, the two cooperation agreements the Department signed with the CMI of Norway have been instrumental in terms of securing funds for departmental research and publication. In this regard, the 2003 research collaboration agreement particularly focus on promoting staff and student research on emerging social issues in Ethiopia, such as land tenure systems, economic and socio-cultural impacts of HIV/AIDS, and population movement and displacement. So far, a total of eight staff members and 17 postgraduate students have been granted research funds on a competitive basis.

In the absence of a regular university/departmental budget, the efforts made by individual staff and the Department to secure resources have enabled them to: (i) promote academic excellence through scientific research and publication, (ii) make sociological/anthropological work directly relevant to policy and development, and (iii) involve students and recent graduates of the Department in research thereby preparing them to become independent and professional researchers.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to list or describe sociological and anthropological studies undertaken by the staff in the Department. However, we would like to reflect on the thematic areas that have been explored through doctoral research and commissioned studies. Land degradation and conservation, agricultural extension, farming methods, migration and resettlement, culture and development, pastoral economy, state-peasant relations, inter-ethnic solidarity and conflict, household economy, HIV/AIDS, gender issues, rural livelihoods, civil society, reproductive health, and street children are some of the areas fairly extensive explored.

Departmental Publications

The various materials complied by the Department and/or published/ co-published in the name of the Department may be divided into four categories: teaching materials, bulletin, dissertation series, and other editions.

Over the years, a large number of materials have been compiled and used in the teaching of most of the undergraduate courses. However, for various reasons, most of these were not published, not having gone through the University's established approval mechanism for teaching material, and hence have run out of circulation with the status of 'hand-outs'. On the other hand, four peer reviewed teaching materials have been prepared for four major courses (criminology, population studies, urban sociology, and ethnography of Ethiopia) offered in the Department. Georges Savard, one of the expatriate scholars involved in the teaching of sociology in Ethiopia in the early days, prepared the first teaching material (in three volumes), titled 'The People of Ethiopia' (1970). The Staff of the Department jointly compiled a widely used teaching text under the title 'Readings in Urban Sociology' (1975), and Marina Ottaway, another expatriate staff, followed it with 'Urbanization in Ethiopia', a collection of several essays with introductory remarks. Andargatchew Tesfaye (Professor Emeritus) has prepared two volumes of 'The Crime Problem and Its Correction' (1988 and 2004) – texts currently used for teaching the two courses: 'Sociology of Deviance' and 'Criminology and Correctional Administration'. The two volumes are also used by the Faculty of Law at Addis Ababa University as well as the Ethiopian Police College. Hirut Terefe has prepared teaching material for 'Population Studies', a course that used to be offered by the Department of SOSA and now being taught by the Demographic Training and Research Centre (DTRC).

The launching of the MA programme in social anthropology and the assistance obtained from the CMI opened wide publication opportunities in the Department of SOSA. The *Sociology-Ethnology Bulletin* (SEB) was the first departmental initiative designed to promote student and staff publications. The first issue (Vol. 1, no. 1) of SEB appeared in 1991, while the second (Vol. 1, no. 2) and the third (Vol. 1, no. 3) issues came out in 1992 and 1994 respectively. Some concerns and disagreements within the Department over whether articles published in the SEB needed to be of a higher quality led to its termination rather than to its improvement or replacement.

In 1994, the Department launched the publication of the best MA theses (those graded excellent by a panel of MA thesis examiners) in a series entitled *Social Anthropology Dissertations*. Six works selected from 16 MA theses submitted between 1993 and 1995 have been published in this series between 1994 and 2000. After a period of interruption, the publication of the *Social Anthropology Dissertations Series* has resumed in 2006 and attempts are being made to publish as many as ten theses in the same year to clear the backlog from 1996.

After the mid-1990s, the Department published and co-published six works, most of which have been edited or co-edited by Dr Alula Pankhurst, a former staff member of the Department. Three of the six editions are products of workshops or conferences co-organised by the Department of SOSA and the Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers, and Anthropologists (ESSSWA).

Staff Development and Staff Situation

The Department is currently operating with a total of 19 active staff members: 15 full-time nationals and four full-time expatriates with doctoral degrees (two sociologists and two anthropologists). Of the 15 nationals, 12 have PhD degrees, two have MAs, and one has a BA degree. The PhD holders completed their doctoral studies in different countries: four in the UK, three in the Netherlands, three in India, two in Sweden, and one each in the USA, Germany, Japan, and Australia. Of the total of 19 staff members, ten are sociologists and nine anthropologists; and 13 of the 19 staff members are 'home-grown'– meaning staff members who obtained their first degree training in the Department itself and were recruited for teaching as Graduate Assistants and further training.

An examination of Table 3 reveals the fact that the staff situation of the Department has not always been close to what it is today. In the course of the last 44 years, some 84 instructors were involved in teaching sociology/anthropology at AAU. Sixty five (77 percent) of these have served the Department on a full-time basis, while 11 were instructors who were home-based at two research institutes with which the Department has close academic and institutional links, namely, the Institute of Ethiopian Studies and the Institute of Development Research. The remaining eight are instructors that have taught at

the Department on part-time basis. Procurement of staff on part-time basis was of course a measure taken in response to the acute staff shortage facing the Department throughout its existence. Yet, in spite of its clear downside in terms of the lesser time and commitment that can be provided by part-time instructors, the involvement of non-departmental academicians in teaching has brought with it valuable links of cooperation and important venues for the cross-fertilisation of ideas.

Table 3: Academic Staff by Sex, Nationality, and Employment Status, 1962-2006

			Employment Status			Total
			Full-Time	Home-Based	Part-Time	
N a t I o n a l I t y	Expatriate	Sex: F M	5 25	1 –	– 1	6 26
		Total	30	1	1	32
	Local	Sex: F M	6 29	1 9	2 5	9 43
		Total	35	10	7	52
Grand Total			65	11	8	84

The gender balance in the staff of the Department has always been disappointing. Only 15 female academicians, constituting 18 percent of the total, have taught at the Department in its 44 years of existence. Six of the female staff were expatriates, whereas the majority, nine, were Ethiopians. Six of the nine Ethiopian women were employed on a full-time basis and four of these were 'home-grown', i.e., recruited from among the Department's graduates for teaching and further training as part of the Department's staff-development effort. Yet, sadly enough, there is currently only one female instructor in the Department, which is indicative of the fact that in addition to the visible and invisible gender discrimination in the educational system as a whole that has worked against making female candidates for tertiary-level teaching hard to come by, the Department is not competitive enough to retain even those few female instructors that it grooms at quite a high cost.

Out of the 84 staff members who served in the Department over the years, 32 (38 percent) were expatriates and the remaining 52 (62 percent) were Ethiopian nationals. The distribution of these numbers over the years, however, was more uneven. From 1951 up until 1972, all of the teaching of sociology/anthropology was handled by expatriate staff. It was with the arrival of the first Ethiopian

PhD holder in Anthropology from Britain in 1972, who was soon followed by three sociologists with MAs and a BA from overseas, that the picture began to change. Then, following the outbreak of the revolution and the closure of the University from 1973/74 up until 1975/76, almost all of the expatriate staff left the country and the 'Ethiopianisation' of the Department was completed – by force of circumstances rather than design. It needs to be noted also, although expatriates account for 38 percent of all the staff that have ever taught at the Department, their numerical dominance is not as much as what this percentage share suggests, because the duration of tenure of expatriate staff is generally much shorter than that of the local staff.

In line with the university-wide orientation, the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology has successfully pursued the strategy of gaining self-reliance through sustained in-house staff recruitment and development. This is evidenced by the fact that many (if not all) of the 'home-grown' staff members returned home to serve the Department; they worked harmoniously in the pursuit of academic excellence; and they contributed to the realisation of the dream for self-reliance. Until recently, the practice of recruiting junior staff members from among the Department's own graduates and sending them to Europe and America for further education has been the main avenue for staff development.

In recent years, however, this long-established tradition has run into difficulty on account of the expanded academic commitment of the Department that is compounded by: the sudden increase in the intake of the MA programme in social anthropology, the rising demand by different departments for the minor programme in sociology, the multiplication of service courses offered by the Department, and the unprecedented rise in overall student enrolments. This situation, then, has necessitated the employment of foreign nationals and 'non-home-grown' local staff – a trend that has positive aspects as well as certain drawbacks. The difficulty is that the new staff members often come from institutions with different teaching-learning systems and practices and this difference in orientation tends to limit the opportunity to maintain continuity and a smooth working environment. The Department, however, has tried to iron out the mismatch through relentless collegial consultations. On the positive side, the new-comers have the potential to bring new and different insights and perspectives into the Department.

Extra-Departmental Activities

Contribution to Other Universities in Ethiopia

In the early 1990s, there were only three full-fledged universities in Ethiopia. By 2005, the number of universities in the country increased to eight, and an additional 14 universities are expected to start to operate sometime this year, 2006. Two of the new universities, Jimma and Gondar, have already embarked

on separate undergraduate degree training in sociology and anthropology. Debub University is making preparations to follow suit, but with an anthropology programme that is to have all four components of: biological/physical anthropology, social/cultural anthropology, anthropological linguistics, and archaeology. Many other universities and colleges, too, have begun offering service courses in sociology and anthropology.

The Department of SOSA is entrusted with the mission of providing trained sociologists and anthropologists to fill the ever-increasing demand for instructors in the exiting and emerging higher learning institutions in Ethiopia. A good number of the Department's graduates (with a BA degree) are already involved in teaching in various universities in Ethiopia as assistant lecturers; and many of them are expected to enrol for the postgraduate degree in sociology that is set to start this September. Moreover, the Department has been supporting some of the new universities (for example, Debub and Gondar Universities) through consultation on curriculum development and provision of teaching materials.

Contributions to Civil Society Organisations

The Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology has made significant contributions to the emergence of civil society organisations (CSOs) in Ethiopia, both as an institution and also through the individual efforts of its staff and graduates.

The Ethiopian Society of Sociologists, Social Workers, and Anthropologists (ESSSWA) was established in 1996 with tangible support from the Department. Among other things, the Department still provides it with office space. As pointed out earlier, the Department also continues to cooperate with ESSSWA in jointly organising workshops and publishing their outputs. The role of the staff of the Department was critical in the initiation and formation of the association. Many of them have also served and continue to serve on its executive committee. Thanks to their involvement and influence, ESSSWA is becoming a forum and a vehicle for keeping alive academic interest among the members of the sociology/anthropology/social work community in Ethiopia; and plans to work on upgrading their academic standard through a series of training programmes.

Former and present members of the staff have made individual contributions to the emergence of other CSOs that have figured importantly on the rather desolate civil society scene of Ethiopia. Their dedicated service and expertise were critical in the formation and development of such renowned organisations as the Family Guidance Association of Ethiopia, and to a lesser extent in that of the Forum for Social Studies and the Ethiopian Human Rights Council.

Through its graduates, the Department has also indirectly contributed to the development of civil society and to the noble task of giving voice to the marginalised in Ethiopia. Some of its former students have succeeded in forming

CBOs and NGOs on their own. Others have joined existing organisations, and some of these have worked their way up to leadership positions. Together with this growing influence of the Department's graduates among CSOs, a synergic bond is emerging between the training activities of the Department, the professional association of ESSSWA, and the CSOs in which the association's members are active.

Concluding Remarks

Started with modest aims and means, and having sailed through difficult times marked by meagre material resources, shortage of trained staff, and institutional instability, the teaching of sociology and social anthropology in Ethiopia now finds itself in better circumstances. The oldest and largest sociology/anthropology training institution, the Department of SOSA at AAU is being joined by many others, although it remains the only centre for postgraduate education. The Department of SOSA itself has moved forward with huge strides. It has increased the number of its programmes to four. Its supply of books, journals and equipment has improved. The number of its teaching staff has steadily increased. Department-sponsored research has kicked off, and departmental publication is picking up. It also appears that the Department has finally found an organisational arrangement that is well suited for managing the teaching of sociology and anthropology in a balanced and efficient manner.

However, these improvements have been accompanied by other developments that are major sources of concern. Firstly, the Department has become dependent on external support, posing a threat to the sustainability of its programmes and activities. The recent improvements in the supply of books, journals and equipment, as well as staff development, research, and departmental publication were all achieved with external support secured by the Department, while the contribution of the University has remained marginal.

Secondly, the sudden and massive increase in the student population – which is currently 15-fold as large as it was a decade ago and stands at a student-to-instructor ratio of 83:1 – is threatening to cancel out most of the recent gains. Furthermore, the equally recent proliferation of various interdisciplinary graduate programmes by newly created units with inadequate staff has brought additional workload to the staff of the Department as they have to participate in teaching and supervising students that are admitted into the interdisciplinary programmes. Thus, the Department is finding it difficult to assign senior essay supervisors to the ever increasing number of its own prospective BA graduates, which has led to the questioning of the very wisdom of retaining the senior essay. As pointed out earlier, the recent unprecedented increase in postgraduate intake has also necessitated the introduction of a non-thesis option into the department's graduate programmes. This is the kind of adjustment that the Department is grudgingly making in order to address the

sudden and imposed changes that stretch its capacity beyond what can be considered reasonable.

Thirdly, the Department is faced with the threat of declining academic standards. This problem is compounded by the large size of the student population and the general deterioration in the quality of the country's secondary education, as evidenced by the low language proficiency and poor preparation for tertiary education. Although the Department cannot do much about the last mentioned factor, it has nonetheless to continue to safeguard the standard of its training by striving for an optimal student-to-instructor ratio, either by reducing the intake of students particularly into the minor programme or by increasing the number of its teaching staff, or both.

The Department is also facing the challenge of achieving academic excellence in the area of research and publication, particularly by its staff. However, given the heavy teaching and supervising load with which staff members are encumbered, the meagre University salaries that force them to spend the little time at their disposal on better compensated commissioned research, and the difficulties they face in securing funding for academic research as well as the bureaucratic hurdles they face in utilising even the little funding that is available, it is quite difficult to hope for high quality research and publication. In fact, there is a real possibility to slip backwards if a regular and sustainable source of research funding is not found before the external funding that is currently providing the only window of opportunity for pure academic research stops trickling.

Finally, we need to take account of new developments in sociological/anthropological training taking place outside the walls of AAU and the City of Addis Ababa. These developments are welcome, but they also present challenges. The Department of SOSA at AAU must recognise the new reality and learn to share its fading status of being the only institution that is entrusted with the teaching of sociology and anthropology in the country. This will involve finding a new role for itself by the side of the emerging sociology and/or anthropology training centres of the newer universities.

In this respect, one area of shared concern for the Department of SOSA at AAU and the emerging institutions in the other universities is the issue of which route to follow in terms of the institutional or organisational setup. In the case of the Department of SOSA a joint sociology/anthropology undergraduate programme with separate specialised MA programmes appears to work well. It has brought the Department the benefits of synergy and the efficient use of resources without jeopardising the integrity of the disciplines. On the other hand, the emerging institutions appear to be headed in the other direction, opting for separate undergraduate programmes in sociology and anthropology that are run by separate departments. The latter experiment is only beginning and it will take a while before it is known which approach is sounder. Which ever way things may go, the future is likely to be exciting scholarly, and will be

a period during which sociology/anthropology can flourish in the various educational centres and cities of Ethiopia.

Notes

1. The authors are Assistant Professors of Sociology and Social Anthropology respectively. Yeraswork Admassie was Chairman of the Department of SOSA (1983-86 and 1997-2001) and Gebre Yntiso is currently serving as its Chairman.

2. Haile Selassie I University was renamed Addis Ababa University following the demise of the imperial regime.

3. The authors acknowledge with gratitude the assistance of Dr Fekadu Gedamu – the first Ethiopian with a doctoral degree in Anthropology to join the Department in 1972 – who kindly granted them a long interview on the early development of the Department that was both informative and insightful.

4. Whereas the number of graduates taking the minor in sociology and anthropology was very small during the imperial era, obtaining employment was not a major concern. The situation during the military-socialist regime was different. The number of graduates increased, but they were assigned to government institutions as a matter of right, although in many cases to organisations that had no need for sociologists whom they condemned to an idle existence or to do all sort of clerical duties. With the fall of the military-socialist regime sociology/social anthropology entered a 'golden age' in terms of graduates' employment opportunities. The relative proliferation of civil society organisations in general and NGOs in particular, as well as the growing awareness of the vital importance of taking social factors into account in development intervention among government circles has resulted in a general demand for the services of sociologists and social anthropologists with different levels of training. The reversal of fortunes being experienced by graduates of the department in this regard was so noticeable that it has moved up the Department from ranking as one of the least preferred departments in the social sciences and humanities to become the most popular one – as indicated by choice of students.

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Fred Hendricks

The Rise and Fall of South African Sociology

Introduction

Sociology played a crucial role in rewriting South African history and in recasting approaches to the study of our complex and ever-changing social reality. It was at the forefront of a materialist broadside which challenged the intellectual hegemony of the liberal school in South Africa in the late 1960s and early 1970s and its connections with the rising anti-apartheid movement were often very intimate. There was a vibrance and relevance which animated the discipline and excited its students frequently into direct action against the apartheid regime. The sociological debates about race and class as explanations for the nature of apartheid exploitation and oppression were directly and often crudely translated into political programmes for democratisation and nation-building. There were, of course, other sociologies at the Afrikaans-language universities, but these had been left behind by the vanguard of materialist sociologists who came to dominate the social science intellectual scene in the country. Martin Legassick, Harold Wolpe and Frederick Johnstone were the torchbearers of this approach even though they embarked on their mission with little reference to earlier African scholars, like Govan Mbeki or Isaac Tabata, who had been completely immersed in the politics of liberation.

Today however, there has been a massive exodus of sociologists from academic departments into state departments or into lucrative consultancies providing social recipes to the government and big business. The discipline has not navigated the post-apartheid terrain with quite the same confidence as it had challenged apartheid. In the process, its connectedness with organisations of civil society has been severed in favour of a dull professionalism with an instrumentalist and opportunist project. There are no longer any cutting edge debates emerging from the discipline, there is virtually a complete amnesia about race and class, and sociologists are certainly not leading in the intellectual arena.

There can be little doubt that the discipline has descended from its lofty heights and it is thus important to map the contours of its intellectual decline by emphasising the ongoing legacy of institutionalised apartheid in the sphere of higher education. This is the surest manner to enhance its chances of revival. Sociology is practised in entirely different worlds at Historically White Universities (HWUs) and at Historically Black Universities (HBUs) and this discussion hopes to chart a course towards a relevant sociology which is committed to undoing the horrors of apartheid and concerned to preserve and promote the basic precepts of the discipline. The article is divided into five

sections. It starts by outlining an abiding schism within sociology between its European origins and its African location. It goes on to elaborate on the demise of debates within the discipline. Thirdly and fourthly it briefly surveys the staff and the course content in sociology departments and finally, it proposes a way forward for the discipline to re-establish its relevance.

Sociology in Africa: whose modernity?

Like all social scientists, sociologists are subjected to many different intellectual influences, but all sociologists must have an understanding of the crucial contributions made by two Germans and a Frenchman, during the middle of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. Marx, Durkheim and Weber constitute the essential sociological canon and the origins of the discipline are therefore unmistakably European. However, just as the particular experience of Europe has been universalised by colonialism and the spread of capitalism, so has sociology been marked in very definite ways by the particularity of its origins.

If there is one strand common in sociology then it is the compulsion to uncover the hidden, to explore the underlying generative mechanisms for social behaviour, to remove the many layers of distortion and to discern the many different layers of meaning. As Peter Berger argues, '... the first wisdom of sociology is this – things are not what they seem'. For example, an outcome can be presented in a way which does not accord with reality at all. This is clearly the case in respect of South Africa's transition to democracy. It is widely perceived as a peaceful transition – as a miracle, based on the magic of Mandela. However, twenty thousand people died in politically related violence in the decade prior to the first elections based on universal franchise in 1994. The fact that the overwhelming majority of lives lost were black has something to do with the perception of a peaceful transition. Since so few whites died in the political contestation, although many perpetrated gross violations of human rights, it has become easy to erase the deaths of blacks as insignificant to the democratisation of South Africa.

Whether we like it or not and many of us do not like it, as sociologists we have to contend with the enormous popularity of various versions of postmodernism. The shift to the amorphous category of cultural studies as the disciplinary boundaries have been restructured has left sociology severely weakened, since work under the rubric of cultural studies would ordinarily have been done by sociologists. There can be little doubt that postmodernism has had a potent impact on setting the agenda for intellectual debate in the current period. South African sociology is no exception. One of the crucial historical questions of our time, informed very much by this influence, is whether or not there has been a fundamental rupture in the nature of contemporary capitalism. A number of binary opposites are proposed in a

periodisation of capitalism which suggests that there has been a movement from industrialism to post-industrialism, from Fordist mass production to post-Fordist flexible specialisation, from a production-led to a consumption-driven version of capitalism, aptly captured in Foucault's phrase, 'the stylization of existence', from class antagonism to the disappearance of the working class, from attempts to provide grand narratives which purport to offer coherent accounts of the totality of the human existence to a celebration of fragmentation and difference, to connect all of these, according to Lyotard – a movement from modernism to post-modernism.

But what does the evidence say? We live in profoundly different times, there is no doubt about that – but have things really changed so fundamentally for the vast majority? For example, revolutions in media and communications technology supposedly fuel this global flow of ideas and products. Yet this is not the full story, in South Africa, like in many parts of deep rural Africa, many people still do not have access to a radio as the hard realities of poverty and illiteracy batter down the myths of a glorious globalisation. At the same time we must take account of the uneven nature of this development – in the squalor of rural Africa, we do find Internet cafes.

Sociology tends to look for patterns and regularities, it inclines towards the general rather than the particular and it ignores the aberrant. This is the core of the sociological project but there are any number of separate research agendas and traditions. At heart, sociology is concerned with so-called grand narratives, with asking the big questions and with attempting to provide broad interpretive schemas for understanding. In this sense, there is an inherent antagonism between sociology and postmodernism, especially in so far as the latter is concerned with debunking grand narratives. The intellectual conversation with the ideas of the Enlightenment continues to inspire social theoretical debates about how best to understand the world and how to change it. In many ways these are totalising theories attempting to explain the broad sweep of history. But social theory is not confined to these only. Many sociologists are also deeply concerned with the immediate experience of individual action and their meaning for the actors – while simultaneously asking huge questions about the nature of capitalist development as a world system.

There is a sense of schizophrenia running through this discussion which I cannot avoid mentioning, difficult as it is for me. Virtually all the sociological theories, all the major concepts come from outside the continent while we are firmly rooted here and our major intellectual and political preoccupations are located in our national and continental homes. I feel this schizophrenia very deeply because I know that I am an embodiment of it. Virtually all my formal learning has been Euro-centric. At school we studied European and American history but nothing on African history. We knew more about the North than about the South. Our self-knowledge was woeful but we grasped the intricate details and finer points about insignificant episodes in European history. Our

political education was homegrown but it was informed by strategies and tactics in the struggle against apartheid rather than an overarching analysis of our society. Developing an African sociological discourse through the promotion of an African sociological community is an extremely difficult exercise against this background and in the current environment. African sociologists have applied metropolitan ideas and concepts without subjecting them to critical scrutiny and they have not, in the main, developed concepts appropriate to the study of African societies. Attempts to indigenise sociology in Africa have been inchoate, unsystematic and anecdotal. It is not surprising that these have thus far not accomplished much popular acceptance by African sociologists.

As if to remedy this schizophrenia, there is a recent resurgence in sociological interest in the writing and social theory of the Tunisian-born Muslim philosopher and historian Ibn Khaldun, who lived during the fourteenth century at least four hundred years before the growth of sociology as an independent field of inquiry. In many ways this reflects an attempt to universalise the local Arab experience of North Africa to counter the European claims of universality. There are now endless discussions on whether Khaldun was indeed the source of all systematic sociological inquiry and whether his contribution signalled the beginning of economic theory. Arnold Toynbee, the well-known English historian, thought that Khaldun's magnum opus, *Muqaddimah* – actually an introduction to his six volumes on the history of the Arabs and the Berbers – was '... the greatest work of its kind ever created by any mind in any time and place'.

While it is satisfying to provide such a singular corrective to the monopoly over social thought and theory enjoyed by the West, Khaldun does not provide the conceptual tools to deal with the many problems currently facing the African continent. In my view, this backward-looking romanticism is not the answer. To be frank, Khaldun's work is stuck in Islamic philosophical thought with very strong religious overtones. Being a medieval scholar, his cyclical view of history, no doubt the reason for Toynbee's admiration of him, is based on a description of the repetitive social and political trajectories in North Africa, with little reference to the notion of progress – one of the central features of modernity and sociology is a child of modernity.

The enlightenment roots of sociology create a seemingly inescapable disciplinary bias which measures societies broadly on a continuum between traditional and modern. When applied in this teleological manner to Africa it necessarily finds the continent lacking in the supposed essential ingredients for progress. Thus Weber's rational bureaucracy is largely absent, Marx's modernising bourgeoisie is ill-formed and Durkheim's sophisticated division of labour is missing. This teleological perspective does very little to understand Africa's current political and economic predicament in historical and global terms.

Explanations are largely missing from this sort of tick box approach to current realities.

Yet we still seek explanations and the big ideas of distribution and equality continue to arouse interest in sociology. Although there are now any number of sociologies, the discipline should still be animated by an abiding conceptual concern with the plight of the downtrodden and on various ways in which their condition might be improved. It should be remembered that the discipline has its origins in a conservative response to the revolutionary ideas of the Enlightenment. It was conservative because it questioned the boundless optimism of the Enlightenment that individuals could discover the laws of the social world through reason and that the findings of science could be utilised in pursuit of human emancipation. While the thinkers of the Enlightenment mounted a frontal attack on the irrational aspects of tradition as a fetter on the freedom of individuals in communities, sociologists were concerned with the role of customs, norms and values in the maintenance of social order. Sociology thus encapsulates the debate between the infinite possibilities of individual human agency and the structural constraints which envelop that agency. Karl Marx's famous lines from *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* serve as a constant and graphic reminder of this dialectic, 'Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living'.

In disciplinary terms, this is known as the sociological perspective or the sociological imagination, the particular manner in which we understand human behaviour in a social context in order to make sense of what would otherwise be a rather chaotic world. The structure and agency divide permeates virtually all sociological work. By this we mean the dialectical relation between the manner in which individuals both shape the world they live in and are shaped by it. The intentions and motivations which drive people to engage in particular forms of social action and the very many constraints and parameters which together determine the outcome of these actions lie at the heart of the sociological perspective and the sociological imagination.

The intellectual schizophrenia of South African sociology finds expression in a range of different contexts. It is clearly evident in the division between HBUs and HWUs. It can also be noticed in our course offerings and how we as a sociology community avoid teaching courses on African societies north of the Limpopo and how we evade engaging with African social thinkers. It is also readily perceived in our intellectual output. Our journal articles and books rarely involve cooperation with African scholars north of the Limpopo. This schizophrenia is also present in an emerging racial polarisation of South African sociologists between whites hankering after recognition in North America and Europe (and perhaps Australia) on the one hand and black sociol-

ogists (certainly those at HBUs) with a keen interest in establishing contacts with other African scholars.

Debates in Sociology

The historiography of South African social science is premised on a number of critical debates. Sociology eclipsed History via a materialist broadside in the late 1960s and early 1970s only to be surpassed first by the riposte of the social historians in the 1980s and then by the market and the exigencies of the new democratic state in the 1990s. Since there is now a generalised amnesia around the crucial debates on race and class upon which the earlier materialist broadside was grounded, sociology in South Africa has shrunk into a crouching shadow of its former self. The confidence and optimism in the possibilities of the discipline to explain our complex reality have given way to an enduring pessimism and the instrumentalism of preparing students for jobs in industry. As some sociologists scurried about trying to make their discipline more marketable, they effectively presided over its demise as a functioning area of study at their universities.

There is clearly a generational aspect to this change. The sociological generations of the 1960s up to the 1980s were preoccupied with ways in which the battle against apartheid should be waged. Different viewpoints of the struggle often represented different theoretical choices and ideological predispositions. The linkage between some sociologists and the struggle against apartheid was often very direct. One of the unintended consequences of apartheid in South Africa was that it gave people a sense of real control over their own lives in the battle against racism and oppression. Social scientists played a crucial role in this struggle. In the labour movement and in student politics, the theories we taught in the classroom were used to propagate the struggle against apartheid. Some sociologist immersed themselves totally in the struggle without any notion of the differentiation between their roles as activists and as scholars. Others remained tied to the apartheid structures acting as its organic intellectuals or active spies. Still others preferred to remained aloof from the hurly burly of politics and the messiness of the real world. They could not avoid it though. The Durban strikes of the early 1970s and the student revolt of the mid-1970s had a profound impact upon the lives of all South Africans. Almost simultaneously there was a major historiographical change in the country as the liberal tradition gave way to a materialist broadside. The history of South Africa was being rewritten just as it was being made. It is not easy to chart the lines of causation, but the timing of these changes suggests a link rather than a coincidence. Sociologists reflected the transformation unfolding in South Africa and contributed as apologists or activists, to the nature of the process and its ongoing outcome.

There was a relevance to the work of Sociology and our classes were bursting at the seams since students thought that we could offer them explanations for the contemporary situation as well an understanding of their own individual places within society. But where is the discipline today? Ari Sitas (1997: 16), writing about the 'Waning of Sociology' in *Society in Transition* is very frank about this: 'Since 1990 and especially over the last two years sociology's prowess has waned'. Since the discipline has so effectively severed its links with civil society, there are no longer any cutting edge debates emerging from its ranks. Ideas about the future trajectory of our society are now private affairs, discussed in sociology staff tearooms, but not articulated in any systematic debate or ongoing discourse about the problems confronting the country. The discipline has splintered into a myriad of different atomised opinions and unconnected perspectives.

Institutional matters

The challenge for South African sociologists is how to reestablish and institutionalise the legitimacy of the discipline while retaining the crucial links to a strong civil society and especially the burgeoning social movements in the post-1994 period. Currently, the critical edge of scholarship connected to the struggle against apartheid has given way to the exigencies of government-defined national priorities. The effect has been quite devastating on the discipline and this is reflected in a variety of different ways, not least, the parlous state of its organisation.

The South African Sociological Association (SASA) is a product of a merger in 1993 between the pro-apartheid and formerly whites-only Suid Afrikaanse Sosiologiese Vereniging (SASOV) and the anti-apartheid Association for Sociologists in South Africa (ASSA). Today, its membership is below that of either of its former constituent parts. Now that it is neither a professional stiff collar organisation, nor glad neck appendage to the democratic struggle, it has lost a clearly identifiable core. In this regard hybridity has certainly not produced the desired effects. In fact, the lack of identity in the new organisation has had the effect of instilling a dullness into the organisation and there is very little commitment by the broad sociology community to see to it that the Association survives, let alone prospers under the new circumstances. There can be little doubt that the intellectual lowpoint for SASA, coincided with the Dasrath Chetty as president. This is represented in one major area. The convention in SASA was for the president to deliver an address on the current state of the discipline at the annual congress. Chetty scuppered this tradition and presented a business plan for the organisation as his address. Most recently Jimi Adesina, the well-known Nigerian sociologist, has taken over the presidency of SASA. He has brought a refreshing level of energy and commitment to the organisation and there are real signs of revival.

The two journals of these respective organisations, the *South African Journal of Sociology* and the *South African Sociological Review*, were replaced in 1996 by a new journal of the association, *Society in Transition,* which '...was initially not accredited' (Webster et al., 1996: 6). It appeared irregularly and often with multiple numbers in a single volume. The *South African Sociological Review* has been incorporated into the *African Sociological Review* published and supported by CODESRIA (Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa) with headquarters in Dakar, Senegal but edited and printed in South Africa. Although still firmly rooted in South Africa with many of its articles drawn from here, the ASR is a serious attempt to shift the focus of social science research beyond local borders and to offer an alternative site for publication.

There have been attempts to reverse this deterioration and decline. But the direction of these efforts has been towards greater institutionalisation and professionalisation. For example, SASA spent an inordinate amount of time in setting up a Standards Generating Body (SGB) for the discipline in line with the prescriptions of the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) and the National Qualifications Framework (NQF). The idea was that there would be national unit standards as little parcels of knowledge with very specific outcomes, usually tied to the demands of the marketplace. Thankfully, this idea has been jettisoned in favour of the flexibility of registering entire degrees as qualifications around which programmes can be devised. This has effectively eliminated the necessity for individual disciplinary based SGBs. The whole exercise would have had the effect of bureaucratising the academic world and of stifling the independence of academics.

Sociology Staff

Just like all other aspects of South African society, the discipline of Sociology was deeply racialised. Located in separate, but extremely unequal institutions, sociology is still practised in entirely different worlds at historically black and historically white universities. The results of this inequality remain with us today as the troubles in South African society are reflected in South African sociology. The huge chasm which exists between practising sociology at historically white and historically black universities mirrors the persistence of black poverty and the deep inequality in the society. It is an inequality which the demise of apartheid has done little to alter. In fact, the differentiation of the university system has been entrenched rather than undermined by a haphazard process of mergers, incorporations and take-overs.

A cursory examination of the web-sites of sociology departments reveals just how little tertiary education has changed since 1994. Besides the Universities of the Western Cape and Venda, none of the other historically black universities have web-sites with useful information on their sociology depart-

ments. This in itself is a telling reminder of the gap between HBUs and HWUs. The polarisation is acute and it is manifest in the concentration of black sociologists in the HBUs.

What can sociology do within the context of a divided university system where the level of intellectual discourse in the main remains dull (despite some welcome flashes of inspiration) and where the intellectual community remains fractured along race lines? A critical moment in the transformation of universities and sociology departments in particular will be when there is a black majority of staff members. In terms of permanent staff this has not happened at any of the historically white universities, although some have performed better than others in the promotion of equity.

The euphoria around the fad of programme-based education since 1994 has had a deleterious effect on the discipline nationally, both in terms of the administrative structure of departments as well as the demographics and intellectual output of sociologists. Some departments have ceased to exist as functioning entities. For example, the University of Port Elizabeth no longer has a sociology department because the power-brokers at the university took the jargon of outcomes-based education far too seriously and ended up by splitting up the department into a myriad of different programmes. The impact was severe at the staff level as the former head of department of sociology has effectively been demoted to being the head of a programme with two staff members.

Course content

There are some patterns in the course offerings, but in the main, the full range of sociologies is evident. Besides the obvious introductory courses at the first year level, most departments offer courses in social theory at the second year level. UCT has theory at the second year, but not at the third. Virtually all departments teach research methods in some or other form. The postgraduate offerings reflect a very wide variety, but in the main industrial sociology emerges as the major strength of South African sociology. There is an interesting mix of traditional areas (such as deviant behaviour at the former RAU – now the University of Johannesburg after its merger with the Wits Technikon – political sociology at Stellenbosch, social problems at UNISA) with more recent trans-disciplinary courses such as globalisation at the University of Johannesburg and gender studies at Pretoria. Stellenbosch University and the University of the Western Cape have joint anthropology and sociology departments but joining these has not resulted in a collapse of the disciplinary apartheid between them as the anthropology and sociology offerings remain quite distinct.

An interesting change in the sociology department at Rhodes University is the dramatic shift in student interest from industrial sociology to general sociology. The student enrolment in general sociology has overtaken that of industrial over the last three years. For as long as industrial sociology had been

offered at Rhodes it was always the more popular course as students perceived it to be more vocational – providing them with a marketable skill. This has now changed dramatically in favour of general sociology.

How does one practise the craft of sociology under such enormous disciplinary diversity, in the context of such very different research agendas and priorities and within such a grossly unequal university sector? If we follow Bourdieu that sociology is a discipline that causes trouble or an undisciplined discipline then we need to ask just how we can disturb the current malaise in order to deal with the lack of intellectual moorings in sociology.

It seems obvious that African sociologists need to use the continent as a source of theory and not only for data collection to prove or disprove inappropriate models and hypotheses derived from the West. However, there are powerful forces which mitigate against the emergence of such an African conceptual corpus. For example in South Africa we do not really have a sociology textbook which deals exclusively with our concerns. There was an abortive attempt to apply David Popenoe's well-known introductory text to Africa in the most crude and mechanistic fashion, deservedly criticised by Margo Russell (1998: 74) as '... a flawed text by any standards'. More recently, Oxford University Press has tried to capitalise on the obvious market by producing little booklets dealing with specific issues in South African sociology. The first of these, *What is Sociology* by Johann Graaff was similarly attacked by Lionel Thaver (2002: 158):

> (T)here is a studious avoidance of dealing with South African realities warts and all. In other words in the entire text all sixty eight pages of it there is not a single mention of apartheid. This is a South African sociologist producing a text of sociology published in South Africa, yet with the exception of migrant labour there are no empirical references whatsoever to South Africa, Southern Africa or Africa.

There remains a desperate need for a South African sociology textbook informed by local concerns but not in a narrow parochial manner. It seems clear to me that a re-orientation of South African scholars towards the rest of the African continent is absolutely vital in respect of how we position ourselves in the world. Yet, courses on Africa are conspicuous by their absence in our sociology curricula and so are African social thinkers.

Towards a relevant sociology

The South African Sociological Association is making a valiant attempt to survive but I think it is fair to say that the discipline in South Africa is in crisis (while it is thriving internationally). The debates at our conferences are sterile with very little engagement with the public discourses that incite such heated controversies. The recent conference in Durban was a case in point. It was supposed to be a thirty-year anniversary of the Durban strikes of 1973, that crucial moment in South African labour history in which a number of sociolo-

gists were directly involved. But it turned out to be a great disappointment indeed. There were no representatives from civil society at all at the conference, there was no engagement with the many local struggles for which Durban has become particularly well-known since 1994. The conference symbolised the organisation's estrangement from its roots of the 1970s. Instead, there was a genuflection towards the sociology of the North as we clamoured for an illusive international recognition. The keynote speaker at the conference was none other than Michael Burawoy, then president-designate of the American Socio-logical Association. His lecture did not bother to address the theme of our conference, which conventionally is the task of the keynote – to prepare the ground for the debates that follow in the rest of the conference. After making some platitudinous remarks about South African sociology, he went on to talk about public sociology in the United States of America.

While we have separated ourselves from civil society and the enormous creativity invariably involved in the process of struggle, we have settled instead for a dull professionalism which hankers after misplaced allegiances with the North. It seems as if there is a growing schism in South African sociology between black sociologists reaching out to the rest of the continent and white sociologists trying their level best to cultivate contacts with scholars in Europe, North America and Australia. While black sociologist are committed to a Pan-African ideal, this is rarely the case for white sociologists. It is a racial polarisation which mirrors the persistent divides in our society.

If sociology is to be true to its craft then it has a very definite role to play in the lives of ordinary people. We need to ask what sociology can do and indeed what it must do about the critical development challenges facing South Africa and Africa as whole. It is easy to draw up a wish list. The difficulty lies in ensuring that there is a realistic chance of realising at least some of the expecta-tions and charting a role for sociology in this process. I think we should be quite clear that sociology has a role to play in making the world a better place. Our relevance as a discipline depends not only on our ability to rationally interpret the world but also on the extent to which we may have an impact on the processes of eliminating poverty, disease and ignorance as well as on how much we can contribute to the difficult transition from subjection to citizenship in South Africa and further afield. This is the social landscape which confronts us and it is both professionally and morally incumbent on us to assist in reshaping it. Hence, we have a dual role and a double responsibility. We are charged with the task of describing and explaining the nature of the social problems in our world. This in itself is a form of agency. But our roles should not end there. Both the instrumentalist notion, that social scientists should be tied to the apron strings of the government and serve the national interest as defined by ideologues, as well as those who prefer an extreme position of intel-lectual autonomy, are limited. The former because there would be no possi-bility for developing independent knowledge and the latter for a lack of

engagement and relevance. When sociologists forsake their critical edge in support of particular political regimes they lose their ability to develop socio-logical knowledge.

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João Baptista Lukombo Nzatuzola

The State of Sociology in Angola

1.   Colonial evolution

Sociology as a discipline began to be taught at universities in Portugal after 1974 with the end of Salazar's fascist system. Meanwhile in the former colonies, the situation was no better. In contrast with the former French and English colonies, the transfer of power had been discussed with national liberation organisations, specifically PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau, FRELIMO in Mozambique, and in the Angola with the three liberation movements, namely MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA. The Angolan process was more complicated and complex than in the other territories. However, in each, the one-party system was the government system. Angola and Mozambique were severely affected by internal conflicts with negative social and economic consequences.

During the colonial era the Junta de Investigações do Ultramar as well the Instituto de Investigações Científicas de Angola published a number of studies and monographs in social science, but more ethnological and anthropological than sociological, and at times for colonial purposes. Some names could be cited like Mesquitela Lima, José Redinha, Ilídio de Amaral, Carlos Extemann, and Ramiro Ladeiro Monteiro. Graduate studies allowed the teaching of some social science courses, particularly in the Letters and Arts Faculty in Lubango, and the Faculty of Economy and Law in Luanda.

2.   The post-independence situation

After the independence in November 1975 the situation did not really improve. The school of the Party promoted social science studies, which were in fact mainly influenced by Marxist-Leninist ideology.

In beginning of 1980 the Arts and Letters Faculty in Lubango has been transformed into ISCED, the High Institute for Educational Sciences, with a similar institution in Luanda in 1988. But no sociology degrees were awarded, although at least some classes and lessons were given and included as modules in programmes. Meanwhile the Culture Secretary of State promoted initiatives in the social sciences, for example, the national laboratory of anthropology devoted archaeological research to the Angolan Iron Age societies, but with close ties to the National Anthropology Museum. The National Centre of Documentation and Historical Investigation (CNDIH), afterwards transformed into the National Historical Archive, alongside historical documentation, conservation and management, carried out some research of interest in social science.

It is important to point out that during this period various papers and texts of interest to social science and sociology in particular were presented; for example, during the first national culture symposium held in Luanda from 1 to 6 October 1984, and also the colloquium on the cultural dimension of development from 10-16 September 1989.

In 1991 an 'Angola Working Group' was created in conjunction with CODESRIA; and issued three publications from 1991 to 1992. Thereafter the initiative seems to have lapsed, perhaps due to the difficult post-war interval.

In 1993, the AASA – an acronym in Portuguese for the Angolan Association of Sociologists and Anthropologists – was established with the aim of promoting scientific and cultural initiatives in social science, as well as publishing a review *Ngola*, of which only one issue saw the light of day.

In September 20003, SAS the Angolan Society of Sociology (SAS), with almost the same aims as AASA but without anthropologists, was established, composed of sociologists as well other social scientists with sociological interests.

According to Fernando Pacheco, in an analysis in 1991 on scientific investigation in Angola, the post-independence situation was conditioned by three determinant factors:

(i)   The exodus of Portuguese scientific personnel, who had abandoned Angola during the period that antedated independence and were never replaced, either in quality or in quantity.

(ii) The general lack of resources allocated to an activity that had not been seen as a priority in a country almost destroyed by war.

(iii) The lack of adequate research into national politics and society.

2.1. Main Features of Sociology during the First Republic

After independence sociology was basically excluded from institutions of knowledge. Rather the emphasis was on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. The ideology failed to gain significant followers or political leaders, and did not contribute to the development of Angola. Thus personnel in sociology taught historical materialism, with a monopoly in social science basically of Marxism-Leninism ideology. This was an imported intellectual influence; and was rather seen as a philosophy for Angolan society.

There was a lack of scientific research partly due to the influence of historical materialism. Thus social science did not succeed in deepening knowledge and culture studies in Angola. Many staff were from fields other than true social science. Indeed there were some studies arising out of individual initiatives, but they were not always seen as in the interest of the party's rule and views.

There were however a number of social, artistic and literary works during the First Republic with a marked sensitivity to the social dimension of literature, with the priority objective of establishing an authentic Angolan literature.

Among a wide variety of works in literature from Angolan writers one can refer to texts with social context that merit a sociological reading: like *Sagrada Esperança* (Sacred Hope) written by Agostinho Neto the former Angolan president, *Dizanga dia Muenhu* by Boaventura Cardoso; *Os discursos do Mestre Tamoda*, by Uanyenga Xitu; *Quem me dera ser Onda* by Manuel Rui; and *Maiombe* by Pepetela (Luiz J. Manuel da Costa; *NGOLA; revista de estudos sociais* janeiro-dezembro 1997, vol. 1, no. 1).

3. National identity and sociology

Rather than being seen as a rationalising political ideology or a programme to guide it, nationalism is a cultural, social and historical phenomenon. The liberation movement as the negation by negation, can only be authentic when a basis has arisen for a proper identity, and community differentiation. The trend that we could call nationalist or revolutionary is a requirement that depends on solidarity with the collective or community identity. The Angolan national identity is related to its colonial experience, colonialism, the post-colonial and the experience since independence.

4. Scientific knowledge priorities and scientific investigation

Perhaps given its function to consolidate national independence around modern values and through Marxism-Leninism, the University Agostinho Neto as a scientific knowledge institution has given priority to courses and disciplines related to Sciences, Medicine, Law, Economy, and Engineering. As is clear, the concern of the one-party rule in the First Republic was to produce lawyers, economists, engineers. There was little space for social sciences such as sociology, anthropology, and political science. Social science was basically confined to the Party's school close to the ruling MPLA where Marxism-Leninism was taught by foreigners – teachers mainly from the former socialist Eastern bloc, Russia and Cuba.

During this period sociology was almost an unknown science. Sociologists with few exceptions were not engaged in sociology, but were rather involved in technical duties in administrative institutions as well as the private or informal sector. They were very restricted, working in professional isolation and mutually anonymous.

5. From 1992 with the Second Republic: what position for sociology?

The new Angolan constitution, providing for democratic multi-party government after 1991, marked a major change for Angolan academics. There developed institutions with space for scientific research and teaching as well professional promotion. At ISCED a sociology option was introduced, although with an educational training content.

As already mentioned, there was the formation of professional sociology association, the SAS, in September 2003. In the same year, a Letters and Social Sciences Faculty, with degrees in sociology, was established.

Conclusion

Most research activity at institutions in the post-war period was characterised by the absence of clear rules and by planned political material. In general, there has been an attempt to preserve the existing inheritance, threatened by the consequences of the conflict, and also by the limited horizons of political leaders. In some cases, a few studies were carried out and edited, but some were not published since they did not conform to the party's rule and development priorities. The government in general and specific Ministries do not prioritise social scientific research and study in their political strategies and budgets.

The result of this situation has been difficulties, even failures and a lack of trust, when launching development projects, or devising crucial policy decisions. There are some individual initiatives inside the country as well as abroad, but they are not usually taken into account due to lack of government interest or other political considerations. Our scientific culture, even with the one public university and few private institutions, is too limited and particularly concentrated in Luanda. Many social scientists are unwillingly forced to worry about finding solutions to their daily problems and lack of resources; and do not have enough time to devote to research. The clientelism of the ruling party and traffic in influence suffocate individual initiative and stultify any personal creativity among social scientists, who are seen as not politically reliable. There is a gap between the intention to promote sociology, even in the Science and Technology ministry, and the concrete actions that eventuate. In general, surveys, case studies and so on are often funded by institutions of the United Nations and by international NGOs. Few studies are generated from the national authorities, although mention can be made of some initiatives from INE, the national institute of statistics related to the Planning Ministry. The kind of documents issued by Ministries are in general annual reports, or compilations of statistics, at times lacking rigour in questioning, criticism and reliable data production.

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Richard Pithouse

The Promised Land and the University of Abahlali baseMjondolo[1]

> *the inception of a politics – of its statements, prescriptions, judgements and practices – is always located in the absolute singularity of an event* – Alain Badiou.[2]

Capital is thrusting us into a world in which an increasingly massive portion of humanity lives in Third World slums, in what in South Africa are called *emijondolo* (shack settlements). Mike Davis' seminal *New Left Review* article 'Planet of Slums'[3] has recently confronted the left literati with the material and political magnitude of this fact.

The global 2001 numbers are staggering – 921 million slum dwellers, 100 million street children, two million children lost to diarrhoea a year and the fact that Lagos 'is simply the biggest node in the shanty-town corridor of 70 million people that stretches from Abidjan to Ibadan'. Many will know Chris Abani's beautiful and searing novel *Graceland*[4] which develops a profound account of just one life made on the wrong side of the razor wire in Lagos. The scale of suffering is incomprehensible. Davis gets a lot of important things right. He is clear that structural adjustment is a key factor in the recent explosive growth of squatter settlements; that residential and office theme-parks are the antipodes to the slum; that valorisation of the 'informal sector' is perverse as 'the real macroeconomic trend of informal labour ... is the reproduction of absolute poverty':[5] that the urban poor 'are everywhere forced to settle on hazardous and otherwise unbuildable terrains – over-steep hill slopes, river banks and flood plains. Likewise they squat in the deadly shadows of refineries, chemical factories, toxic dumps, or in the margins of railroads and highways';[6] and that 'chronic diarrhoeal diseases' are the most immediate threat to the lives of millions of people. 'The UN', he tells us, 'considers that two out of five African slum-dwellers live in a poverty that is literally "life-threatening"'.[7] Davis opines that 'for the moment at least, Marx has yielded the historical stage to Mohammed and the Holy Ghost', and 'with the Left still largely missing from the slum, the eschatology of Pentecostalism admirably refuses the inhuman destiny of the inhuman city' and 'sanctifies those who, in every structural and existential sense, truly live in exile'.[8]

The left has been quick to acknowledge that the ravages of capital have created the slum and to try to use this to strengthen its case. But seeing the slum, and its billion inhabitants, as a potential site of struggle, and especially as a site of struggle in-itself and for-itself rather than a struggle that can be tacked on behind some elite-driven left project to swell the numbers is another thing.

The left is generally failing to develop thinking about viable routes towards meaningful confrontations with domination. The situation is such that most 'left' intellectuals are working for domination. This most commonly takes the forms of occupying a niche market in the business of mopping up scattered resistances and turning them into 'civil society' or seeking to mask their singularity, which is the original source of their power, via symbolic subjection to theoretical abstractions. When real resistance, the material and intellectual constitution of sites and streams of counter-power, is contemplated it is often deeply compromised by two long standing problems around the question of agency. The first is a vertical elitism that expresses itself in a basic contempt for the intelligence of the dominated. The second is a horizontal elitism that expresses itself in contempt for intellectual work undertaken outside of the European and North American intellectual milieu. At times these prejudices, often with others in the mix, take the form of basic contempt for the thinking in the struggles of the most destitute – the Third World poor. This failure is fundamental to the weakness of the left. After all, as C. L. R. James, told us a long time ago, 'It is force that counts, and chiefly the organised force of the masses ... It is what they think that matters'.[9] But in the mid 1990s the Zapatista uprising in rural Mexico and, later, the Brazilian Landless Movement the MST, inspired some left intellectuals to ground their theorising in the struggles of Third World peasants. However this significant step forward still left out a huge part of the global underclass – the almost one billion people in the shack settlements in Third World cities.

Perhaps the central weakness of Davis's paper is that it is written as though the left is entirely missing from the academy, as though academics are all politically neutral scientists. Indeed he draws almost exclusively, and without any reflection on this, on colonial (anthropology) and neo-colonial (World Bank and UN studies) modes of 'knowing' the slum that are uniformly objectifying. To say, as he does, that the 'malevolent consequences'[10] of structural adjustment programmes are a primary cause of slums and then to write respectfully about World Bank researcher Branko Milanvoic in the mode of collegiality is perverse.

Slavoj Zizek never succumbs to the self-objectification of the mask of the scientist and would, one feels happily confident, treat Milanvoic very differently. Moreover Zizek has no interest in anthropological modes of knowing. In the *London Review of Books* Zizek argues that the explosive growth of the slum 'is perhaps the crucial geopolitical event of our times'. He writes that what we have is:

> The rapid growth of a population outside the law, in terrible need of minimal forms of self organisation ... One should resist the easy temptation to elevate and idealise slum-dwellers into a new revolutionary class. It is nonetheless surprising how far they confirm to the old Marxist definition of the proletarian revolutionary subject: they are 'free' in the double meaning of the word, even more than the classical proletariat ('free' from all substantial

ties; dwelling in a fee space, outside the regulation of the state); they are a large collective, forcibly thrown into a situation where they have to invent some mode of being-together, and simultaneously deprived of support for their traditional ways of life ... The new forms of social awareness that emerge from slum collectives will be the germ of the future.[11]

Zizek's mere acknowledgement that the social awareness that emerges from Third World slums will shape the future of humanity is considered a radical innovation. But a generation ago a far more radical idea was posed. In *The Wretched of the Earth* Frantz Fanon described the shanty town as the 'gangrene' of colonialism. But Fanon does not advocate that left intellectuals observe the Third World Poor from the metropole. Neither Davis's objectification of slum dwellers nor Zizek's passive recognition that the social awareness of slum dwellers will shape our world come close to the radicalism of Fanon's position. Fanon orientates his philosophy towards popular struggle rather than ideologies (that carry theories about ordinary people) and demands that his readers give up the opportunities for parasitic enrichment that come the way of the national bourgeoisie and, instead, become transformative agents in the 'zone of occult instability'[12] that is created when radical intellectuals join the people in 'that fluctuating movement which they are just giving a shape to, and which, as soon as it has started, will be the signal for everything to be called into question'.[13]

As Nigel Gibson explains, Fanon refuses to restrict politics to the elite activities of parties, leaders, soldiers, technocrats and so on and instead seeks to generate opportunities for the subaltern to become

> [A] protagonist not only entering history but becoming its author. Everyone could participate in the reconstruction and invention of the nation creating a social collective, where truth becomes subjectivity and subjectivity acquires a dimension of objectivity ... Fanon saw it as the 'practice of freedom' taking place in 'the structure of the people'.[14]

Fanon's philosophy is predicated on the assumption, directly stated by Gramsci, that 'All men are intellectuals'.[15] Fanon's commitment to popular intellectuality is not some kind of post-modern fetish of plurality. On the contrary Fanon proposes a prescriptive politics. Prescriptive not in the sense of rendering obedience to some vanguard or theory but, rather, in the sense of a serious confrontation with reality – especially in the form of reflection on the experience of struggle. Hence part of the intellectual work that needs to be done in communities of resistance is to produce new truths via reflection on experience. And so Fanon declares that 'As a man, I undertake to face the possibility of annihilation in order that two or three truths may cast their eternal brilliance over the world'.[16]

These two or three truths are not the numbered steps in Wittgenstein's logic or Descartes's clear and distinct deductions. And this investment in the possibility of truth is certainly not a desire to subordinate praxis to the dogmatic abstractions of the 'Bureaucrats of the revolution and civil servants of truth' against whom Foucault rails.[17] For Fanon, as with Gramsci, and, later, Badiou,

the potential for the generation of eternal and brilliant truths lies in action[18] – hence the price of their possible generation is neither solitary hours at a desk nor instruction as an initiate of some intellectual or political cult, but, rather, the risk of annihilation. This is not, at all, the authoritarianism that comes with every proposal that a group of intellectuals, a party or some other vanguard legislate for a movement. On the contrary, Gibson stresses that for Fanon it is 'the essence of the fight which explodes the old colonial truths and reveals unexpected facets, which brings out new meanings and pinpoints the contradictions camouflaged by the facts'.[19] The fight is where 'Liberatory ideology ... is constructed in a social relationship between the militant intellectual and the mass movement'.[20]

Badiou argues that: 'We must conceive of a truth both as the construction of a fidelity to an event, and as the generic potency of a transformation of a domain of knowledge'.[21] The idea of truth as consequent to event is essential to Badiou's thinking – 'For the process of a truth to begin, something must happen ... beyond what is. I call it an event'.[22] Like Fanon,[23] Badiou, speaks, in his case via Heidegger, of the impact of a truth as a mutation. 'The mutation occurs through the interpenetration of spirit as intellect, the latter being understood as the simple faculty to reason correctly in theoretical and practical considerations'.[24] For Badiou, 'the materialist dialectic ... (is) ... centred on the exception that truths inflict on what there is'.[25] Philosophy that assumes philosophical discourse as its object can achieve resolution and can be a solitary pursuit. But, as Pierre Hadot explains, 'there is an abyss between philosophical theory and philosophizing as living action'. The ancient conception of philosophy as a way of life, in which the project 'is to transform ourselves' meant that 'philosophizing was a continuous act, permanent and identical with itself that had to be renewed at each instance'.[26] The radical tradition running from Marx to Fanon and on to Badiou and Holloway seeks to take philosophy as continuous living action into the political realm. But while the radical tradition fights to realise philosophy in the world it does not work to subordinate the individual or the local to any authority sanctioned in the name of truth.

Truths are events that no longer allow us, in good faith, to see as we previously saw and to be as we previously were. So, for example, after the Haitian revolution, or after the Soweto uprising, or after Biko hit back, a new truth – ethical, epistemological and strategic – became present in the world. Fidelity to the truths that emerge in struggle renders dialectical engagement a mode of praxis, action and reflection within struggle, rather than just a mode of analysis. In the words of Marx:

> Nothing prevents us ... from starting our criticism with criticism of politics, with taking sides in politics, hence with actual struggles, and identifying ourselves with them. Then we do not face the world in doctrinaire fashion with a new principle, declaring, 'Here is the

truth, kneel here!' We develop new principles for the world out of the principles of the world.[27]

It might seem that the slum in a city like Durban striving to be 'World Class' (and that doesn't mean Lagos or Bombay ... it means theme-parks, casinos and, above all, making the rich the richer and more isolated from the ordinary life of ordinary people) is a good place from which to think about rupture. But it is not clear what neo-liberalism as a general theory and practice makes of the slum. Is it seen as an unexplored market for low cost high volume retail; a camp where surplus people are kept at the level of bare life; a prison where dangerous people are contained and forced to labour without real pay; or is it, as Zizek wonders, a threatening insurgence of subaltern autonomy? Silvia Federici shows that enclosure and the rise of capitalism in Europe produced 'the ciminalization of the working class, that is the formation of a vast proletariat either incarcerated in the newly constructed work-houses and correction-houses, or seeking its survival outside the law and living in open antagonism to the state'.[28] There is no *a priori* reason why the contemporary urban slum can't be, and be seen to be, both a site of containment (for exploitation and control) and resistance simultaneously.

In South Africa the fact that official discourse terms it the 'informal settlement' indicates some residue of an enthusiasm to make ideological claims along the lines of Hernando de Soto's view that squatters are potential entrepreneurs who just need property rights to be able to explode into action in the 'informal economy'. This was the view of the Urban Foundation, an NGO set up by big capital in the 1980s to encourage a market-led approach to development in the coming post-apartheid society. The Foundation argued that given rights to stay in urban areas squatters could slowly turn their shacks into houses and built the now dilapidated hall in Kennedy Road.[29]

In principle it seems that neo-liberalism's most common line is to use rhetoric about entrepreneurship to legitimate a position that, in practice, takes the position that the slum is a camp for surplus people. But the market never manages to escape the reality of society. In practice the rarefied logic of capital has to contest with the embodied fear and power of ordinarily rich people. And it is clear that the rich generally have profound anxieties about the insurgence and sustained presence of autonomous communities of poor people within cities. These anxieties are well able to become a material economic fact. So the rural slum, and even the hidden city slum, is mostly tolerable but the city slum visible in the heart of the bourgeois world is a disease to be rooted out.[30] And so from Nairobi to Durban 'slum clearance' has returned to policy documents. 'Slum clearance' generally means removing people from autonomous urban slums to state built rural ghettos. Slum dwellers often resist this fiercely because being close to the city means being close to opportunities for livelihood.

The Durban Municipality estimates that over 800,000 of the city's three million inhabitants live in 'informal settlements'. The City's policy is that all attempts at creating new settlements are considered as illegal land invasions. People erecting new shacks risk criminal charges and the city aims to demolish all new shacks. Indeed two days after the march of over 5,000 *The Mercury*, under a heading reading 'NOT ENOUGH STAFF TO CLEAR SLUMS – Land invasion crisis gets worse', reported that Harvey Mzimela, head of the City Police's Land Invasion Unit had complained that it lacked sufficient staff to carry out its work which 'involved preventing the erection of illegal structures on council property. This sometimes entailed the breaking down of ... shacks, which has resulted in shooting and stoning instances'.[31] The police that do this work, are equipped and conduct themselves like soldiers and are popularly known as *amaSosha* (soldiers). Nevertheless many settlements are growing.

But it is not only new settlements that are subject to armed attack. The City also seeks to prevent people living in established settlements from extending their shacks or developing them into more formal structures. The City threatens to, and quite often does, demolish shacks that are extended or developed. Officials argue that this is necessary because while some settlements will be upgraded more than 70 will be subject to 'slum clearance' and 'relocation'.[32] The City says that is has already relocated 7,000 families and aims to build 400 houses a month to be able to continue with relocation. This policy is generally celebrated as progressive and exemplary in elite publics but this celebratory response misses two key continuities with apartheid.

The first is that there is a clear attempt to regulate the flow of poor African people into the city. In practice there is not an absolute barrier because new shacks are erected and because people who find work or develop livelihoods from a first base in a shack often move out of their shacks and rent them to new arrivals. But the policy intention is clearly to restrict the influx of poor people moving into the city from rural areas. Opportunities to find work or develop livelihoods, not to mention access to decent education, health care and so on, are often extremely limited in rural areas and any policy that seeks to keep the most marginalised locked into an impoverished social space must be considered as oppressive.

Secondly while houses are being built in the areas to which people are relocated they are being built, in the manner of colonial and apartheid era townships, away from the city. In his reflections on the colonial city Fanon famously observed that 'The colonial world is a world divided into compartments'.[33] For Fanon the two compartments are materially and symbolically separate zones. So the native quarter is not only physically separate from the European quarter but the two zones are imagined to contain different types of people – one clean, safe and rational and the other dirty, dangerous and irrational. 'The cause', he says, 'is the consequence; you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich'.[34] And so:

The zone where the natives live is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers. The two zones are opposed, but not in the service of a higher unity. Obedient to the rules of pure Aristotelian logic, they both follow the principle of reciprocal exclusivity. No conciliation is possible, for of the two terms, one is superfluous. The settler's town is a strongly built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly-lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage-cans swallow all the leavings, unseen, unknown and hardly thought about ... The settler's town is a well-fed town, an easy going town; its belly is full of good things. The settler's town is a town of white people, of foreigners.

The town belonging to the colonised people, or at least the native town, the Negro village, the medina, the reservation, is a place of ill fame, peopled by men of evil repute. They are born there, it matters little where or how; they die there, it matters not where, nor how. It is a world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other, and their huts are built one on top of each other. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire.[35]

Fanon adds that 'The colonial world is a Manichean world'; 'The first thing which the native learns is to stay in his place' and that

It is not enough for the settler to delimit physically, that is to say with the help of the army and the police force, the place of the natives. As if to show the totalitarian character of colonial exploitation the settler paints the native as a sort of quintessence of evil ... He is the corrosive element, destroying all that comes near him; he is the deforming element disfiguring all that has to do with beauty or morality; he is the depository of maleficent powers, the unconscious are irretrievable instrument of blind forces.[36]

He concludes that 'To break up the colonial world does not mean that ... lines of communication will be set up between the two zones. The destruction of the colonial world is no more and no less than the abolition of one zone'.[37] For Fanon 'the colonial world, its ordering and its geographic lay-out will allow us to mark out the lines on which a decolonized society will be reorganized'.[38] The colonial era will be over when there are no longer two zones inhabited by 'different species of men' in one city. The material and symbolic Manicheanism must be undone.

To adequately understand what is at stake in Durban we need some understanding of how the 'informal' settlement fits into the historical trajectory of the city. The colonial and then apartheid city had been conceived as a modern space and as a white space (and modernity and whiteness were conflated)[39] in which Africans had to be carefully contained in limited and high regulated spaces allowed to exist only in the service of white interests. Africans had to be removed and barred from any autonomous or potentially autonomous spaces in the city. But in the 1980s the apartheid state, occupying Namibia, at war with the Cubans and the MPLA in Angola and putting down bitter township rebellions across the county, lost the capacity to completely regulate the movement of Africans. Where possible white suburbs were protected but people were able to flood into the cities, seize land in defiance of the state and found communities autonomous of the state. But now the state again has the resources, including,

crucially, the symbolic resources, to do what it wants. And what it wants is to return to the colonial vision of the modern city. Of course the modern city is no longer conceived as the white city. But it is conceived as the bourgeois city. When City Manager Mike Sutcliffe gave a lecture at the University of KwaZulu-Natal last year he showed photographs of shacks in the elite formerly Indian suburb of Reservoir Hills (adjacent to Clare Estate) and said that trans-formation had to be pushed hard because formerly Indian suburbs still had informal settlements while white suburbs did not. He didn't mean that he would be encouraging land occupations in formerly white suburbs. On the contrary his implication was that justice entailed extending the prerogatives of white privilege to the Indian elite. And so the phrase 'slum clearance' has returned as the currency of the policy people. We are told, as people were when Sophiatown and District Six were threatened under apartheid, that better, more hygienic etc., housing will be built elsewhere. What is actually being proposed is that the poor be forcibly removed from the city and dumped in rural ghettoes. The City is attempting to, in large part, reverse the popular challenge to the Manichean logic that lay behind the material segregation of the colonial city.[40] A policy that aimed to integrate the city would require small low cost housing developments on the various sites available on suburban land and the appropri-ation of privately owned land, and in particular the sugar cane fields now being developed into gated communities for the rich. This would not only require a direct conflict with capital. It would also require a direct challenge to the anxieties and prejudices projected on to shack dwellers by the white and black middle classes – prejudices that often repeat, precisely and in extreme form, the stereotypes directed at all black people by white racism under apartheid. It is not uncommon to hear people – students, government officials, the businessman on the way up – express these prejudices in terms of genocidal desires.

In Durban, South Africa, more than twenty thousand shack dwellers have mobilised themselves as *Abahlali baseMjondolo*. They have suffered more than 80 arrests since March 2005,[41] their constitutionally guaranteed right to stage public protests has been illegally withdrawn, and negotiations with the City authorities have been summarily suspended. At the time of writing they are about to announce a Campaign for the Human Dignity of Shack Dwellers that will see them collectively abstaining from the coming local government elections and undertaking various acts of non-violent direct action around the city including the occupation of offices and the like. But it wasn't always like this. Until recently the shack dwellers' were amongst the most loyal supporters of the African National Congress (ANC).

On 9 November 1993 the African National Congress issued a press statement condemning the 'housing crisis in South Africa' as 'a matter which falls squarely at the door of the National Party regime and its surrogates'. It

went on to describe conditions in the 'informal settlements' as 'indecent' and announced that:

> Nelson Mandela will be hosting a People's Forum on Saturday morning in Inanda to hear the views of residents in informal settlements ... The ANC calls on all people living in informal settlements to make their voices heard! 'Your problems are My Problems. Your solution is My Solution', says President Mandela.[42]

One of the settlements specifically mentioned was Kennedy Road in the formerly Indian suburb of Clare Estate in Durban. Seven months later the ANC swept to power in the national parliament. On 4 June 1999 the ANC greeted news of their first victory over the Inkatha Freedom Party in the provincial election in KwaZulu-Natal with a euphoric press statement. They promised, that, as their first priority, 'The ANC will together with our people address the concerns of the poorest of the poor living in squatter camps like Kennedy Road, Lusaka[43] and Mbambayi'.[44] Their power, including their power to demobilise popular militancy and to speak for its traditions, was justified first and foremost in the name of the poorest – people in 'squatter camps' like Kennedy Road. In both elections Kennedy Road voted solidly ANC and the votes from the settlements won the ward for the ANC in local government elections.

That was then. On the morning of Wednesday, 14 September 2005 well over 5,000 [45] people from the Kennedy Road settlement, together with representatives from nearby settlements, marched on their local ANC councillor, Yacoob Baig, to demand land, housing, toilets, an end to the threat of forced removals and the councillor's resignation. All the various attempts by the local ANC to stop the march had come to nought. It was a major humiliation for the ANC.

This was the fourth instance of mass political insurgence into the bourgeois world to emerge from Kennedy Road this year. The first was an illegal blockade of both the in and outbound sides of Umgeni Road, a major six-lane arterial road, on Saturday 19 March. Around 750 people barricaded the road with burning tyres and mattresses and held it against the Public Order Policing Unit for four hours. There were fourteen arrests on the criminal charge of public violence. Amongst the arrested were two school children. Alfred Mdletshe told Fred Kockott, the first journalist on the scene, that 'We are tired of living and walking in shit. The council must allocate land for housing us. Instead they are giving it to property developers to make money'. Kockott's article in the *Sunday Tribune* explained that:

> The scene was reminiscent of apartheid-era protests – and the mood was similar, except now the target of the crowd' anger was the ANC governors of Durban. 'People working for the government, they have nice houses, gardens, water and electricity, snazzy cars and everything, so they do not care a damn about us', said Nhlakanipho Cele. 'We vote for a party which tells us it is fighting poverty, but look what's happening', added Mdletshe. 'If you are poor, it means you only get poorer', he said. 'The rooms are hard to live in, and there are no toilets, so the bush around us is full of excrement. When it rains, there's sewage slush all around. It really stinks', said Mdletshe.[46]

This was certainly the most militant protest to have shaken Durban in the post-apartheid era. But these events were not unique to Durban. More than 850 illegal[47] protests were logged around the country in 2005, and similar revolts have emerged from shack settlements in cities and towns across the country in recent months, most infamously in Harrismith where 17 year-old Teboho Mkonza was murdered by the police. Most elites argue that the return to open defiance reveals that something is wrong with the defiant. NGO and academic leftists generally feel entitled to speculate about the cause and aims of the protests without bothering to undertake serious discussions with the people organising and undertaking them.[48] The social movements[49] that arose in the late 1990s after neo-liberal policies resulted in large-scale armed attacks on the working class by the state, in particular evictions and disconnections from water and electricity, fell apart in Durban and are in some disarray in Cape Town. In Johannesburg, where there is more access to donor money, they have dramatically shrunk as they have come under the control of an entrenched professional and vanguardist leadership, some of whom have been overtly suspicious of the upsurge in self-organised popular militancy from shack settlements.[50] With the exception of the anti-Eviction Campaign in Cape Town, and in particular the Mandela Park branch[51] which now includes shack dwellers in nearby QQ Section in Khayelitsha, there have not even been attempts at symbolic legitimation from this quarter. Thabo Mbeki's response to the road blockade organised from Kennedy Road was to inform the nation that 'We must stop this business of people going into the street to demonstrate about lack of delivery. These are the things that the youth used to do in the struggle against apartheid'.[52] *The Independent on Saturday* reported that Mbeki's response to the murder of Mkonza was to send out a 'clear message that the government will act decisively against communities that use violent means to protest against lack of service delivery ... Mbeki said ... his government would not tolerate the destruction of public property and anyone who broke the law would be arrested by the police'.[53]

The Kennedy Road settlement is a space of hope and suffering. The chance for very poor people to live in a wealthy suburb near to the city centre means access to all kinds of opportunities for livelihoods, as well as education, health care, the sporting, cultural and religious life of the city and so on. These opportunities often enable major social progress. But while there is a vibrant collective life in the settlement with a sacred space marked out with a ring of white stones, and all kinds of musical, sporting and mutual support projects, material conditions are severely degraded. The *umjondolos* (shacks) cling to the side of a steep hill squeezed between the city's main dumpsite and the big fortified houses of suburban Clare Estate and tumble down to the ugly big box stores of Springfield Park. At the time of the road blockade there were four official taps for drinking water and another (illegally connected) tap for washing hands, six poorly maintained portable toilets, and no refuse collection

in a settlement of over 6,000 people.[54] Until 2001 pre-paid electricity meters were being installed in shacks. To get electricity you needed to pay R350 and to be able to represent your case in a certain way. According to S'bu Zikode, chair of the Kennedy Road Development Committee, 'It all depended on who applied. If you seemed ignorant because you can't speak English you were just told to wait outside'.[55] The City has since informed Kennedy Road residents that there is a new policy not to install electricity in informal settlements. More than seventy people with receipts for payments for installation have neither a refund nor electricity. The lack of electricity means fires and this year there have been nine conflagrations. Some of the children in the settlement have the emaciated limbs and bloated bellies which indicate that poverty has been written into the future of their bodies. Everyone seems to have someone who is desperately sick and there are more than fifty households headed by children. But looking over Springfield Park and through the valley cut by the Umgeni river, you can see the sea sparkling in the sun. *Hadedas* (glossy ibises) take wing at dusk and when night has fallen an *isicathimiya*[56] group sings with abundantly delicate grace, from a hall with broken windows and peeling paint, 'We are going to heaven, all of us we are going to heaven'. For the always immaculately dressed and avuncular Mr Ndlovu, 'Sometimes it is just so beautiful here. They think this place is too good for us. They want it for the rich'.

On the Monday after the fourteen arrests, which happened to be Human Rights Day – a public holiday, 1,200 people staged an illegal march on the nearby and notorious Sydenham police station where the fourteen were being held. Their demand was that either the Kennedy Road fourteen be released or else the entire community be arrested because 'If they are criminal then we are all criminal'. The march was dispersed with dogs, more police violence and tear gas. There were no arrests this time because the police were looking for one person in particular – S'bu Zikode. He escaped by dressing in women's clothes amidst the protection of the throng. Afterwards back at the settlement the line of young men returning the gaze of the riot police lounging against their armoured vehicles were entertained by a drunk sarcastically shouting 'Viva Mandela!' to derisive laughter. At a packed meeting in the community hall that afternoon the old struggle currency of *amaqabane* (comrades), still used by the ANC who use socialist rhetoric to legitimate neo-liberal policies, had given way to *abafowethu* (brothers), *odadawethu* (sisters), *omakhelwane* (neighbours) and *umphakathi* (community).[57] There were none of the empty slogans, pompous speeches or invocations of the authority of leaders that characterise national liberation movements in, or close to power. Just short and intensely debated practical suggestions. It was decided not to accept a legal aid lawyer as they are paid by the state and therefore cannot be trusted. It was agreed that the accused should represent themselves and that everyone should contribute R10 towards

bail costs. There was, in that moment, an overwhelming sense of profound collective isolation from the structures and pieties of constituted power.

Bureaucracy herds, insults, exhausts and defeats the poor at every turn and the courts proved to be no exception. The next day the Kennedy Road 14 were denied bail at a court hearing which was over before they had a chance to say a single word in their defence. Magistrate Asmal's visceral contempt for all the people that passed through her dock that morning was telling. The 14, including the juveniles, were moved to the dangerous Westville prison to await trial.

S'bu Zikode is the elected chair of the Kennedy Road Development Committee. He is a former Boy Scout from Estcourt, a small rural town. He is a quiet and gentle man who won two distinctions in his matriculation examination in 1993 but had no money for university. There was no work in Estcourt and therefore no possibility to make a life as an adult. After facing down a crushing depression he borrowed some money and, together with his twin sister, made his way to Durban, set up home in Kennedy Road in a rented shack. After a few month he found a job at a petrol station. He was even able to register at the former University of Durban-Westville, where years of struggle had significantly reduced student fees.[58] However he could not pay the fees for the second term and had to drop out. But he was able to build his own shack, to marry and begin a family. The petrol station at which he works is on the road to the giant mall and colonial styled gated suburbs, golf courses and office blocks being built for the rich on the old sugar cane fields to the North. This land, which was taken by colonial conquest and then worked by indentured labour bought in from India, is now being sold off, at huge profit, so that the rich can live, work, shop and golf behind high walls on rolling hills that look out to the sea. The same colonial families that were the beneficiaries of the original dispossession and the savage colonial response to the 1906 Zulu rebellion are now accruing vast fortunes from these developments.

Nonhlanhla Mzobe, the elected deputy chair, is a generous woman with a spontaneous and embracing warmth. She has lived on this land for more than 30 years and is widely respected for having founded the community-run crèche in the settlement. She arrived as a child when it was only nine shacks hidden in the bush. She now works at the dump adjacent to the settlement collecting the litter that blows around. For some years she has invested hope in the possibility of getting a better job if a planned World Bank linked project to turn the methane gas in the dump to electricity comes to fruition. Along with a number of other people in Kennedy Road she is furious with the middle class environmentalists who oppose this project because they want the dump moved out of their neighbourhood or oppose the Bank's carbon trading project. The anger is due to the fact that the environmentalists either speak as though the people in the shacks don't exist, casually assume the right to speak for them without ever speaking to them, or speak about them in overtly racist language.[59] Sajida Khan, the most prominent campaigner, who has been uncritically celebrated in global civil

society circuits,[60] wants the settlement and the dump cleaned out of her neighbourhood.

After returning home from the first court appearance without the people taken by the police, Zikode and Mzobe explained, in the accusing glare of the white police lights singling them out in the blue dusk, that the immediate cause of the protest was clear. People had consistently been promised over some years that a small piece of land in nearby Elf Road would be made available for the development of housing. The promise had been repeated as recently as 16 February this year in a meeting with City officials and the local councillor. The Kennedy Road Development Committee had been participating in ongoing discussions about the development of this housing when, without any warning or explanation, bulldozers began excavating the land on 18 March 2005. A few people went to see what was happening and were shocked to be told that a brick factory was being built on the land by a private company believed by some to be connected to the local councillor. They explained their concerns to the people working on the site and work stopped. But the next day it continued. Zikode explained what happened next:

> The men from the brickyard came with the police, an army, to ask who had stopped the work. So, on Saturday morning the people wake us. They take us there to find out what is happening.[61] When you lead people you don't tell them what to do. You listen. The people tell you what to do. We couldn't stop it. If we tried the people would say 'You guys are selling us to the Indians'. So we go. A meeting was set up with the owner of the factory and the local councillor, but they didn't come. There was no brickyard, no councillor, no minister, nobody. There was no fighting but the people blocked the road. Then the police came. Then the councillor phoned. He told the police 'These people are criminals, arrest them'. We were bitten by the dogs, punched and beaten. The Indian police I can definitely tell you that they have this racism. They told us that our shacks all need fire. It is only Indians with power here. The police, the magistrate, the prosecutor, the counsellor, the man building the brickyard. Everything goes to the Indians here. Some of our women are washing for them for R15. Everybody is just rotting here. We have no land. Most of us have no jobs. They can call the police to bring their dogs to bite us any time. What is to become of us? When the police come they make fools of us. We can't control the people – they get angry. They burnt tyres and mattresses in the road. They say we have committed public violence but against which public? If we are not the public then who is the public and who are we? (City Manager Mike) Sutcliffe talks to the *Tribune* about us but he doesn't speak to us. All they do is send the police every time we ask to talk. It is a war. They are attacking us. What do you do when the man you have elected to represent you calls you criminal when you ask him to keep his promises? He has still not come here. We are not fighting. We want to be listened to. We want someone to tell us what is going on.[62]

Mzobe was equally emotional:

> My granny came here from Inanda dam (There were mass evictions when the dam was built). People were coming from all over to wash for the Indians. My mother schooled us by picking the cardboard from the dump. I was four years old when she came. Now my own child is 15 years old. All this time living in the shack and working so hard. We are fighting no one. We are just trying to live but they say we are the criminals. We haven't got

no problem if they build just some few houses that can't fit everyone. But they must just try. They must just try.[63]

The anger sprung from many sources though. Zikode, like many others, simply felt betrayed. 'The poor', he said, 'gets more poor and the rich gets richer. And this is the government that we fought for, and then worked for and then voted for and which no beats us and arrests us'. Zikode was right. Even the government's own statistics agency, Statistics South Africa, agree that the rich have got richer and the poor poorer in the last ten years.[64] This not, as often claimed by apologists for power, because a lack of skills has meant that the ANC has been inefficient since coming to power – on the contrary public money and skills have very effectively subsidised all kinds of elite projects in Durban in the name of development: a (failed) Zulu theme-park aimed at satisfying the colonial fantasies of European tourists, five-star hotels, casinos, a film studio and so on. All kinds of other elite projects such as new sports stadia, more five-star hotels, a new airport and more are planned. Fabulous private fortunes have and continue to be made very efficiently while life gets worse in Kennedy Road. The people in whose name the power of the ANC was legitimated have been betrayed.

That night many people in Kennedy Road made the point that the meagre public resources there – the community hall, and so on – which were built in the last years of apartheid are all in steadily worsening condition. Other key issues on which endless patient attempts to seek official support to move forward had been rebuffed were the absence of refuse removal, the need for more taps, the failure to respond to multiple requests to erect speed bumps on the road that has claimed a number of children – one just a month before the road blockade. There was also major unhappiness about the pitiful condition of the tiny number of toilets. The City stopped emptying the 147 pit-latrines five years ago and replaced them with six portable toilets – one for every thousand people.

This was a revolt of obedient and faithful citizens. These are people who had done everything asked of them. They had participated in every available public participation process. They cared for their sick and the orphans of the dead and dutifully called what they were doing 'home based care'. Many had obediently abandoned any hope of finding work to become 'entrepreneurs' in the 'informal economy'. This can mean anything from hairdressing to hawking fruit in the city or trawling the city collecting cardboard, plastic or metal for sale to re-cyclers. They had fully accepted that 'delivery' will be slow and that they must take responsibility for their own welfare. They were the model poor – straight out of the World Bank text books. They revolted not because they had believed and done everything asked of them and they were still poor. They revolted because the moment when they asked that their faith not be spurned is the moment their aspirations for dignity become criminal. On the day of the road blockade they entered the tunnel of the discovery of their betrayal and their

power to resist. Nothing has been the same since the collective confrontation with the two truths that emerged from this event.[65]

After ten days in prison, various court appearances and the intervention of a good *pro bono* lawyer the Kennedy Road 14 were released. The lawyer was secured by the present author who had got to know members of the initially hostile committee in all the waiting around outside the court.[66] S'bu Zikode, together with Nonhlanhla Mzobe and the Kennedy Road Development Committee organised a heroes' welcome for the fourteen. Each of the accused spoke and everyone affirmed their willingness to risk prison again. Then, before the music was cranked up, Zikode held the crowd rapt with a gentle speech about suffering as the source and legitimation of revolt. He concluded that 'The first Nelson Mandela was Jesus Christ. The second was Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela. The third Nelson Mandela are the poor people of the world'.[67] The resonant idea of the third Nelson Mandela quickly became part of the imagination of struggle in other settlements.

The next day permission was sought for a legal march on the local councillor, Yacoob Baig. Baig was equally despised in Sydenham Heights, the nearby council flats built for the 'coloured' poor under apartheid. This meant that there was more than enough common ground to discuss a set of shared of demands. The careful discussions around the content of the memorandum began the process of building an effective non-racialism and solidarity between shack dwellers and flat dwellers. These discussions generated far more engagement between communities splintered by apartheid than any other event in the history of the ward. At one of these meeting it emerged that the World Bank had promised the same jobs to both Kennedy Road and Sydenham Heights should the gas-to-electricity project happen at the dump that physically divides the two communities. Zelda Norris of the Sydenham Heights Ratepayers' Association explained why they decided to join the African Kennedy Road settlement on the march:

> [Baig] is our councillor – we've all put him in that position – in the end he's made a lot of promises which he never kept. The Kennedy Association met with us and we decided to combine with different organisations because we all felt our issues weren't getting addressed.[68]

Two weeks after the release of the 14 accused, on 13 May, more than 3,000 people marched from the Kennedy Road settlement to Baig's office. The key demands were for land, housing and Baig's immediate resignation. The march was supported by representatives from five nearby settlements, the nearby municipal flats, and a few seasoned activists from the township of Wentworth on the other side of the city and the Socialist Students' Movement.[69] The march was pulled off with no external funding and in the face of all kinds of intimidation and dirty tricks which included an article in *The Daily News* by Farook Khan[70] falsely claiming that the march was not legal, the distribution of smartly printed flyers falsely claiming that this would be an IFP march[71] and the

occupation of the settlement by a large armed military presence the night before the protest. Perhaps the most important and defiant banner on the march was the one painted last, while people were singing against the soldiers. It simply said 'The University of Kennedy Road'.[72] Struggle is, indeed, a school. That afternoon Durban was plastered with *Daily News* billboards reading 'Massive Protests Rock Durban'.

A march of three thousand may not sound particularly impressive to people used to organising where transport costs are less prohibitive, where a day off work is less of a sacrifice, where day to day existence is less precarious and where there is less fear that open opposition to government will be punished by the withholding of basic services. There have been marches of tens of thousands in South Africa but they have either been organised by member-ship-funded trade unions or, because they are combined with events of interest to Northern NGOs ('global civil society') like the two United Nations summits that have been held in South Africa, supported with donor funding. This entirely self-funded march of 3,000 shack dwellers was considered by friends and foes, locally and nationally, as a significant event.

The local ANC responded by sending in a heavy weight delegation who berated the community for their actions and demanded to know who was the third force[73] behind the protest. Eventually Zikode acknowledged that there was in fact a third force – winter. Winter was coming and winter means shack fires.[74]

A number of events important within the settlement carried the momentum forward over the next months. Naomi Klein and Avi Lewis held their African premier of their film on the factory occupations in Buenos Aires**,** *The Take***,** in the Kennedy Road settlement. An initial moment of puzzlement at the sight of white people battling the police was soon overcome and the screening was a storming success. It was followed up with *Kennedy Road and the Councillor,* a short film on the Kennedy Road struggle made by visiting activist film maker Aoibheann O'Sullivan and received with rapturous delight.[75] Then, after numerous court appearances against a hostile state clearly out for convictions, activist lawyer Shanta Reddy, who had cut her political teeth in struggles against evictions and disconnections emerging from Municipal flats in the formerly Indian township of Chatsworth on the other side of the city five years previously, finally secured the dropping of all charges against the 14 accused. At every point in this ongoing battle Reddy explained all the legal options to the accused and all decisions about strategy were taken collectively. A community in which there had been currents of anti-Indian sentiment at the time of the road blockade held an enormous party in honour of Reddy (who is Indian) with each of the Kennedy Road 14, and a number of committee members, speaking to honour Reddy's intelligence, courage and goodness.

There was the ongoing discussion around whether or not to put up a candidate in the coming local government elections. Initially most people

wanted Zikode to stand but, after wide debate and very careful consideration, it was decided to refrain from electoral politics[76] in order to preserve the integrity, autonomy and reputation[77] of their political project. This is not a commitment to pursue autonomy from the state. On the contrary there is a hard fought day to day struggle to subordinate the local manifestations of the state to society.

After years of contemptuous neglect the government, in various forms, became very interested in Kennedy Road. On Monday 29 August a cavalcade of yellow cars from various departments rolled in (up to two hours late) for a meeting. They were welcomed with biscuits for tea and biryani for lunch. The meeting was to discuss, in particular, the work being done, by the Kennedy Road Development Committee, for people with AIDS. For some time the community has provided various forms of support to orphans (including food, clothes, liaison with schools etc) and the sick (food, fetching water, help with disposing body waste, assistance with grants, linkages with hospitals and clinics and so on). The meeting was opened by an official from the Department of Agriculture, Health and Welfare.

Her opening statement was as follows:

> We are very pleased to be here in the field with you. We target the same clients and have the same core business. We want to work closely with all our stakeholders so that we can improve services delivery in an integrated manner. We are committed to mainstreaming AIDS and want to help you to develop a business plan.[78]

This is an exact quote.

The actual structure of the meeting took the form of using a 'tool' prepared by a consultant. The 'tool' was a very detailed 21 page questionnaire asking detailed (often statistical) questions about the community organisation's response to AIDS. Government officials took turns to verbally ask the questions listed on the questionnaire. The community organisation was not given the document in advance and so, even though they keep very detailed records in a series of carefully bound and filed notebooks, they couldn't answer all the questions immediately. No organisation could have answered similar questions about its own operation without preparation. The structure of the exercise meant that as it went along the tone of the government officials became somewhat inquisitorial and judgmental and the community organisation people became somewhat depressed. What else can happen when questions can't be answered or, when they can, the consultant's research has deemed the answers 'wrong'? (Food parcels must cost R280. Research has shown this. Spending R150 per food parcel per family is wrong and must be explained. Why are you not growing vegetables hydroponically? Research has show that this is a much better business model, etc, etc.). Nevertheless not every impulse towards solidarity could be crushed by the 'tool'. People, on both sides, could find ways around the consultants' madness. When it came to the question of 'sustainability' the community organisation duly produced beaded AIDS ribbons which they had made and said they would sell. The government duly

said they would train them to develop a business plan. Everyone knew it was nonsense but once the sustainability box was ticked it was possible to move on. And support for some of the extant initiatives was duly and sincerely pledged. In a community where children have been found eating the worms that grow in the shit in the portable toilets every material advance is a victory. One official even proposed a new project – a social worker would arrange for support at R8 per participant to hold a monthly get together of the old people.

This was welcome but it wasn't good enough. Another legal march was planned for 14 September 2005. Then, on 7 September 2005, the big boys rolled in under the confident leadership of Deputy City Manager Derek Naidoo. The elected negotiating team began by handing Naidoo a broken child's chair left over from the last days of apartheid when a neo-liberal NGO, the Urban Foundation, had offered some material support to the community-run crèche. Naidoo sat on the chair. The Kennedy Road team delegation stood.

Naidoo began, as these people always do (do they read Fanon? they always act out the script with precise accuracy...), with a glowing account of his personal role in The Struggle. He said nothing about his more recent role in privatising the city's transport system. Naidoo swiftly moved on to speak at length about how progressive the Metro Council was and how it was put there by The People and by The Struggle. He then (in what he clearly saw as a magnanimous gesture) spoke about how the people in Kennedy Road had suffered and how the Metro felt their pain. He quoted the Durban mayor Obed Mlaba quoting the Freedom Charter on housing to make his point concrete. He spoke at length about an article that would be appearing in *The Mercury* the following day and how it showed how well the Municipality is doing. The article duly appeared on the front page of *The Mercury* the next day. Titled 'Feeling Good about Durban', it begins by noting that 'New Developments, like uShaka Marine World, and the Suncoast and Sibiya Casinos, have made residents more positive about the city'. It doesn't enquire as to which residents, exactly, are so pleased that hundreds of millions of Rands of public money have been spent on casinos and a theme-park while people starve... It goes on to note that, of those working, 92 percent of whites are happy with their jobs, 80.2 percent of Asians, 50.5 percent of coloureds and 41.5 percent of Africans. It concludes with Bonke Dumisa, CEO of the Durban Chamber of Commerce saying that 'poverty was a concern' but it wouldn't affect investor confidence' because 'Investors accept that South Africa has two economies, a first world economy with people with a high disposable income, and a third world economy'.[79]

Naidoo then moved to his key purpose. 'We are here', he announced, 'to avert the march'.[80] Then, after a long (and of course technicist) ramble about budgets and policies – punctuated by an interlude where people were berated for allowing the settlement, which he spoke of as if it were a disease, to grow from 716 shacks in 2002 to 2,666 in 2005 ('This growth is unacceptable!') – he

made his offer. Council wanted a 'partnership' with the 'leadership' of the community. The council would build two toilet blocks in the settlement and the 'leadership' would run these toilet blocks by charging '10 cents and 20 cents a time' (10 cents for a piss and 20 cents for a shit? no one was sure) and using this money to employ a cleaner and to cover the maintenance costs. Toilets are not a small issue in Kennedy Road. But Naidoo's offer of two pay per use toilet blocks was greeted with fury.[81] Cold fury in some cases. Hot in others. But fury all round.

People asked about the nearby land that had been promised to the community for years. They asked about the housing they had been consistently promised in every election campaign and in numerous meeting. Naidoo said that the land was not safe for housing – it could move – and that the air (due to the adjacent dump) was not safe for breathing. The pollution, he kept stressing, affects people of all races. People in Kennedy Road are well aware that council tells the people in the big houses across the road that the air is safe. They asked how could this be and how could it be that the land was safe for a factory but not for housing, how could it be that the land was safe on one side of Kennedy Road (where there is a suburb) but not on the other (where there are shacks)? How could it be that the land and air were safe for a school and college nearby but not for them? Why was council so worried about the air that they were breathing when they left them to wallow in shit, to breath paraffin fumes every night because they have no electricity and to have their shacks burn every winter? Anton Zamisa, a silver medallist in the 89 km Comrades Marathon, noted that he was perfectly healthy.

Naidoo had no real answers. But when pressed he told the truth about the City's plan for the poor. The squatters will, he said again and again, be moved to the rural periphery of the Metro. In his exact words 'The city's plan is to move you to the periphery'. From the last days of apartheid until this meeting people had consistently been promised housing in the area. People had also been told that housing would be provided in the outlying ghettos of Verulum or Mount Moriah but they had never been told that they would all be forced to move to the rural periphery of the Metro. Naidoo's emphatic announcement of impending mass forced removals from the city was deeply shocking.

He came under sustained attack. Where will we work? Where will our children school? What clinics are there? How will we live? His answer basically came down to the claim that the city would try to enable entrepreneurship in its rural periphery. People will be dumped in the bush and given training to start businesses. Naidoo was told that there was no infrastructure in rural areas. He agreed and said that people must understand that it is too expensive to build it there and that the development focus was the 25 kilometre circumference radiating out from the nodal point of the city centre. No one took any comfort from that. No one was prepared to understand.

Nonhlanhla Mzobe stormed out shaking with rage. It was put to Naidoo that this was the same as apartheid – black people were being pushed out of the city. It was put to Naidoo that this sounded like a slower and more considered version of Mugabe's attack on the poor in Harare. Naidoo said that if people didn't like it 'they should go to the constitutional court'. This is, he observed, a democracy. He was told that people would rather block the roads than go to the court. Everyone knows that the courts are for the government and the rich.

Naidoo kept saying that there was no land. Cosmos Ngcobo pointed out that there was in fact plenty of land around. Examples were cited. Naidoo said that the land belongs to a private company – Moreland. This is the company currently building gated suburbs, shops and office parks on the old sugar cane plantations. From this moment on the struggle has included a demand for the expropriation of land for housing from Moreland.

Naidoo was told that the march would be averted if he promised 2,500 houses in the city in writing. He said 'No, this place has been identified and prioritised for relocation. It is ring-fenced for slum clearance'. He was asked if he would put his offer of a partnership around the toilets in writing. He said 'No. The city is extending their hand. This is participatory democracy'. Naidoo was told that people wouldn't be voting in the local elections. He berated them for not respecting democracy and said they had no right to tell people not to vote. Naidoo was told that the march on the 14th was going ahead and that if it didn't get results it would be the last attempt at a legal intervention. Further road blockades were promised.

S'bu Zikode declared the meeting closed. He spoke about all the people who had lied – Councillor Yacoob Baig, City official S'bu Gumede and others. He told Naidoo 'You have lied, you are lying and it seems you will continue to lie. We'll put thousands on the streets'.

Naidoo and his entourage left.

The intense discussions about strategy continued into the night. The political process in the two weeks leading up to the march was extraordinary. There were nightly meetings in nearby settlements as well as the Sydenham Heights municipal flats and the Jimmy Carter Housing Project in Sherwood. The meetings began with a screening of Aoibheann O'Sullivan's *Kennedy Road and the Councillor* and then moved into open discussion. O'Sullivan's film gives a short overview of the Kennedy Road struggle from March to June this year. Interviews are often in Zulu and the film takes the lived experience and intelligence of its subjects seriously (as opposed to the altogether more common practice of distorting the reality of African struggles to make them appear to conform to the expectation of Northern NGOs, Northern academic networks or fashionable Northern theories). It begins with the sanitation crisis and broken promises around toilets before moving into broken promises around land and housing in Clare Estate. But, crucially, it includes the articu-lation of an *Abahlali baseMjondolo* (shack dweller) political identity and a

direct contestation with the stereotypes that seek to objectify shack dwellers as stupid, dirty, lazy, criminal and dangerous. As this struggle has developed it has become clear that, as always, symbolic and material oppression will have to be confronted together.

Thousands of people saw O'Sullivan's film and were part of intense political discussions during these two weeks. Each community confronts a situation with its own singularities and so each meeting had its own character. In Sherwood there were too many people to fit into the community hall and the film was projected onto an outside wall of the hall. Here there is a democratic organisation which gives clear support for the ANC but people enthusiastically agreed to support the struggle of the shack dwellers. In Quarry Road where there is no hall or open space a generator was used to show the film on a sheet of cardboard erected on a large traffic circle. In this settlement leadership is contested between the ANC-aligned national civic organisation SANCO and a somewhat demagogic militancy but everybody wanted to support the march. It turned out that a 17 year old boy from Quarry Road was still in Westville Prison after a violent clash with the police in December in a successful fight back against an armed attempt at forced removal. Moreover while people in Kennedy Road were struggling against the reduction of the number of toilets from 147 to six, people in Quarry Road had had all their toilets removed in what can only be understood as an attempt to force them out[82] (Given that the settlement lies along the banks of a tributary that runs into the Umgeni river this act could well result in a wider health crisis – *eColi* levels in the river are already massively over safe levels). The head of SANCO in Quarry Road, Angelina Mosiea, is disabled and elderly. It is not difficult to understand why she was leading an ANC-aligned organisation against the ANC.[83] In Foreman Road there had been heavy pamphleteering at the time of the previous Kennedy Road march claiming the initiative as an IFP front and there was a clear split between a majority who wanted an open discussion and an aggressive minority, believed to have been bought by Baig, who wanted to stop it. There were some tense moments. M'du Mgqulunga, a man who is all loose limbs and smiles when playing the bass guitar but who commands an imposing physical presence in this kind of situation, had to hold the space while a stand off with a small group of goons dragged on for ages as people battled to get the generator working. Suddenly it kicked into life and the images of suffering in the shacks and the language of universal dignity made any talk of a plot ludicrous. The space was won and won decisively. Ashraf Cassiem, who spent some of his childhood in the area but is now a key militant in the Taflesig Anti-Eviction Campaign in Cape Town, gave a quietly powerful speech arguing that the colonial war unleashed on the people of this country has continued through apartheid and into the parliamentary democracy. Black collaboration, he argued, doesn't disguise it. On the march two days later much would be made of *amaBhunu amanyama* (black boers). The discussion incited that night in Foreman Road

continues – excited and serious. The large banner painting workshop at Kennedy Road on the Sunday before the march was held in a carnival atmosphere with music, food and lots of discussion about the slogans. ('Land & Housing!'; 'Sikhalela Izindlu!' [We cry for houses!]; 'Phansi NgoBaig!' [Down with Baig!]; 'Moreland' Give Back Our Land!'; 'Fight Forced Removals!'; 'Sifuna Umsebenzi!' [We Want Work!]; 'University of Kennedy Road' etc, etc).

This time the security forces exerted no collective pressure and individual harassment was low key and always away from the settlement. But, at the last minute, local ANC structures were informed that any member joining the march would be expelled from the party, the IFP front smear was resuscitated and people were told that when delivery came communities that had supported the march would be left out. Sherwood and the Lacey Road settlement dropped out altogether and support plummeted in the Foreman and Jadhu Place settlements. But on the morning of the 14th well more than 5,000 people set off up Kennedy Road to fire their councillor. The shack dwellers were joined by a bus load of people from the flatlands of South Durban mobilised by the inimitable Des D'sa[84] and various other supporters including a group of young white boys with signs saying something about toilets in bad Zulu. Young white boys with shaven heads and the look of poverty have a whiff of fascism to the refined noses of the middle class left and 'out of context' can look like rent-a-mob. I asked them, trying to disguise my suspicion, who they were. Turns out they were from a Pretoria orphanage. They have an annual coastal camping holiday in the ugly industrial town of Pinetown and have got to know the campsite caretaker well over the years. He lives in Kennedy Road. So they walked into town and caught the taxi to Clare Estate with him. Such is the beauty of struggle. Such are the ways in which we learn how mutilated we are.

The councillor came to meet 'his people' in an armoured riot control vehicle from which he, at times visibly shaking with fear, watched a performance of his funeral. The sombre priest (Danger Dlamini) and wailing mother (Nonhlanhla Mzobe) asked the impassive heavens who would replace the late Councillor Baig. Who would lie as he had lied? Who would show the contempt that he had shown? Who would leave them to shit in plastic bags? Who would switch off his phone when they pleaded with him to intercede with the fire brigade when their homes were burning? When the carnival was over Yacoob Baig was forced out of the armoured vehicle to receive a memorandum from a gentle man who works at a petrol station and lives with his family in a home made of mud and sticks. Back in Kennedy Road brandy was spilt for the *amadlozi* (ancestral spirits) and the march was celebrated as a major triumph.

The march was on national radio and television that night and the next day the national tabloid, *The Citizen*, led with a banner headline screaming '6 THOUSAND PEOPLE HAVE TO USE 6 TOILETS'[85] and the Durban morning newspaper, *The Mercury,* led with the march and reported that S'bu

Zikode, had affirmed that 'if there was no progress soon the protests would be intensified. He said people would begin taking services by force, beginning with operation Khanyisa which was taking electricity by force'.[86] The media interest rolled on through the weekend and a scandal broke about City Manager Mike Sutcliffe, a master of self promoting spin and media manipulation, earning more than the president while the poor suffered. Sutcliffe was panicking. He even went so far as to revive the old racist agitator thesis used so extensively under apartheid and claimed, in a near hysterical rant at Fazel Khan in a university parking lot, that the marchers were all being 'used' by a prominent white Marxist academic who should 'pay for the toilets' himself.[87] There was a rip, small but clear, in the carefully and expensively manufactured consent for the city's casino and theme-park led development policy.

The first days of the next week began with meetings in the Quarry Road and Jadhu Place settlements in which, following the success of the march, democratic consent emerged for open resistance. In Quarry Road there was support across the political divisions for a march on their councillor, Jayraj Bachu. In Jadhu Place a democratic community structure had long been run by a group of Zulu Muslims well placed to access charity from local Muslim elites – especially in times of disaster like shack fires. But they were loyal to Baig and were voted out by a group of mostly young people, who intend to fight against Baig and against the ANC, for land and housing in the city. In the massive and massively dense Foreman Road settlement (one assumes that it has been allowed to become so huge because it is behind a hill and hidden from bourgeois eyes) the faction, numerically large but not politically dominant, that is seeking to built a political project independent of the ANC firmed its previ-ously tenuous right to exist as a counter project within the settlement.[88] Across the settlements in the North of the city, including those happy to vilify their councillors, Mayor Obed Mlaba and City Manager Sutcliffe but not willing to break with the ANC, the idea of 'No Land, No House, No Vote' was uniting people in a new assertion of their power. On the Thursday the Kennedy Road Development Committee held its Annual General Meeting. The men and women who had held their nerve so firmly throughout the unfolding of this rebellion were swept, joyously, back into office. Meetings and discussions continued over the weekend in Quarry Road, Foreman Road and Jadhu Place. At Jadhu Place there were more than 500 people at a meeting on the Sunday.

The concrete achievements of this struggle at this point included a major and potentially life saving concession – the pit-latrines in the Kennedy Road settlement (last cleaned out by the council five years ago) were being cleaned and construction of new toilet blocks was under way. Although only ten pit-latrines had been cleaned there was visible although slow progress. There was also a promise to renovate the dilapidated community hall. But officials in the city and provincial administration had not budged on relocation. Their only 'concession' was to say that if people can identify land, check out who owns it

and what it is zoned for at the deeds office then, if the land is council owned and suitable, they will consider housing developments. Moreover although the success of the march had meant endless offers of meetings there had been no retreat from overt contempt by officials. Indeed at the first meeting after the march, held down town at the Martin West building on 15 September, top officials from the City Housing Department began by berating the elected Kennedy Road delegation (System Cele, Fazel Khan, Mdu Mgqulunga & S'thembiso Nkwanyane) for 'putting lies in the newspapers' and made much show of banging a copy of *The Citizen* on the table. They then entertained themselves by e-mailing photographs of conditions in the settlement to each other and loudly commenting about how dirty the people were. The pictures on which these claims were based were of a pile of rubbish. Kennedy Road, adjacent to the Municipal dump, has long asked for and always been denied refuse collection. So people collect rubbish into plastic bags and burn it once a week. The pictures which the officials were using to claim that the people in Kennedy Road are dirty were of this pile of bagged rubbish.

It was decided that there will be no more meetings in government offices. As S'bu Zikode explained: 'Why must we go and sit on those comfortable chairs to listen to the crooks and liars? They must come and sit with us where we live. The battle is on. We will use all tactics'.[89]

On Monday 26 September the negotiating team met S'bu Gumede and other officials from the City in the Kennedy Road hall. It had been decided that hundreds of people would stand in a circle that runs around the hall and sing in low voices as the talks went on. If necessary they would enter the hall and collectively call the officials to account. After twenty minutes three hundred people entered the hall. The door was locked and a formal meeting held. Officials reported back and took questions via the chair. More important concessions were made around repairing the hall, providing 300 chairs for the hall, refuse collection in the settlement, local labour for local construction and cleaning work and more. The Housing Department sent a low level official who was only able to report that an engineer's report was being completed and that a consultant would begin his (R100,000) report soon. An old lady, Ma Khumalo, said that she has been living there for twenty years and that in that time every demand for housing had been met with expensive research – research into the land, the air, everything. The meeting proposed and accepted a motion that a meeting would be scheduled with the head of the Housing Department within three days or a march would be organised on the Department. The doors were unlocked. The meeting was scheduled for 10 October – at the Kennedy Road hall.[90]

At this point what had been won also includes all that has been created in common to be held in common. The crèche which runs every week day; the office with the only telephone line in the settlement where all kinds of things like grant applications and links to and negotiations with schools, hospitals and

hospices and so on can be facilitated; the monthly food parcels and weekly cooked meals for the destitute; regular and very well organised care for child-headed households and people with AIDS; security and fire watch patrols at night and so on. Much, although not all of this, was present before the break with obedience following the road blockade, the racialised attacks from Indian police on the command of the councillor and the arrests. But struggle changes everything. There are now vastly more people working on these projects and they are being taken forward with much more seriousness. Before the break with obedience the crèche was run in a derelict room under the hall. That room now looks as bright and safe as any crèche in a rich suburb. As Fanon has taught us struggle is, amongst other things, a movement out of the places to which we are meant to keep. Amongst many other things new relationships emerge out of this movement and so there has been better access to resources. Most resources are still generated from within the community but a businessman from a local ashram has provided a gas stove, large pots and a weekly food donation which has made the weekly communal meals possible. An anarchist web technician provided two reconditioned computers for the office so that typed letters and press releases can be produced in the community. So it goes. Movement within produces movement out which enables new alliances and further movement forward.

Part of what has been created in common is a community of struggle. Since May, 30 or 40 highly committed activists have emerged in Kennedy Road. They have got to know people in other settlements and formed unmediated ongoing relationships with communities struggling elsewhere in the city from nearby Sydenham Heights and across town to Wentworth. The enthusiasm for making these connections is enormous. Representatives are elected for meetings; money is collected to pay for transport – 'R5, R5 *omakhelwane*' ('R5, R5 neighbours') – and in each case detailed report backs and discussions have been held. People in Kennedy Road have also formed connections with three or four middle class activists in Durban who have been willing to put resources and skills and networks under the democratic control of the struggle seeking at every point to share their class based skills and networks via workshops. For example instead of just producing a press release in accordance with what is decided at a meeting a media workshop was held at which people learnt the skill and discussed the politics of the skill. This can't be achieved in every instance – for example permanent direct access to the (hired) equipment to make and screen films is not something that can easily be put in common but the middle class activists have worked to put their class based skills and networks in common where ever possible. Four men and women from Kennedy Road have now been elected to travel to Cape Town and have spent time with the Anti-Eviction Campaign and Max Ntanyana and Ashraf Cassiem from the Campaign spent a few days in the settlement in the lead up to the march. Although the Campaign is currently not able to mobilise on the same scale as

Kennedy Road it has a far longer history of open resistance, is currently working with shack dwellers in QQ section in Khayelitsha and has taken the strategy of road blockades further than anyone else. All of these new connections, and the experience of struggle within new alliances, have rapidly and radically developed the politics of this struggle.[91]

And the community of struggle changes as sustained collective reflection on the experience of struggle continually advances the understanding of what has to be fought and how it has to be fought. A struggle that started with many people seeing a local councillor in alliance with an often (although certainly not uniformly) hostile local elite as a problem within the system is now confronting the systemic nature of oppression. In May 2005 your experience may have led you to believe that your suffering was largely consequent to Indian racism. In September 2005 you may be paying your part of the R350 to send a taxi load of people to the predominately Indian working class suburb of Bayview to further develop concrete solidarity with their struggle because you have come to understand that you have both an experience of suffering and enemies in common. And you may have elected (Indian) academic Fazel Khan, a man you have come to know, respect and trust in the praxis of struggle, to be on your negotiating team in a crucial face-off with the City.[92] In May 2005 you might have believed that the World Bank would create jobs for your community at the dump. But while building solidarity for your march you may have discovered that the same jobs have been promised to other nearby communities that you would never have met in the course of ordinary life lived with everyone in their place.

The shack dwellers' struggle has also produce a marked shift in power relations consequent to the constitution of counter-power. State and corporate power can now only make non-coercive interventions into Kennedy Road with the permission and on terms negotiated by the Development Committee. On the Thursday in the week following the march an Italian company arrived at the settlement and began shooting for a film about the last Pope. They needed, they said, lots of shots of children. They were stopped, asked to make a formal proposal, negotiations were held and filming went ahead after the company equipped the crèche with furniture, toys, white boards and so on. In the same way the state can no longer act unilaterally in the area and has been forced to insist that their contractor employ local labour to clean the toilets and to make major changes to the ratio of the money paid to the contractor and the workers.

The struggle continues and it continues to develop its understanding of what must be done and undone. On 4 October 2005 over a thousand people, more or less the entire population of the small Quarry Road settlement, marched on their councillor, Jayraj Bachu, demanding his resignation, the return of their toilets and the provision of land and housing within the city. They also staged a mock funeral and declared they would refuse to vote in the coming election if their demands were not met. The widely read Zulu tabloid *Isolezwe* gave them

two pages of coverage and they got the front page, the third for this movement, of the free local newspaper *The Rising* Sun as well as an hour and half on the popular Islamic radio station *Al Ansaar*. The day after the Quarry Road march young radicals in Foreman Road declared that they too will march. James Nxumalo, the new speaker in the City's council, used his first speech to rail against mock funerals saying they were 'deeply unacceptable'. Local councillor Fawzia Peer spoke darkly about protests being 'orchestrated' and the city hall was awash with ominous talk of a third force. But two days after the Quarry Road march a meeting of twelve settlements[93] was held in Kennedy Road. There were 32 elected representatives there, 17 men and 15 women. They agreed that they will not vote in the coming elections and that they will stand together and fight together as the *Abahlali baseMjondolo* (shack dwellers) movement. Each settlement now has at least one weekly meeting and representatives from each of the settlements meet as *Abahlali baseMjondolo* every Saturday.

The Foreman Road Development Committee scheduled a march on Mayor Mlaba for Monday 14 November. The Committee completed all the paper work necessary to apply for a permit to stage a legal march in good time. But three days before the scheduled march a terse fax was received from the Municipality stating that the march was 'prohibited'. Two reasons were given for banning the march. The first was that 'Officials from the Mayor's Office have advised us that they have no feedback for your organisation'. The second was that 'The Mayor's Office labour is unable to assist you and there will be no representative there to meet you'.[94] City Manager Mike Sutcliffe is responsible for administering requests to hold legal marches. The Freedom of Expression Institute issued a statement condemning Sutcliffe's ban as 'a flagrant violation of the Constitution and the Regulation of Gatherings Act'. The statement went on to explain that the reasons given by the Municipality for banning the march were 'absurd' and without any legal basis.[95] On the day scheduled for the march over 3,000 people gathered in the Foreman Road settlement to take a collective decision on how to respond. The leadership suggested that a rally be held in the settlement instead. But the majority decided that they could not accept this attack on their basic democratic rights and that they would stage a peaceful march in protest. The marchers, mostly women, set off singing up the steep dirt road that leads out of the settlement. They had just got onto Loon Road when they were met by the police. They had posted no threat to any person or property. Without the mandatory warning the police charged the protestors and began arresting and beating people at random resulting in some serious injuries. There were a total of 45 arrests. While the police were beating people back down the dirt road that leads into the settlement someone shouted 'You can't do this to us. This is a democracy'. Officer Swart's response was to say 'There is no democracy here'.[96] For some hours police blocked both entrances to the settlement preventing anyone from entering and shooting, mostly with rubber

bullets but stun grenades and live ammunition were also used, at anyone trying to leave the settlement. During the police siege a suited effigy of Mlaba was burnt in the settlement.

Academics and journalists were threatened with violence if they reported what they had seen. Carvin Goldstone from *The Mercury* was threatened by Superintendent Glen Nayagar from the Sydenham Police Station and Raj Patel, a UKZN academic, had his camera confiscated by Nayagar. The gratuitous brutality of the police attack, some of which was furtively captured on camera and video, sent made national and international news. The Freedom of Expression Institute issued a statement[97] declaring that the Institute 'condemns the eThekwini Muncipality's blatant disregard for the rights of marginalized communities to exercise their freedom of expression'. The statement described the police action as illegal on two grounds. The first was that no warning was given to disperse before the police attacked and the second was that there was no legal justification for the degree of force used in the police attack. The intimidation of the media and confiscation of cameras was also clearly illegal. Goldstone has laid a formal complaint against Nayagar. Patel, along with System Cele, a 27-year old woman who had her front teeth broken in the police attack, tried, without success, to lay formal complaints with the Internal Complaints Directorate (ICD). The ICD requires a case number before they will investigate a complaint. But the police simply refused to open cases of theft and assault against other SAPS officers when approached by Patel and Cele. However a number of officers from Crime Intelligence and the National Intelligence Agency are undertaking thorough investigations into various people active in *Abahlali baseMjondolo*.[98]

Three days after the events at Foreman Road made national and international news the Municipality called a lavish press conference. No representatives from *Abahlali baseMjondolo* were invited and, when they required if they could attend, they were told that it was 'only for the media'. At this press conference the Mayor announced a R10 billion housing project to be undertaken in partnership with Moreland. He said that 'We were going to announced it later [but] because of the protests and ... those people using the poor African communities ... we decided to announce it today' (Cited in Patel, 2005: 42). Between 15,000 and 20,000 homes were promised of which 5,000 were for former residents of informal settlements. Kennedy Road residents were promised these houses. The press were told that meetings would be held with shack dwellers to clarify the details.

On 24 November 2005 a meeting was held with low level officials who could offer no clarity on the deal. Moreland then issued a statement distancing itself from the Moreland announcement. An audience with mayor, in one of the settlements was requested and agreed to. It was scheduled for 7 December. On 29 November Moreland issued a statement distancing itself from the Mayor's announcement and noting that there had been no sale of land to the Munici-

pality. After wide and careful deliberation *Abahlali baseMjondolo* produced 30 questions about the proposal, a number of these noted the Moreland statement. These were faxed to the mayor. Two days later the meeting was summarily cancelled.

Peaceful mass protest appears to remain illegally banned.[99] The Municipality's public announcements about the promised new housing development appear to be untrue. Negotiations with the Municipality appear to have been unilaterally suspended. On 13 December 2005 Abahlali baseMjondolo met in the Pemary Ridge settlement to plan a way forward. In a five hour candle-lit meeting it was been decided to launch a Campaign for the Human Dignity of Shack Dwellers. The campaign will be announced at the first ever press conference to be held in a shack settlement in Kennedy Road on 15 December 2005. It will take the form of unannounced small acts of non-violent direct action such as the occupation of offices, the public presentation of a nicely wrapped pile of shit to the mayor as a Christmas gift and the like, as well as a collective boycott of the March 2006 local government elections.

But despite promises to the contrary the threat of relocation to the 'rural periphery' still looms and more than seventy settlements confront this threat in Durban. What are the chances of the movement that began in Kennedy Road being repeated elsewhere?

What the newspapers are now calling 'the national wave of protests' from shack settlements has generally been accompanied by a sudden eruption of militancy, often characterised by road blockades quick repression, usually including beatings and arrests and then silence. This was also been the way things happened in Cato Manor on the other side of Durban. These local mutinies have to confront arrests and people are generally charged with public violence – even if there has been no damage to person or property. None of the few legal services available to struggling communities are allowed by their donors to take on criminal cases and so people often spend months and months in prison awaiting trial. Access to donor independent legal support is vital if these resistances are not to be crushed. The Kennedy Road mutiny received this legal support. They didn't seek it – they were initially determined to represent themselves but after the shock of Magistrate Asmal's visceral contempt for the people in her dock – it was agreed to accept support. Of course the various bureaucratised, donor-funded and globe trotting elements of the left were not interested but a small group of local militants put up their personal resources and, when she returned to Durban, secured the enthusiastic and effective pro bono legal support of Shanta Reddy. But this has happened before without an initial break with obedience developing into a sustained mass struggle. If legal support is a necessary condition for the development of these struggles it is not a sufficient condition.

I would like to suggest that the key factor is that Kennedy Road had, years before the road was blockaded, developed a profoundly democratic political

culture and organisation. Initially this democratic political culture did not have a radical content to match its form. On the contrary for years Kennedy Road dutifully sent representatives to meetings with government, did everything that was asked of them and became the perfect 'civil society' organisation in search of 'partnership' with other 'stakeholders'. In return they got contempt. But, because the radically democratic nature of the political culture produced ongoing collective reflection on the experience of the failure of loyal obedience to the official civil society model, a collective commitment to open resistance developed. A history of how this praxis developed in Kennedy Road will have to be written[100] but it is worth noting that having a hall and an office in which to meet, no matter how derelict is an important advantage. Other settlements in the area just don't have this and demanding or developing a place to meet will be a priority.

The democratic political culture in Kennedy Road means weekly formal meetings, detailed record keeping and minutes and all those things. But because these things don't occur in a self-legitimating sphere separate from ordinary life in the rest of the settlement they are never pompous, boring or self-serving. Because there are constant report backs to mass meetings and lots of sub-committees and projects taken on in common the 'leadership' is in constant dialogue with 'ordinary' people and, very often, under serious pressure from them. All outsiders and visitors wishing to contribute or engage with the struggle are expected to do so in meetings. In addition all of the various middle class led political factions that have approached the shack dwellers for support have been asked to live in the settlement for a week before any discussions about solidarity. In the struggle that has unfolded since May this year every important decision has been made in collective decision making forums and every individual or group to have travelled elsewhere has been elected to undertake a particular task on that particular occasions and has taken the obligation to report back very seriously. Opportunities for things like travel – whether across the city or the country – are scrupulously rotated. Age and gender balances are excellent in all respects. A nineteen year old woman, System Cele, is a key player on the small negotiating team. There are people with extraordinary characters and skills who have been elected onto the committee. There is no doubt about that. But the work of these people remains a function of the committee which remains a function of the community. Of course this does not mean that the committee is in direct connection with the entire community of Kennedy Road – many people don't participate in politics at all – but there is a larger community of struggle within Kennedy Road made up of around 30 to 40 committed activists involved in day to day work, a few hundred people who come to regular mass meetings and a few thousand who will be willing to come to a large event like a march.

The meeting can be a slow enervating nightmare. But Fanon, a man with an indisputably firm commitment to action, celebrates it as a liturgical act. The

religious language is appropriate not just because the meeting performs the same functions as religion in the slum – to connect and sacralise the denigrated and to tend hope. It is also appropriate because the meeting, when subordinate to the life in common, is a space for people and communities to become something new – in this case historical agents in the material world.

Like Fanon Alain Badiou recommends a break with the politics of representation, sees local politics as the site for this and heralds the meeting as central to radical process. He proposes no easy formula: 'To identify the rare sequence through which a political truth is constructed, without allowing oneself to be discouraged by capitalist-parliamentary propaganda, is in itself a stringent discipline'.[101] For Badiou what is at stake is not a new philosophy but a new practice of philosophy:

> To say that politics is 'of the masses' simply means that, unlike bourgeois administration, it sets itself the task of involving the people's consciousness in its process, and of taking directly into consideration the real lives of the dominated. In other words, 'masses', understood politically, far from gathering homogenous crowds under some imaginary emblem, designates the infinity of intellectual and practical singularities demanded by and executed within every sphere of justice ... politics is of the masses, not because it takes into account the 'interests of the greatest number', but because it is founded on the veritable supposition that no one is enslaved, whether in thought or in deed, by the bond that results from those interests that are a mere function of one's place.[102]

> The essence of mass democracy actually yields a mass sovereignty, and mass sovereignty is a sovereignty of immediacy, thus of the gathering itself.[103]

But, crucially:

> The essence of politics is not the plurality of opinions. It is the prescription of a possibility with a rupture with what exists.[104]

It is clear that in Kennedy Road the meetings, always democratic, are the engine of the politics that began with betrayal and has consistently developed its thinking of this rupture in increasingly radical directions. This has also become the practice in the settlements that have been democratised via their association with the Kennedy Road struggle.[105] The meeting was the political space in which the movement's founding truths could emerge from the betrayal with regard to the promised land and the break with obedience wrought by the road blockade. The meeting has also been the space in which there has been ongoing critical reflection of these truths and the struggles they have generated and legitimated.

The ANC clearly wants to limit democracy to the stage managed spectacle of elections and to stigmatise the popular practice of democracy as anti-national. *Abahlali baseMjondolo* is committed to the day to day practice of democracy where people live. The battle is on. What ever the future may hold one thing is certain. There is a left in these slums.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1. This essay recounts events from 19 March to 14 December 2005. 'Abahlali baseMjondolo' is a Zulu phrase meaning 'shack dwellers'.

2. Alain Badiou, *Metapolitics,* London, Verso 2005, p. 17.

3. Mike Davis, 'Planet of Slums' *New Left Review*, 26 2004, http://www.newleftreview.org/LNR26001.shtml

4. Chris Abani, *Graceland* Johannesburg, Picador Africa 2004.

5. Davis, 'Planet of Slums'.

6. Davis, 'Planet of Slums'.

7. Davis, 'Planet of Slums'.

8. Davis, 'Planet of Slums'.

9. C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins*, New York, Vintage, 1989, p. 286.

10. Davis, 'Planet of Slums'.

11. Slavoj Zizek, 'Knee Deep', *London Review of Books*, Vol. 26, No. 17, 2 September 2004.

12. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* London, Penguin 1976 p. 182.

13. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p. 13.

14. Nigel Gibson, *Fanon and the Postcolonial Imagination*, Cambridge, Polity 2003, p.151.

15. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, London, Lawrence and Wishart 1971, p. 9.

16. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, New York, Grove Press, 1967, pp. 227-8.

17. Michel Foucault, 'Preface' to *Anti-Oedipus* by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guttari London, Athlone Press 2000, p. xii.

18. This puts Fanon's philosophical project at odds with the bulk of modern philosophy:

    'Philosophers of the modern era ... began to consider that the truth was the result of a process of elaboration, carried out by a reason grounded in itself. After an initial period of optimism, however, in which people believed it was possible for thought to postulate itself in an absolute way, philosophy began to become more and more aware ... of its historical and especially linguistic conditioning ... it could be that its result has been that philosophers have let themselves be hypnotized by philosophi-

cal discourse taken in and for itself. In the last analysis, philosophical discourse now tends to have as its object nothing but more philosophical discourse' Pierre Hardot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life* Oxford, Blackwell 1995, p. 76.

19. Fanon cited in Nigel Gibson 'Dialectical Impasses: Turning the Table on Hegel and the Black', *Parallax* Vol. 8, No. 2, 2002, p. 339.

20. Gibson, 'Dialectical Impasses: Turning the Table on Hegel and the Black', p. 339.

21. Alain Badiou, *Infinite Thought*, London, Continuum 2004, p. 58.

22. Badiou, *Infinite Thought*, p. 62.

23. This is very well discussed in the sixth chapter of Nigel Gibson's *Fanon: The Postcolonial Imagination, Radical Mutations, Towards a Fighting Culture*.

24. Martin Heidegger, cited in Badiou, *Infinite Thought*, p. 59.

25. Alain Badiou, 'Democratic Materialism and Dialectic', *Radical Philosophy*, Vol. 130, 2005, p. 22.

26. Hardot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life*, p. 268.

27. Cited in Richard Turner, 'Dialectical Reason', *Radical Philosophy*, No. 4, 1973, p. 33. This point is concretised with typical elegance by John Berger who, writing on, and at the time of the death of Che Guevara observed that: 'Guevara found the condition of the world as it is intolerable. It had only recently become so. Previously, the conditions under which two thirds of the people of the world lived were approximately the same as now. The degree of exploitation and enslavement was as great. The suffering involved was as intense and as widespread. The waste was as colossal. But it was not intolerable because the full measure of the truth about those conditions was unknown – even by those who suffered it. Truths are not constantly evident in the circumstances to which they refer. They are born – sometimes late. This truth was born with the struggles and wars of national liberation. In the light of this new-born truth, the significance of imperialism changed' (2001:11).

28. Silvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch*, New York, Autonomedia, 2004 p. 85.

29. It is generally remembered fondly because it accepted the right of poor African people to live in the city and because it engaged with people respectfully. This does not have to be read as an indication of the appreciation of neo-liberalism. On the contrary it is probably a sign that neo-liberalism is forced to behave itself when it cannot cloth itself in nationalism.

30. This does not mean that the urban slum doesn't provide labour for the city – it does and in abundance: domestic work, casual labour, service industry jobs, taxi conductors, musicians, informal traders, golf caddies, people that comb the city looking for waste to recycle and more. But the city is not, in the manner of a factory, dependent on this labour. This is for the simple reason that when ever there are jobs or opportunities for income people will come – even if they have to get up at 4:00 a.m. and spend half their earnings on transport.

31. Carvin Goldstone, 'Not Enough Staff to Clear Slums – Land invasion crisis gets worse', *The Mercury*, September 16, 2005, p. 4.

32. The City's full plans in this regard are not available. But is instructive to note that when their press releases discuss upgrades and relocations settlements in former suburbs face relocations while settlements in former townships will be upgraded where they are. Of course there are exceptions – Cato Manor and, now, perhaps, Mount Edgecombe. But the general tendency to reproduce the apartheid separation between suburb and township is clear.

33. Frantz *The Wretched of the Earth*, p. 30.

34. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p. 31.

35. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p. 30.

36. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, pp. 31-32.

37. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p. 31.

38. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, p. 29.

39. This has been best researched and theorised in Richard Ballard's extensive work.

40. It is important to note that the city's policy is failing, and failing badly, on two grounds. Firstly people continue to move into shack settlements as a way to access the city and, secondly, many people who have been removed, voluntarily or forcibly, to rural ghettos like Park Gate simply return to shack settlements closer to the city.

41. With one exception the state has had to drop charges before going to trial as there was clearly no evidence to secure a conviction. They may well still do the same with the sole remaining charge.

42. African National Congress Southern Natal Statement on the Housing Crisis, Durban 1993.

43. The Lusaka settlement is in Reservoir Hills, a suburb adjacent to Clare Estate. It was demolished by the city, at gun point, during the last week of October 2005. Thirty five households were moved to Mount Moriah and the notorious rural ghetto of Parkgate, which is 27 kilometres outside of Verulum and a R21 taxi journey from Durban. Nineteen households were 'not on the list' and were, in violation of South African law, left homeless. They occupied the front lawn of the local councillor's offices for a week in protest. They were arrested on charges of trespassing and spent three days in the holding cells at the Sydenham police station. After their release was secured they were housed in the Kennedy Road community hall and, due to the pressure generated by the struggle, given houses in Mount Moriah on 19 November 2005. However although Mount Moriah is closer to the city than Parkgate it is still a bleak rural ghetto far from opportunities for work and so the 'victory' has largely been experienced as hollow.

44. African National Congress ANC KwaZulu-Natal Victory Statement, Durban 1999.

45. Credible observers like the respected radical environmentalist Bobby Peek put the numbers as high as 8,000 but the police and then the newspapers put it at 5,000 and that is how it will be recorded in the archive.

46. Fred Kockott, 'Shack dwellers' fury erupts', *Sunday Tribune*, 20 March 2005.

47. David Hemson has logged this number of protests. Protests are still regulated by The Gatherings Act, an apartheid era piece of legislation that requires that permission be sought and obtained from the police two weeks before a protest is held and allows the police to regulate the place and time of protests. Protests undertaken without permission are illegal.

48. This has characterised recent work and statements on the shack dwellers' movement by Patrick Bond, Heinrich Bohmke, Mandisi Majavu and Prishani Naidoo. It has reached its most outrageous level in various documents produced by the Social Movements Indaba (SMI) that resolutely characterise all movements over which the (generally NGO based) vanguardist intellectuals of the SMI have no influence as 'spontaneous'.

49. With the important exception of the Johannesburg branches of the Landless People's Movement these movements generally mobilised poor people living in council flats and township houses and not people living in shacks. This was because shack dwellers, lacking access to housing, water and electricity were not at risk of eviction and disconnection. The classic work on the rise of these movements is Ashwin Desai's *We are the Poors: Community Struggles in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, New York, 2002.

50. In a sense time has proved this suspicion to be well grounded. The protests in Durban, and to a lesser extent Cape Town, have rapidly developed to the point where they are issuing direct demands for democratisation and financial openness to the vanguardist NGO based intellectuals, such as Eddie Cottle and others, who have raised donor funding in the name of social movements and sought to gate-keep in various ways while operating independently of any representative structures.

51. For a study of the Mandela Park Anti-eviction Campaign see Ashwin Desai & Richard Pithouse, '"What stank in the past is the present's perfume": Dispossession, Resistance and Repression in Mandela Park', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 103, no. 4 (2004), pp. 841-875.

52. 'Kick Butt, Mr President', News24.com, 8 June 2005.

53. 'Mbeki Warns: no violence', *Independent on Saturday*, 6 November, 2004, 3.

54. The toilet situation has improved as a direct result of the struggle but everything else remains as it was.

55. Author's notes, 21 March 2005.

56. 'Isicathimiya' literally means 'on tip toes' and is a form of *a cappella* choral music developed in migrant worker hostels to enable choirs to sing without detection from bosses. It was made globally famous by Ladysmith Black Mambazo and generally expresses religious feeling or romantic yearning for the lost pleasures of (a no longer viable) rural life.

57. Interesting the language of the ANC – 'Amaqabane', 'macomrade' etc., as well as songs formerly associated with the anti-apartheid struggle – later returned but as the re-appropriated language of an unfolding people's struggle. This has been theorised in ongoing discussions within the community that have concluded that there is a difference between 'party politics' and 'people's politics' and that the

latter, identified as a mechanism of elite control, will always seek to capture the former, identified as a space for popular democracy. The concept of 'people's politics' is certainly dynamic though and at least three entirely new songs and various entirely new slogans have been composed too. There is now a strong sense of an old and ongoing struggle entering uncharted terrain.

58. For a discussion of the political history of the University of Durban-Westville see the article by Fazel Khan in Richard Pithouse, Ed., *Asinamali: University Struggles in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, New Jersey, African World Press, 2005.

59. This is discussed with characteristic insight, elegance and élan by Raj Patel in an unpublished paper 'Solidarity with Africa and Other Fairytales' (2005), Patel@ukzn.ac.za

60. This is largely due to the efforts of Patrick Bond. See Patrick Bond and Rehana Dada, *Trouble in the Air*, Durban, Centre for Civil Society 2005.

61. The work on the brickyard stopped after the road blockade. There was a stalemate for nine months. Then, on the 1st of November, the land, now popularly known as 'the promised land' in the settlement, was suddenly fenced off. That night more than 5,000 people stared down the armed security guards and then the police and removed the fencing. The next day the police, the National Intelligence Agency and Crime Intelligence dramatically stepped up their overt observations and intimidatory questioning of key individuals. The following day the police arrested Zoleka Thombo, 28 on a charge of possessing stolen property – a fence pole from the promised land had been found outside her shack. She was released on bail of R500 the next day and is scheduled to go to trial on 22 December 2005. The betrayal constituted by the selling of the promised land to a local business man and the criminalisation of a popular demand for an explanation was the foundational event on which the political culture of the *Abahlali baseMjondolo* movement was built.

62. Conversation with author, Kennedy Road, 22 March 2005.

63. Conversation with author, Kennedy Road, 22 March 2005.

64. Cited and discussed in Ashwin Desai & Richard Pithouse, '"What stank in the past is the present's perfume": Dispossession, Resistance and Repression in Mandela Park', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 103, no. 4, 2004. p. 857.

65. Jacob Bryant has undertaken invaluable interviews into memories about this event and thinking about its ongoing and evolving significance. The two key themes that emerge with regard to the enabling realisation of the collective capacity for resistance are well summed in quotes from Anton Zamisa and System Cele. Zamisa explains that 'before we were afraid, and then we were not afraid' (2005: 36) and Cele observes that 'Now ... our voice is heard ... our struggle is the voice of silent victims ... we hadn't been able to talk before' (2005: 2). Jacob Bryant, 'Towards Delivery and Dignity: Community Struggle from Kennedy Road', unpublished monograph, 2005', jacob.bryant@gmail.com

66. It is important to be open about the involvement of myself, and then other academics (Raj Patel, then Fazel Khan and then Richard Ballard) for various

reasons including a growing hysteria about this from the Municipality. The City Manager, Mike Sutcliffe, and the Mayor, Obed Mlaba, consistently seek to ascribe the struggle solely to our agency, to claim that we are profiting from the struggle by accessing donor funding in its name and to claim that we have a party political agenda to oust the local councillors. Each of these claims is entirely and demonstrably untrue. The paranoid focus on our agency is merely indicative of the profound disrespect for the intelligence of the shack dwellers. The views of a number of people in Kennedy Road about the relationship between academics and the shack dwellers' struggle are collected in Jacob Bryant's work.

67.   Author's notes.

68.   Conversation with Raj Patel, 15 May 2005.

69.   The best account of the Socialist Students' Movement is provided by Nataniel Johnson-Gottlieb in 'The Struggle Continues: A Reflection & Analysis of Time Spent with the Socialist Students' Movement at UKZN – Westville', (unpublished), johns167@chapman.edu

70.   Farook Khan, 'Police rule on staging of march', *Daily News*, 11 May 2005.

71.   Distribution of these pamphlets was conspicuously heaviest in the largely Xhosa Foreman Road settlement. This is just one instance of a willingness to try ethnic and racialised divide and rule tactics from above. Others include sending in a group of almost exclusively Indian police to beat people as they retreated into the Foreman Road settlement after their peaceful march was attacked by the police on 14 November 2005 and the consistent racialised recycling of the apartheid era agitator thesis by, amongst others, Councillors Baig and Bachu, Mayor Obed Mlaba and City Manager Mike Sutcliffe.

72.   This idea was then taken up in a number of other settlements and in the movement that emerged from the developing collaboration between settlements. So there have also been banners like 'University of Foreman Road' and 'University of Abahlali baseMjondolo'. Bryant quotes Derrick Gwala, a member of the Kennedy Road Committee, explaining that 'the struggle is like education, and it just keeps going on' (2005: 2).

73.   The term 'Third Force' became part of public discourse in South Africa after it was used to describe the apartheid security agents offering military support to the Zulu nationalist attacks on ANC supporters in the last years of apartheid. It is highly pejorative and implies outside manipulation towards evil ends. S'bu Zikode has since responded to the consistent use of the Third Force slur in a newspaper article published in various titles in the Independent group in early November 2005. It has been widely commented on and republished in Afrikaans, English and Zulu in publications ranging from newspapers to two academic journals and three mass market magazines. In this article Zikode argues that there is, indeed, a Third Force – poverty. However despite the enormous success of Zikode's article (it is arguably the single most important journalist intervention in post-apartheid South Africa) local ANC and city officials, including the local Councillor Yacoob Baig, Mayor Obed Mlaba and City Manager Mike Sutcliffe, continue to deploy variations of the Third Force discourse.

74. On 21 October there was another fire in Kennedy Road after a candle was knocked over. Eight shacks were burnt. A one year old boy, Mhlengi Khumalo, was very badly burnt and died the next Saturday night. An all-night memorial service was held in the Kennedy Road hall on 29 October and the T-shirts made for the occasion read, in translation from Zulu, 'Go well Mhlengi Khumalo – Electricity, land and housing would have saved his life'. Major attention to this death was won in elite publics and the mobilisation around the funeral in the settlements ensured that there was wide and serious discussion about the policies that put the lives of shack dwellers at constant risk. The Municipality did not take this well and cancelled a scheduled meeting on housing. However it has engendered a commitment to ensure that the deaths and day to day suffering of the poor are no longer allowed to pass unnoticed in wider society. Similar work has been under-taken with regard to the murder, in the settlement, of 22 year old Zothani Jwara and the stabbing of his brother Scelo, 20, for Zothani's cellphone on Sunday 11 December 2005. In this instance it is the general disinterest of the ambulance and police services that is being challenged.

75. Fazel Khan and Sally Gilles have continued to make and show films as the struggle has unfolded.

76. Discussion in this regard is ongoing and while there certainly are people who would prefer an electoral challenge the majority continue to favour peoples' politics over party politics.

77. Various people, including Mlaba, Sutcliffe and a number of ANC councillors have attacked the shack dwellers' protests as 'political' – implying or directly stating that they are part of a project to mount an electoral challenge to local ANC councillors and hence lack any credibility. As Richard Ballard has pointed out it is alarming that the possibility of a local electoral challenge to the ANC emerging from these struggles is so casually assumed to be good grounds for dismissing them as 'illegitimate'.

78. Author's notes, 29 August.

79. Carvin Goldstone, 'Feeling Good about Durban', *The Mercury* 8 September 2005.

80. All quotes from this meeting are taken from Fazel Khan's notes.

81. The toilet blocks have now been built. The pay per use idea was dropped and, after ongoing struggle, local labour was used and paid near decent wages. Volunteers take turns to maintain a 24-hour guard on the toilet blocks to ensure that there is no misuse.

82. There have been a number of other instances in which services have been removed from shack settlements. These include general policy decisions, such as the 2001 policy decision to stop the electrification of settlements, and more targeted actions such as the disconnection of the Pemary Ridge settlement from water during daylight hours in late October 2005.

83. This was the only settlement were resistance was developed and expressed through an ANC aligned organisation. The Municipality quickly used this to its advantage by making a deal for housing in the city with Quarry Road on condition

that Quarry Road cease working with the other settlements. They did so and the local leadership is reported to have informed people that only SANCO members will get houses.

84. D'sa has been a very effective activist for years in the township of Wentworth where he has campaigned against evictions, disconnections and the ongoing environmental racism of the oil refineries in the township.

85. Paul Kirk, '6 Thousand People Have to Use 6 Toilets', *The Citizen* 15 September 2005.

86. Carvin Goldstone & Michael De Vries, 'Clamour rises for shelter, services', *The Mercury* 15 September 2005.

87. The academic in question, Patrick Bond, has been the most effective academic critic of the ANC's neo-liberal policies but had, in fact, had nothing at all to do with the shack dwellers' struggle.

88. By late October a new committee had been elected into office in Foreman Road. The new committee was headed by Philani Dlamini, Lungisani Jama and Mnikelo Ndabankulu and generally made up of very young people. The old committee, led by Ma' Mjoli and widely understood to have been bought by Baig, initially accepted the transition. But on 15 November 2005, the day after the Foreman Road march was attacked by the police, the new committee was threatened by young armed men loyal to Ma' Mjoli. The threat of violence was generally believed to have been in response to pressure from above. Zulu-speaking police officers from South Durban were called and mediated the tense stand off fairly. The next Sunday, 20 November 2005, was the last day for voter registration. Baig staged a rally to encourage registration. Ma' Mjoli was able to mobilise a total of fifteen people to come to the rally. The contrast between this and thousands who supported the march destroyed the popular credibility of Ma' Mjoli's old committee entirely and seems to have removed the threat of violence.

89. Conversation with author, 15 September 2005.

90. It was rescheduled to later in October as key officials were in Nairobi for discussions with officials running the UN supported slum clearance programme there.

91. Some months later, in December 2005, a delegation of ten people from *Abahlali baseMjondolo* travelled to Johannesburg for the annual meeting of the Social Movements' Indaba. There they issued a direct challenge to the undemocratic practices of NGO-based vanguardist intellectuals. The democratisation that swept the settlements proved sufficiently self confident to sustain its momentum across the country and on to the terrain of the NGO-based Trotskyist intellectuals. For an important reflection on the currents of dogmatism within in the South African left, and better alternatives, see Andrew Nash, 'The Moment of Western Marxism in South Africa', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, African and the Middle East*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, 1999.

92. Fazel Khan was later nominated for the position of deputy chair when the committees of the fourteen settlements that had thus far been active in the struggle formally constituted themselves as a social movement – *Abahlali baseMjondolo* (shack dwellers). Khan declined the nomination on the grounds that only people

living in shacks should be able to hold office in the movement. This was accepted as a founding principle of the movement.

93. On 21 November 2005 there were fourteen settlements formally affiliated to the movement and another eight with various forms of partial affiliation. All of the fourteen formally affiliated settlements were governed on a fully democratic basis, were holding weekly mass meetings and sending delegations, elected afresh each week, to weekly Abahlali baseMjondolo meetings. Around 20,000 people had been actively mobilised by the movement in different ways and word of the movement had spread way beyond the settlements in which there was regular formal participation.

94. Fax from the Municipality dated 9 November 2005 and in the possession of the author. Sutcliffe's ban resulted in a hard hitting press statement by the Freedom of Expression Institute, an equally hard hitting article in a local newspaper by myself and a strongly worded petition by more than fifty top constitutional rights academics from round the world. However he remains unrepentant and has justified his illegal suppression of basic rights in national newspaper and radio on the grounds that the Foreman march was 'political'. Clearly for Sutcliffe basic rights should only be respected when their exercise poses no threat to constituted power.

95. Freedom of Expression Press Statement, dated 10 November 2005.

96. Author's notes.

97. Freedom of Expression Press Statement, 'FXI disturbed by growing number of state violations of the right to protest', 15 November 2005 A month later more than 50 delegates to the prestigious international Comparative Constitutionalism and Rights: Global Perspectives conference held at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), and opened by Vice-Chancellor Makgoba, signed a petition called for an investigation into both Sutcliffe's illegal ban on the Foreman Road march and the illegal police action.

98. A month after the march the Vice-Chancellor of UKZN, Professor Malegepuru Makgoba, informed Fazel Khan (in front of three witnesses) that Mayor Mlaba had asked him to take action against the UKZN academics he believed to be 'behind' the march. Makgoba said that he would submit the National Intelligence Agency report on the academics in question to the university council to see if there were grounds for a charge of incitement. Makgoba had just forced renowned scholar-activist and public intellectual Ashwin Desai out of the university on grounds that appear to be entirely illegal and related to a charge of incitement with regard to a university workers' struggle in 1996.

99. But, ironically, as mass protest was suppressed locally the opportunity for individual representatives of the movement to take high profile national platforms was increasing dramatically. On 14 December 2005 Philani Dlamini from Foreman Road was scheduled to appear on the largest national radio station, Ukhozi FM, System Cele was scheduled to appear on a small station, Al Ansaar, and S'bu Zikode was scheduled to debate the national minister of Local Government, Sydeny Mufumadi, on national television. No self-funded and

organised movement of the poor has ever won these kinds of platforms before in post-apartheid South Africa.

100. Jacob Bryant has made a good start to this. Bryant's interviews indicate that the Kennedy Road settlement had previously been run by an Induna (chief) in an undemocratic and exploitative manner until 2002 when Zikode led the push towards democratisation.

101. Badiou, *Metapolitics*, p. 101.

102. Badiou, *Metapolitics*, p. 73.

103. Badiou, *Metapolitics*, p. 88.

104. Badiou, *Metapolitics*, p. 24.

105. This is why genuine solidarity with a democratic movement is only possible via participation in its meetings. The meeting, in Badiou's language, is the space of (real) politics.

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Converging Constructions: A Historical Perspective on Sexuality and Feminism in Post-Colonial Africa

Abstract

In recent times, there have been emerging issues on the relevance of the feminist movement in sub-Saharan Africa and the theoretical reconceptualisations that have arisen in response to the discourses on rights, sexuality, roles and identities in the region. Studies have shown that unique factors have a direct bearing on the situation of African women, especially those in post-colonial territories, and that feminist actions in the region are influenced by converging constructs of statehood, culture, religion, politics and ethnicity. Theoretical developments relating to the public/private divide in civil societies provide further contexts in which to analyse African responses to feminism and sexuality. This paper analyses feminism and sexuality in post-colonial Africa as seen from the gendered lens of an African woman. It is a historical perspective of converging constructions that have an impact on the movement in the South, and the colonial dimensions and consequences of these flows on women, rights, identities and roles.

Introduction

The feminist movement that has emerged in post-colonial Africa is basically heterosexual, pronatal and concerned with women's rights, political and economic issues. It differs radically from the Western model which is, by and large, an advocacy of sexual rights, female control over reproduction, choices within human sexuality and essentialism. Discourses on sexuality and feminism in the sub-Saharan African region are political projects that reflect specific class, cultural and religious interests, and are based on a human rights strategy. Identifying gender-sex roles and identities in Africa has grown out of insights into post-colonial societies where the social and ideological structures of communities, and relationships in the public and private domains, remain essentially polyandrous. African women are active participants in these relationships in multi-dimensional roles, with responsibilities in the private and public domains remaining considerably gender specific (Mikell, 1995:422). Emerging feminist actions in the region are directed at bringing existing socio-cultural ideas of gender into the open, challenging them and defending

suggestions for acceptable alternative forms and resolutions.[1] There is also a greater boldness in addressing the economic and political elements that determine social constructions of gender roles and women's status in African societies.

The challenge to develop 'new' views of gender 'equalities' in regions that have always had distinct cultural traditions and historical experiences continues to pose difficulties. Throughout the region, the argument that African women should be accorded greater access to resources and control over their sexual lives; and the emerging views that male and female roles are parallel and complementary and should extend across household, economic, political and religious circles, remain novel and theoretical in many respects.[2] The frequent conflicts between traditional/cultural, state/political and gender/sex interests are some of the special challenges encountered in the continent. African women's 'unique' and 'universal' roles in rituals of birth, marriage, death and other rites of passage and the strong association of women with reproductive and household activities, propagated by the male oriented colonial era has continued into the post-colonial moment (Osha, 2004: 7).

Feminist knowledge systems emerged out of the necessity of addressing African female subjecthood in the context of these pressures. A new inquiry into the meaning, nature, modalities, possibilities and desirability of an African feminist epistemology has become unavoidable in the competition with Western theories (Mikell, 1995: 416). The challenges, problems and prospects of the movement in third world feminist discourses are unique.[3] The relations between religion and gender equality continues to be a 'multicultural headache' as religious freedoms and women's human rights remain burning issues in African societies (Parasher, 1995: 225). This article hopes to provide a historical insight into 'another' reflection on gender issues, and the contributions of African feminism to gender discourses.

Sexuality and Colonialism

The history of the African female figure has been linked to the vast project of colonialism, as the sex and gender role conflicts in post-colonial Africa are partly as a result of social structures that arose during the colonial period (Brain, 1976). African political economies were tied to the West, and African men were given increased recognition in political and commercial circles relative to women. After colonisation, hierarchical gender roles and discriminatory relationships in politics, economics, religion and culture have tended to be continual. African women's struggle against gender asymmetry and inequality is often described in terms of the relationship between public and private spheres, or the 'domestic versus public' distinction in gender roles (Amadiume, 1997). In colonial Africa, female subordination took intricate forms 'grounded' in traditional culture and implemented through this domestic-public

dichotomy.[4] In many historical African societies, male and female roles were peculiar to the original social patterns and ideologies of those societies, but these became reconfigured around the edges as the society changed and evolved. The imposition of Western capitalism and political hegemonies altered the dynamics of gender and sexuality in many colonised societies with the result that the historical and contemporary dynamics of the African state, and its approach to gender issues, have been different at different times. Feminist research has disproved the pervasive stereotype that African gender roles are mired in an 'archaic' past, and demonstrated that these roles have changed as culture is reshaped by experience and development.[5]

Analysing the identities of African males and females before colonisation does not deny the underlying issues of sex and gender in reproduction, marriage, family and other rites of passage, concerns and responsibilities. Rather, feminist analyses focus on understanding how these biological differences were used or ignored in traditional African social structures and relationships (Paulme, 1974). African feminists tend to accept symbolic gender distinctions and identities that incorporate naturist assumptions about 'femaleness' and 'maleness', but nevertheless challenge the subordination of women as an accompanying feature of these cultural constructs. The present concern is how women negotiate and manipulate gender relationships and meanings to meet their needs and interests at the local, national and global levels (Cook, 1992:646).

Western feminists are often troubled that African women take their reproductive roles too seriously, celebrate their ability to give birth, and refuse to subordinate their biological roles to other roles within society. This pro-natal aspect of African culture is reflected in the fact that in many parts of the continent, African women still bear five or more children while being economically active.[6] The alternative nature-culture ingredient in African feminism is not likely to disappear in the near future, although its manifestation may continue to weaken. Consequently, one must always consider the pro-natal element when one examines contemporary African feminism and its interaction with the state.

Before colonisation, women's contribution to the economies in their societies demonstrated how the household and political societies were linked through their activities and contributions. Economic and political relationships were 'corporate', not individual, and women conceived of their roles as determined by their membership in 'corporate' groups that included the family, society and nation (Jacobs, 1987). This fusion of society, culture and community structured the roles that African women played in private, social, political and economic arenas.[7] The early ideological model acknowledged that individuals were part of many interdependent human relations including family and community. Because African societies were constructed upon a corporate base that emphasised kinship and reproduction, women had unique roles. The

range of high level female positions in pre-colonial sub-Saharan African
societies, including royal queens and queen mothers as well as chiefs and
religious advisers, made African politics distinct from politics in many other
areas of the world.[8] Scattered throughout the myths of both patrilineal and
matrilineal groups are references to early female rulers and priestesses in
charge of shrines and deities, who led and protected their people as they estab-
lished or expanded the polity.[9] Female leaders were not called 'feminists',
although women leaders were often responsible for representing women
(Arhin, 1983). Male dominance did exist at many levels, including the
domestic/household level and level of popular culture, but the corporate and
dual sex structures created a façade of egalitarianism by allowing women a
voice in certain leadership roles and public female representation (Busia,
1951).

(En)Gendered Reconstructions and the Widening Gap

During colonisation, the early state progressively centralised society, and
religious, cultural and corporate model ideologies were used to restructure men
and women's positions. Governments increasingly refused to acknowledge the
legitimacy of women's dual sex roles. Women started to experience social
inequalities in cultural, political, religious and other realms as the state evolved
and society 'developed' (Omoyajowo, 1982). A pattern of gross female
exclusion and gender biases emerged as Islam and Christianity made incur-
sions into sub-Saharan Africa.[10] By inserting the ethics of Western Chris-
tendom, the regime became the major force in changing sub-Saharan African
women's symmetries and identities during the late nineteenth and early
twentieth centuries.

    The changes affected gender relations through overt support for 'patriarchy'
and 'individualism', and advanced new economic approaches that challenged
the corporate and dual sex-gender concepts embedded within African culture
and communities (Douglas, 1971). As the colonial regime moved from initial
operations of penetration to political and economic integration, men's roles
progressively separated from women's roles in every sphere of society. Across
the continent, 'civilising' missions sought to totally reconstruct African society
and culture. The result was that men struggled to achieve autonomy from the
intrusive colonial force and to revalidate control over their social lives.[11]
Conjugal relations of the new marriage systems also tended to solidify the
notion of male dominance within marriage, even though the new laws
contained 'protections' for wives of monogamous unions.[12] African cultural
practices, like polygamy, that had hitherto provided an avenue for societal
stability, security and continuity, were viewed as repugnant and in need of
changing (Smith, 1965).

The colonial regime also conceived of men as playing the major economic and productive roles even in agriculture.[13] Colonial administrators found it difficult to conceptualise the centrality of women and their contribution to new agricultural strategies. Occasional fluctuations in the colonial and global economies gave women opportunities for agricultural experimentation and farm management (as in Western Kenya since the 1930s), or offered limited opportunities for farm ownership and profits from trade (as in cocoa growing areas of Nigeria and Ghana between the 1920s and 1940s) (Priestley, 1992). Among the Kikuyu of Kenya, land scarcities resulting from European appropriation of land for plantations encouraged male migration, and made it more difficult for wives, who had been left behind in the villages, to secure land for subsistence farming (Hay, 1982). In Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya, women penetrated, albeit with great difficulty, the world of factory or civil service employment, but then faced the difficulty of balancing domestic and wage labour demands.[14] In many domestic and economic realms, the processes of colonial domination and capitalist development interacted with traditional culture to change and distort sex roles by increasing the workloads for women in public and private spheres. This created the social dynamics of individualism, which clashed with the traditional communal compact and resulted in significant gender inequity for ordinary women.

On the other hand, new legal options during the colonial periods, gave women some opportunities to air their grievances against cultural injustices.[15] In several cases, these women did not seem to wish to challenge tradition but felt they had to object to extreme inequities regarding traditional marriage and property rights.[16] Cultural inhibitions on women instituting court proceedings were evident in West, East and South Africa, but there were often alternative dispute mechanisms to resolve such cases.[17] Among the Kikuyu, Akamba and other Kenyan groups are cases of gender inequity in traditional laws that were exaggerated by implementation of notions from English common law, which treated women as dependants with no proprietary capacity (Hay, 1982). Led by urban activists, women's organisations often lobbied for a unified standard of benefits for married women, whether married under traditional or Western law.[18] Particularly after the Second World War period, the realisation of the coming demise of colonialism appeared to give a new dimension to women's rights.[19] However, although post-independence legal change challenged many gender inequalities, male privileges hatched during colonisation persisted into the contemporary period.

Conceptualising Rights: The Emergence of African Feminism

Over the past three decades, many states in post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa have survived several crises; the onset of coups and the establishments of democratic regimes, economic instabilities culminating in the collapse of
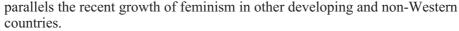
national economies, the imposition of controversial Western styled Structural Adjustment Programmes, and the external pressure to 'democratise' government processes so as to involve the 'people'. From the onset, the pressure to democratise and open up public participation to women, as well as protect their 'rights', has been externally derived. This has produced female responses that have grown out of a mixture of indigenous African experiences and colonial interventions (Callaway, 1987). Women started to challenge existing stereotypes, as well as verbalise and demonstrate their visions of gender roles in the continent on their own terms.

Foreign and external concepts of 'gender' and 'sex' have also spurred many African feminists to reassess 'female subordination' and dual-sex patterns that have been generated throughout African history.[20] These structures and cultural patterns have provided symbolic reference points for African women to advocate for gender equity in contemporary periods.[21] The obvious signs are that feminists have begun to reject the limitations of indigenous and colonial gender stereotypes and are struggling to achieve equitable roles in their societies. They have become more vocal about social, personal, cultural, religious and political challenges and their newly emerging vision of African feminism (Oyewumi, 1997). The twin human-sexual rights awareness in sub-Saharan Africa has also resulted in political struggles for increased partici-pation by women and dealing with the dilemma of having to respond to the persistent gender hierarchy in ways that are personally liberating as well as politically positive (Butegwa, 1993). This is not a totally new challenge for African women. As earlier mentioned, gender hierarchy and dual sex roles, evident in traditional African culture, was present before the colonisation of many African states. Subsequently, hierarchical gender roles and divisions in politics, culture and religion have tended to be continual and feminist struggles to overcome gender and sex stereotypes are struggles that the African woman has come to be familiar with.

The African feminist approach differs structurally from the Western forms principally because African (and much third world feminism) owes its origins to different dynamics than those that generated Western feminism (Coomaraswamy, 1994). African women's resistance to Western hegemony and its foreign legacy within African culture have also shaped the post-colonial movement. The African discourse has not grown out of the individualism within capitalist industrialising societies that brought about the 'women's rights are human rights' agenda and shaped the movements in the United States, Britain and other European countries.[22] The new African feminism is not essentially characteristic of the feminist debates in Western countries about the female body, sexuality, autonomies and sexual rights. Rather, the emerging African model is distinctly heterosexual, pro-natal and concerned with economic, social, cultural and political empowerment.[23] To this extent, it

parallels the recent growth of feminism in other developing and non-Western countries.

The African variant of feminism has grown out of a history of female integration within largely masculine and agrarian-based societies with strong cultural heritages. These differences in the development of 'feminisms' have caused frictions in certain ways between Western and African forms, particularly over sensitive issues like sexuality, abortion, clitoridectomy, early marriage and other customary practices that are culturally accepted in many non-Western societies.[24] There are also frictions between Western state actors who have been intent in implementing policies that would 'advance' women's development in Africa and the third world (Mohanty, 1989). Because of these fundamental differences in premises, the reference points for many Western feminists and those in sub-Saharan Africa have been structurally different. While Western feminists emphasise individual female autonomy and sexual rights, African counterparts are struggling with culturally 'accepted' forms of female subordination, gender inequity and inequality.

The newly emerging African feminism has also been as a result of women's responses to political leaders who have attempted to limit political participation by women. This resistance has pushed women towards greater boldness in addressing the economic, legal and political elements that determine and affect gender and status in societies that have distinct cultural traditions and historical experiences.[25] What has changed in the contemporary context is that the tradition, while continuing to be a source of cultural consensus, is now being openly questioned and reinterpreted (Walker, 1990). In post-colonial Africa, the traditional authority has been challenged and supplanted by modern actors, whose authority is not derived from the above factors. However, the insistence of fundamental 'rights' in liberal feminist ideologies currently being propagated by many Western theories is often inapplicable to a third world or African situation. The reality is that tensions between the political state and certain 'rights' continue in many third world countries.[26] To be sure, feminists all over the world have broadened the parameters of debate and transformed the agenda to women's rights, gender equality and equity. But it can hardly be claimed (by African feminists) that they have succeeded in gaining acceptance for the new interpretations and dimensions of sexualities and sexual rights.[27] Nevertheless, there are significant developments in post-colonial feminism, even though many African societies have not fully become part of the contemporary discourse on civil society and possible constructions of 'gender' and 'sexuality'.

Gender Discourses and the Challenges to Universality

One of the main achievements of feminist analysts in African countries, and post-colonial states in particular, has been to make women's experiences

visible and relevant. It is now possible for women in these regions to engage in communicative discourses on the interpretation or reinterpretations of the concepts of gender justice and roles, especially on issues related to women's rights (Oyewumi, 1997). What this means is that there is presently a new social movement engaged in public information regarding the reconceptualisation of women's identities. This is surely a big step forward. The novel and encouraging aspect of this development is that women are not only engaged in gaining access to the political or economic spheres of the state, but are engaged in redefining the meaning of gender and human rights in their societies. For the first time, women are articulating their aspirations and expectations in their own right.[28]

Many feminists have taken steps to critically re-examine their assumptions about the homogeneity of women's experiences, and have sought to analyse whether women's differences in different territories preclude the formulation of common political agendas and coalitions for action. The writings and activism of many women in post-colonial contexts or in developing areas around the world have challenged the idea that there should be a 'commonality' or 'globality' in the forms of feminist expressions and activism.[29] Amrita Basu, for example, has suggested that such an assumption of sameness eludes the multiplicity of women's differences around the world, within different countries, and more specifically in post-colonial and developing countries (Basu, 1995). She claims that in the attempt to create a uniform feminist identity or agenda across national, geographic, cultural or ethnic boundaries, there is often a failure to appreciate 'the extent to which women's movements are locally situated'. Amrita opines that if feminism is defined in terms of Western conceptions and forms of activism, not only is there a danger of inappropriately imposing Western priorities and goals on women in diverse contexts, but there is a failure to recognise the strength and transformative potential of women's organising as it exists in their local settings.

Another structural difference perceived is that much analysis and vision for change in the Western movement have tended to be formulated around the concerns of gay, transsexual and 'white' women citizens.[30] Many African feminists have challenged such mainstream movements to rethink analysis of the social structures and dynamics that frame African women. According to Oyeronke Oyewumi's thought-provoking introduction to her recently edited volume *African Women and Feminism* (2003), 'We will continue to define ourselves and our concerns on our own terms'. The assertion underscores one of the most enduring predicaments of African feminist epistemologies: the incompatibility with Western Knowledge formations and their compulsion to universality.[31]

Amrita's fears and similar schools of thought are valid in the sense that women's concerns and gender issues are viewed from different angles and trajectories. The category of a singular 'feminist' movement is often wrongly

used to capture the experiences and analyses of hugely diverse populations whose concerns defy singular definition. It reduces the complex situations that women in the global South face to a fictitious common experience (Mohanty, 1991). The need to recognise the specificity of 'local feminisms' is vital to the movement in post-colonial and third world territories. Although third world women are not a monolithic category, it is easy to identify opportunities for coherent third world feminist struggles that are based on peculiar differences. Even as women in the third world experience oppression in different ways from their Western counterparts; cultural, political and religious biases contribute and further complicate these differences. Mohanty situates third world feminist struggles at the 'intersection of different relations', appreciating that women may experience the oppressive aspects of these relations of ruling differently while also recognising the common 'complex of domination that all women face' (Mohanty, 1991). She asserts that Africans can identify opportunities for coherent 'third World feminist' struggles that are based on 'common experiences'. Other activists have argued that despite the multiplicity of situations, locations and identities of third world women, the experience of the women's human rights movement suggests that a global feminism driven by international feminist networking is also possible.[32]
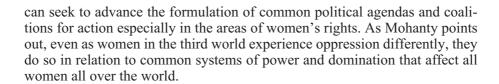
The contentious issues as to what third world feminism means in the face of particular claims around culture, national sovereignty, religion, politics and other forms of social identities, have echoed in debates around the world. As Florence Butegwa points out, human rights are universal in the sense that all laws, treaties, procedures and policies theoretically apply equally to all people, including women from all jurisdictions of the world. She believes that universal human rights and claims of particular women can be seen as complementary rather than in opposition or in conflict (Butegwa, 1993). In this way, the idea of universal human rights serves as a regulative principle that informs the articulation of women's local demands and strengthens their resistance to oppression and abuse.

The latter argument may be more palatable to certain feminist ideals, as the former relativist stance seems to create potential situations in which women's rights can easily be eroded in the name of social, cultural or religious particularities. As feminists and activists all over the world have recognised, a new approach to human rights, or a new understanding of universality that encompasses the idea of women's rights, is desirable. When local women's groups use human rights thinking and practice, especially in the context of international networking, they actively demonstrate the complementary links between universal ideals and local struggles, and the necessity to translate international laws into national social and political practices.[33] Feminist networking has successfully linked together women from diverse backgrounds to work on common projects that have been central to the global campaign and movement for women's human rights. Consequently, feminism in post-colonial Africa

can seek to advance the formulation of common political agendas and coalitions for action especially in the areas of women's rights. As Mohanty points out, even as women in the third world experience oppression differently, they do so in relation to common systems of power and domination that affect all women all over the world.

Post-colonial African Sexuality: Converging Constructions and Other Dimensions
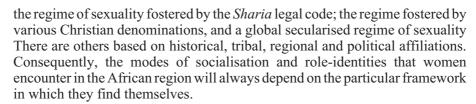
In the history of colonialism, Western ideas and concepts of female sexuality played a very important part in African societies, and a variety of Western imperial projects reconfigured the discourse of African sexuality in many ways. Multiple structures of characterisation, subjectification and construction evolved from the institution of the colonial order.[34] Within the dominant ethos of colonialism, the female sex maintained a denigrated position in the hierarchical structure. The order transferred these structures, classifications and domination to the post-colonial state, which has failed to critique this structural feminine oppression. More recently however, feminist researchers of the colonial and post-colonial periods have begun to theorise on this incomplete process of decolonisation.

After colonisation and independence, African societies continued to subject the colonial gender- sex identities to further pressures and constructions across the continent (Leith-Ross, 1965). The post-colonial state remained largely patriarchal and unreconstructed. In addition to reproducing the logic of colonial oppression, it formulated converging constructions of sexual identities.[35] In contemporary societies, the colonial frameworks and background continued to formulate elaborate approaches to, and discourses on, sexualities. Variables such as culture, ethnicity, religion and class remained determinants and dimensions that converged to complicate the problem. At this juncture, it can be emphasised that post-colonial Africa did not have a universalised reading of feminism and theorisation. Instead, multiple readings and constructions of sexual roles and identities that accorded with the differences and complexities of the phenomenon emerged.[36]

African feminism identifies with a secularised, global regime and movement, but is also a regime that has not quite entered the domain of liberalism and modern sexuality. In conceptualising the notion of sexuality, the facts of diversity inflected by variables of religion, culture, ethnicity, and region and of course the post-colonial state, are factors that need to be recognised. These variables in varying degrees and in various ways affect the forms of sexualisation and the modes of feminist actions that they invite (Urdang, 1979). One is tempted to identify further 'orders' of sexuality in the African situation in the following manner: the post-colonial nationalist order which takes its impetus and its ideological muscle from the very font of colonialism;

the regime of sexuality fostered by the *Sharia* legal code; the regime fostered by various Christian denominations, and a global secularised regime of sexuality There are others based on historical, tribal, regional and political affiliations. Consequently, the modes of socialisation and role-identities that women encounter in the African region will always depend on the particular framework in which they find themselves.

Underlying the situation is the gulf within national understandings of sexuality, epistemologies within the public and private domains, and aesthetics in which both politics and patriarchy play a prominent part. Women in ethnic minorities often have to deal with antagonistic pulls of gender inequality and ethnic identity. We must read the possible colonial dimensions of these flows, that is, the colonialism of their logics and also the technologies of domination that they enable, in order to know the feminist ideologies that are possible within the structures and hierarchies of power.[37] Thus, in order to understand contemporary sexuality in post-colonial Africa, there is the need to revisit the history of colonial oppression to understand its construction(s) of sexuality within the colonial epoch itself and beyond it to determine the ways in which the logics of sexuality have been disabled, enabled or reproduced (Haram, 2004). In essence, the way(s) in which women's sexuality may be constructed in contemporary Africa and the modes of socialisation that accompany that process depend, to a large extent, on the previously mentioned variables of culture, ethnicity, religion and region. The ideological underpinnings that mediate these various determinants are important in the discourse of feminism if we grant that these variables are some of the broad categories by which women's sexualities are constituted in post-colonial Africa (Arnfred, 2004).

While the feminist movement in the West bases its claims to sexual rights in the universal sphere of freedom and autonomy, the success of the African movement is mostly reliant on 'interpretations' of religious and cultural values, political structures and policy statements.[38] Consequently, many definitions and conceptualisations of sexual rights adopted by Western styled feminists remain relevant only for Western civil societies.[39] The constituents of community, culture and ethnicity and their interlinking to gender, sexuality and rights are very relevant and crucial to feminist discourses on female sexuality and rights in the African continent, especially the sub-Saharan region.[40] This interaction between gender and cultural aspects of identity is captured by the theoretical concepts used by many feminist analyses in post-colonial Africa. The potentials and politics of multiculturalism and multi-ethnicity in a poly-ethnic society are the chief mechanisms that interlink the discourse on feminism in the continent. In essence, their meanings and interactions with gender specific issues need to be negotiated by women in third world countries who wish to succeed and make an impact on the transformative potential of feminism.

Conclusion

Throughout the continent, African women have become more aware of their rights as women, and of the need to address their subordinate positions in public and private life. There is a new willingness among African women to strategise for change and be more specific in their goals and modes of operation for achieving a new gender compact. For the most part, they are concerned about how to reconcile 'feminism' with culture and other converging factors, in assertive and positive ways. It has become clear that the earlier fascination with achieving post-colonial 'democracy' and 'modernisation' was misplaced, as women are still struggling to understand the 'patrimonial autocracy' that African states have experienced and why these conditions have affected women more negatively than men.[41] Women are questioning men's ideological perceptions of women as nurturing, acquiescent, subordinate and familial and not as people with equal capabilities and rights.[42] More than ever, African women are challenging the inequitable relationships that exist in their societies, the cultural models or compacts that continue to influence their lives, and the deep social issues that are affected by ethnic, political, religious and economic crisis. Whilst reassessing their positions, they are nonetheless aware that a strong thread of cultural continuity connects their lives and the experiences of earlier generations. Although the detotalisations and despatialisations of postmodernism, coupled with the post-colonial's privileging of cultural pluralism and frameworks, have unsettled the bases of cultural authenticity, African feminist epistemologies suggests that this authenticity remains easily resistant in the face of misrepresentation or occlusion by dominant, foreign knowledge systems.

This new mood of 'African feminisim' considers the convergence of these multiple identities and their alignment with cultural expectations and interests. They know that to be taken seriously, the strategy should not be to develop radical theories ... but theories to which such acknowledgements and consider-ations pose no threat. Instead of attempting to 'eliminate' sexism, or 'trans-form' patriarchy into sexually neutral frameworks, the African feminist must be realistic and aim at establishing unique discourses, based on knowledge of her peculiar system that can be meaningfully used to articulate her position. The persistence of authentic clashes with Western feminist ideologies necessi-tates the inquiry into the meaning, nature, modalities and possibilities of a feminist epistemology fashioned on its own terms. This approach enables a 'cultural reading' that is focused on the power relations that work through constructions of masculinities and femininities. In the final analysis, the new model of African feminism represents a point of view that is inspired by specific discourse analysis, gender studies and post-colonial theory.
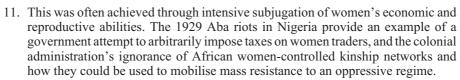
Notes

1. Report of the Women's Human Rights Caucus at the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, 1995, Prepared by Susana Fried, with Deevy Holcomb, Center for Women's Global Leadership, 1995.

2. The nature-oriented view of male and female genders is gradually been replaced by other more sophisticated analyses: a view of gender roles as asymmetrical and equal. However, this has not been without much resistance.

3. There are also strong and persistent conflicts within the region, between traditional systems and secular 'democratic' models that are based on gender-specific rights.

4. These unequal gender relationships were further exaggerated by Christian and other Western contacts, and patterns of inequalities arose that were actually distortions of the original African models.

5. Indeed, earlier gender roles tended to form around indigenous African cultural models that encouraged dual sex participation, but these roles were modelled and reconstructed during the colonial and post-colonial periods.

6. Since the 1970s, the average fertility rate of many African women has hovered around five children, but this has not reduced women's interest in occupations outside the home. Of course, multiple factors now influence women's fertility rates, but the majority (of educated women) still give birth more often than their Western counterparts. Thus, we can say that what it means to be an 'empowered' African woman differs materially from the anti-naturalist campaign of women in the industrialised west.

7. Queen Mother Yaa Asantewaa of Ashanti mobilised the Asante regiments and led them into battle against the British, who had exiled King Prempeh after colonial conquest of 1900. Although no match for British firepower, Yaa Asantewaa's courageous loyalty remains an inspiration to Asante school girls. See also Lebeuf, Annie, 'The Role of Women in the Political Organisation of African Societies', in *Women of Tropical Africa*, ed., Denise Pulme, Berkeley: University of California Press.

8. Among the Hausa of Nigeria, a line of seventeen *magajiya* (or queens) had their own compounds, advised the king, and received part of the royal money. By the seventeenth century, however, royal Hausa women had lost their religious and political authority as a result of the jihads. See also Smith, M.G., 'The Hausa of Northern Nigeria', in *Peoples of Africa*, ed., James Gibbs, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

9. Despite the Islamic limitations on acknowledgement and representation of traditional spirits and deities, women in Senegambian and West African communities interacted with spirits, acted as sorcerers and promoted community well-being and cohesion throughout these areas.

10. Many researchers of the pre- and post-colonial eras have shown that the contradictions of the colonial and nationalist experiences further distorted the gender roles inherent within the original political structures. In Luo communities in Kenya, the penetration of Christianity led to larger monogamous family sizes, as well as heightened involvement of women in public economic decision making.
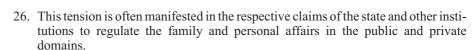
11. This was often achieved through intensive subjugation of women's economic and reproductive abilities. The 1929 Aba riots in Nigeria provide an example of a government attempt to arbitrarily impose taxes on women traders, and the colonial administration's ignorance of African women-controlled kinship networks and how they could be used to mobilise mass resistance to an oppressive regime.

12. Even the African women activists of the 1960s were concerned about laws affecting marriage and the question of 'who is a wife?' assumed additional proportions. These social constructs affected the economic livelihood of women and their children. See Vallenga, Dorothy Dee, 'Who is a wife: Legal Expressions of Heterosexual Conflict in Ghana', in *Female and Male in West Africa*, ed., Christine Oppong, London: Allen and Unwin, 1983.

13. This is ironic given the predominance of farming in many parts of pre-colonial Africa, and the fact that traditional gender spheres of work often assigned regular crop production to women.

14. See Daaku, K. Y., *Trade and Politics in the Gold Coast: 1600-1820*, London: Clarendon, 1970.

15. For example, in the British colonial records for 1900-1925, there are many instances of women rebelling against injustices perceived within the logic of the traditional system and ideology.

16. In Ghana and Nigeria, the British desire to make determinations about women based in 'customary law' often encouraged them to give African males greater traditional powers than the culture justified.

17. See Crummey, Donald, 'Women, landed property, and litigation', in *African Women and the Law: Historical Perspectives*, ed., Margaret Jean Hay and Marcia Wright, Boston: Boston University, 1982. The Amhara women of Ethiopia in the early sixties appeared to have contradicted the pattern of lesser female property rights and exclusion of women litigants from the courts found in many other parts of Africa. Nevertheless, they do not appear to have gained the same representation in the courts as men.

18. Ibid, p. 31.

19. Supra n. 12.

20. See for example, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, Cherie Moraga & Gloria Anzaldua, eds., Kitchen Table: 1981.

21. Supra, n. 1.

22. Arnfred, S., ed., 2004, *Rethinking Sexualities in Africa*, Uppsala, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

23. Ibid.

24. The attempt to persuade African women that mutilation of the genitalia resulted from male-controlled oppression of women or from ideological constructs that devalued women was met with general resistance until recently.

25. Because the extent of feminism in a typical third world context is often based on patriarchal systems, tradition and religion, the movement is characterised by strong male resistance.

26. This tension is often manifested in the respective claims of the state and other institutions to regulate the family and personal affairs in the public and private domains.

27. For instance, in respect of abortion as a feminist issue, many who advocate women's rights to safe abortions constantly battle against the claims of religious and cultural groups. The emphasis on political rights and equality for women, achieved by targeting the state, has also not necessarily resulted in the social transformation of women's lives.

28. The fact that such mobilisation often takes place in religious and traditional settings necessarily pre-supposes that feminist attitudes are 'foreign' and confrontational. The transformative potential of feminism, in the region, is thus constantly confronted with postmodernist analyses and converging challenges that seem to deny the possibility of a successful struggle.

29. See Schuller, Margaret, 'Introduction" *From Basic Needs To Basic Rights: Women's Claim to Human Rights*, Margaret Schuller, ed., 1995.

30. Supra n. 20.

31. See also Cook, Rebecca, 'International Human Rights Law Concerning Women: Case Notes and Comments,' *Vand. J. Transnat'l* L, 23, 1990: 779.

32. For example, in articulating what she sees as the bases of third world feminism, Mohanty shifts the focus away from particular experiences to an analyses of the way in which power is exercised in the world. Similarly, through an understanding of the exercise of power as global and interconnected (that is, universally experienced, albeit different in its effects) an argument can be made for universal human rights as a system of accountability in all jurisdictions.

33. Thus, even though it is difficult to find a common framework or perspective through which to analyse women's lives and organize for change without falling into the trap of false universality, the idea that women must choose between universality and particularity has been challenged.

34. Assumptions regarding patriarchal domination on one hand, and lascivious sexuality on the other, characterised colonial and missionary perceptions of gender and sexuality.

35. Exploring the relationships between colonialism and sexuality has demonstrated the centrality of African women's sexuality and the formations and constructions of colonial identities in ways that reverberate even within the post-colonial moment.

36. See Ajayi, J. F.A. Crowder M., *History of West Africa*, Third edition, London: Longman, 1985, p. 61. An example is that a particular regime of sexuality under Islamic law and culture exists alongside other regimes instituted and supported by various Christian denominations.

37. If we concede that there are various 'regimes' of sexuality in existence and that they invite different modes of socialisation, then we also accept that we are broadening the very notion and script of feminism.

38. The acceptance of a particular interpretation by the state certainly influences the movement in that region, and organisations and associations that do not have their
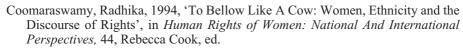
interpretations accepted often do not make the desired impact in contemporary societies.

39. See Shettima, Kole Ahmed, *Women's Movement and Visions: The Nigerian Labor Congress Women's Wing*, in *Africa et Development*, Dakar: CODESRIA, 1990.

40. See Schneider, Harold, *The Africans: An Ethnological Account*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice Hall, 1981.

41. In fact, development has often been termed good for African men and bad for African women.

42. In Mead, M., *Male and Female*, (New York: William Morrow), Margaret Mead modified her earlier 1934 'nurturist' view of cultural flexibility in the content of sex roles by speaking of women achieving full 'sex role membership' through reproduction, in contrast to male sex-role membership being achieved through occupation.

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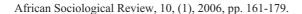
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Western Social Sciences[1] and Africa: The Domination and Marginalisation of a Continent

Introduction

This paper seeks to investigate the role that Western world views, or what one scholar has referred to as the Western 'sociology of ideas',[2] informed largely, but not only, by knowledge derived from the various branches of social science disciplines, played in the history of the African continent and its people. The article considers the topic from the period of the Renaissance and the wave of early European expansion that it gave rise to, through the Enlightenment and the rise of Western industrialism, the era of European colonialism in Africa, to the post-colonial era. It recognises the fact that Western social science has never been monolithic in its approaches and ideas and that what constitutes knowledge has always been contested. Nevertheless, there has been, since the development of Modern Europe, what can rightfully be called a Western view of the world, particularly with respect to non-Western societies and cultures.

The paper argues that, apart from other effects, Western science, capitalism and social science and other knowledges and practices not only led to the domination of the African continent by the West but also to its marginalisation in the world in terms of economic development and Africa's capacity to participate fully in the global knowledge community. It further argues that the domination and marginalisation that were the hallmarks of the centuries of interaction between Africa and the West continue to the present and have serious implications for Africa's future development. Finally, it calls for the development of an African social science tradition and investigates the challenges facing scholars in Africa.

The paper is organised into four segments. The first traces the rise of European expansionism culminating in the establishment of the Atlantic economic system that was built on the back of African slave labour, which, in turn, fuelled the industrial revolution in Europe. The second part investigates the impact of the Enlightenment and industrialism on Africa, especially the rise of European colonialism which was facilitated and entrenched by European technology and the social sciences and which produced particular long-lasting negative effects on African societies. The third part addresses the role of Western social science in the form of the neo-liberal paradigm pushed by multi-lateral financial agencies and its impact on Africa. The last and final part

explores the need for developing an African social science tradition and the challenges facing African social scientists.

From the Renaissance to the Atlantic system

Although the 'modern' period is often dated from the era of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century, it can be argued that the trends that eventually resulted in the flowering of the Enlightenment and the industrialism that accompanied and complemented it began much earlier in the Renaissance and the Mercantilist system that emerged from it. The intellectual and cultural ferment that characterised the Renaissance resulted in a profound transformation in the way that European society conceptualised, organised and managed itself and brought about dramatic changes in Europe's economic and political systems and practices. These changes had far-reaching consequences for the rest of the world, in general, and Africa, in particular, as the societies outside Europe were gradually but progressively incorporated into an evolving international trade network with its centre in Europe in the early phase of what we now call globalisation.

The Renaissance was accompanied, among other developments, by the rise of nation states, an information packaging and dissemination revolution in the form of the invention of the printing press, the emergence of banks and insurance and other forms of financial support for commerce, the Reformation and the widespread use of gunpowder, which gave European nations great potential for destruction and, therefore, for subjugation of peoples abroad, and an acceleration in the quest to discover new lands through the voyages of exploration (not 'voyages of discovery' as the indigenous populations knew where they were). Making these voyages possible were a number of technological innovations that improved the quality of sailing ships and the development of cartography, which made navigation safer and more reliable.

While the social sciences as academic disciplines are of relatively recent origin, the ideas that later gave rise to them had been around for a long time even if not conceptualised and articulated as academic disciplines. Thus, ideas about economic organisation, politics, law, and social organisation, among others, were influential in shaping European society and practices long before disciplines formally classified as social sciences came into existence. It was, for instance, contemporary European ideas of what constituted sound economic principles and practices, then known as Mercantilism, which guided Europe's early domestic economic arrangements and its overseas policies. The quest for bullion, then regarded as the true measure of a nation's wealth, inspired the voyages of exploration and led, subsequently, to the colonisation of the Caribbean and Latin America and parts of Africa and Asia.

Equally, even though Anthropology as a discipline had not yet been established, it was European assumptions about the inferiority of non-western

societies and the superiority of Western culture that influenced their attitudes to and interactions with the societies of the lands that they subjugated. Indeed, in the case of Native Americans, it required a huge debate between Spain's leading theologians, Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepulveda, to determine whether they were rational men or beasts. It took Pope Paul III's papal bull in1537 decreeing that Indians were, indeed, rational human beings to resolve this vexed question.[3] Thus, as one scholar has argued,

> In the epoch of 'discovery', Western Europe had experienced an unprecedented development in technology and science, which was accompanied by a strong feeling of 'white race superiority'. The social sciences [when they eventually developed as disciplines] bore the imprint of this arrogance, and anthropology, ethnology or sociology attempted to legitimise scientifically the hegemony of Europe and the supremacy of the 'Aryan race'.[4]

As is well documented, contact between Europe and the indigenous American population proved disastrous for the latter, as diseases brought in by the Europeans as part of the Columbian Exchange decimated the Native American population and induced a demographic collapse of immense proportions.[5] The death of Native Americans at the very time that the newly-established colonies needed as much labour as they could find in order to exploit the gold and silver resources and agricultural potential in the region led the European nations to turn to Africa for cheap labour.[6] In this way, Africa was drawn into the growing web of trade networks with its hub in Western Europe. Thus began the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade that was to see millions of Africans being forcibly transported across the Atlantic Ocean and forced into slavery. The enslavement of Africans was justified by an ideology which regarded them as inferior heathens who would, in fact, benefit from enslavement as this would expose them to the dignity of manual labour and Christianity and save them from pursuing a meaningless existence of bloodletting and savagery in their native continent.

The impact of the slave trade on the African continent has been well documented in the work of Rodney, Inikori, and others.[7] Generally, the loss of millions of Africa's able-bodied young men and women and the disruption caused by slave wars, among other factors, destroyed Africa's potential for development. Africa's loss was, however, Europe's gain, for while Africa lost the labour power of its most productive men and women to slavery, the West benefited immensely from the sweat of African slaves working on the plantations and in the mines of the Caribbean, Latin America and the United States. Indeed, it has been argued that the British Industrial Revolution was made possible by the slave trade and slavery, not so much because of the profits it produced for individual slave traders and planters but because of the industry's spin-off effects on the British economy. It, for instance, promoted Britain's shipbuilding industry, iron industry, banking and insurance, textile manufacturing and other undertakings that were linked to the slave trade and, in so

doing, speeded up the transformation of the British economy from mercantile to industrial capitalism.[8]

The economic transformation that occurred, first in Britain and subsequently in other European nations and the United States that has come to be known as the Industrial Revolution, took place in tandem with the Enlightenment and shared the same values, which shaped Western society's institutions and ideas. The Enlightenment, which gave birth to the French and American revolutions and championed ideas of rationality, individualism, universality, and progress, helped shape Western Europe's structures and institutions, while industrialism radically improved Western society's economic productive capacity. Unfortunately for the non-Western world, the Enlightenment also fostered in western European societies an arrogant self-image and belief not only in the superiority of their institutions and culture but also in the universality of their tenets and beliefs.

The colonial era

It was with the economic productive power that capitalism and science afforded and the arrogance born of the Enlightenment and the liberal rationalism that it spawned, now studied and developed in academic disciplines known collectively as the social sciences, that Europe embarked on its African colonisation project in Africa in the nineteenth century. It was, after all, as J. Argerich points out, in the nineteenth century when social thinking became 'an independent field of knowledge, much more than a collection of opinions and historical memories' and how the discipline of economics was born of the 'division of labour and by the expansion of trade'.[9]

Not surprisingly, these disciplines viewed the world through Eurocentric eyes and operated on the premise that western norms were universal. All other systems, societies, practices and cultures were, therefore, to be measured against them. Thus, the Western world grew increasingly to deny 'the existence of any "self" but its own'.[10] Even critiques of the dominant liberal rational paradigm such as Marxism also shared the same Eurocentricism, for eurocentricism affected all social scientists that 'grew up in an environment where European supremacy or the centrality and universality of the European experience was taken for granted – even by radical social critics'.[11] Therefore, these disciplines contributed to the development of a world view in which the superiority of Western culture, institutions and knowledge over the institutions, culture and 'knowledges' of other societies was unquestioned.

This attitude enabled the Western world to justify its imperialism as necessary and good because it facilitated the spread of civilisation. The fact that there were other civilisations with equal claim to legitimacy was not considered. In fact, the Western world was not willing or prepared to accept parity with those of a different race, language and culture but rather sought to

subjugate them. Hence, the West arrogated to itself the right to impose its own norms and institutions upon the non-Western peoples and developed a rationalisation for imperialism known variously as the white man's burden, the civilising mission/*mission civilizatrice* or manifest destiny in the case of the United States.

This sense of mission was promoted by a brand of pseudo-social science known as social Darwinism or scientific racism that was propounded by a number of academics and writers who argued that the white races had a God-given mission to spread civilisation to the 'darker' corners of the world. One of its most committed adherents was the American politician Albert Beveridge who argued at the end of the nineteenth century that:

> God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organisers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. He has made us adept at government that we may administer government among savages.[12]

For his part, Rudyard Kipling celebrated the American takeover of the Philippines from Spain after the Spanish-Cuban-American War of 1898 by writing a poem entitled 'The White Man's Burden' in which he urged white men to:

> Take up the White Man's burden –
> Send forth the best ye breed –
> Go bind your sons to exile
> To serve your captives' need;
> To wait in heavy harness,
> On fluttered folk and wild –
> Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
> Half-devil and half-child.

Fired by this sense of destiny, the United States became an imperial power after 1898 with the acquisition of Hawaii, the Philippines and Puerto Rico and the establishment of a virtual protectorate over the island of Cuba, while Europe expanded its empire with the scramble for Africa also at the end of the nineteenth century when the African continent was carved up like the proverbial turkey and, in a matter of a few years, lost its sovereignty and freedom to Western colonial rule.

Partnering the social sciences in providing the justification for European imperialism and the carving up of Africa and facilitating the European takeover and control of African peoples was Western religion. As is well documented, assisting in the conquest and subjugation of the African people were missionaries who either came in advance of colonial rule or accompanied the conquering colonial armies and colonial administrators. In converting the Africans to Christianity, missionaries, at the same time, helped destroy the African people's belief systems and world view and, through the schools they set up, imparted Western norms, tastes and standards. The Africans' belief systems and culture were subjected to relentless attack. Their gods and

ancestors were denounced, demonised and discredited and all the other things
that defined them as a people and which they had cherished were condemned
and dismissed as primitive and barbaric.

The colonising Western world found little in Africa to respect or appreciate.
Indigenous knowledge systems were dismissed out of hand, while all efforts
were made to promote and privilege Western ideas and knowledge in the name
of modernisation or Westernisation. As one scholar has put it, under Western
domination, the Africans saw their

> religion condemned as idolatry; their Gods were but demons or fetishes; their ancestors
> were lost souls, having lived and died outside the Church; their feasts and ceremonies
> were all idolatrous and pagan; their dances were immoral; their diviners were sorcerers;
> their medicine was magic and quackery; their languages were hopelessly tone-infested
> cacophonies, while their names were unpronounceable gibberish for which the ... names
> of European canonised saints had to be substituted. All was one irredeemable *massa
> damnata*.[13]

Thus, colonialism and its underpinning ideology and knowledge system struck
at the very foundation of Africanity by destroying and condemning African
beliefs and the things that defined what it meant to be African. To paraphrase
Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*, colonialism had severed the ties that
bound the Africans together so that the centre could no longer hold.

In the field of education, all was done to remould the African's way of
thinking and self-pecerption and to undermine the African's dignity and pride
in indigenous culture and society. The African student was taught, for instance,
that Africa had nothing in its past worth studying; that it was a 'dark continent',
which was rescued from its meaningless past by European colonialism. Indeed,
as late as 1960, one of Oxford's leading intellectual lights, Professor
Trevor-Roper, was proclaiming, without any shame or hesitation, that Africa
had no history until the arrival of the white people. Therefore African history
was only the history of white people on the Continent.

Thus, while African children were drilled in the history of England, France,
Portugal and Italy and could recite the life stories of European statesmen and
leading historical figures like Mazzini, Napoleon, and Bismarck, they knew
nothing about their own past or their own heroes. Thus they grew up to glorify
the West and to look down upon things African and, therefore, became incul-
cated with a permanent inferiority complex. Colonial education was, in most
cases, education for subservience and subjection rather than for emancipation
and empowerment. Thus, in addition to the physical subjugation of societies
under colonialism, there was also an intellectual imperialism that reinforced
Western dominance.

This type of education produced an educated African who was, in fact, a
hybrid, for as Ngugi Wa Thiongo observed, colonial education:

> ... annihilates a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in
> their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It

> makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves.[14]

The inferiority complex induced by colonialism in Africa has persisted well into the post-colonial era when the structures and systems of formal colonialism are no longer in existence, particularly among Africa's social scientists and academics, for as Dennis Kwek has pointed out, in former colonies, 'education and research can continue to have colonising functions, long after imperial rule'. Thus, the production of knowledge by post-colonial elites continues to be based on 'Western epistemological schema and theories, deeply rooted in and informed by colonial thought', while Western academic institutions are revered. Promotion at African universities for academics depends on their ability to publish in 'international', read Western, journals while African journals produced by the very institutions themselves are looked down upon.

Therefore, a form of intellectual and academic imperialism continues to this day, an imperialism to which the victims willingly succumb by perpetuating an intellectual dependency on former colonisers. Commenting on this phenomenon in Asia, Kwek spoke of the persistence of 'an intellectual identity based on internalised subjugation, a bondage that denies its very self-existence within the ... academic communities while at the same time perpetuating itself', and how 'scholars seek to emulate the West in a mimetic and uncritical way'.[15]

Commentators on the social sciences in Africa have noted a similar pattern, with one scholar observing how, in the West, 'recent theories and applications of science are constantly irrigating the work of its researchers, thereby allowing them to bring pertinent, innovative readings to the analysis of contemporary occurrences', while in Africa,

> I sense no such quivering in the renewal of thought. The works of our philosophers, sociologists, political economists, economists and many more that I could mention are for the most part only private recesses inside the fields defined by Western researchers ... instead of offering us appropriate new paradigms their work gives us only variations on old themes that have been harked back to a thousand times since the various countries became independent.

He enjoins scholars working in the Humanities and in Economic and Political sciences in Africa to offer new paradigms that will help Africa have an independent view of itself and which will help 'to clear our horizon which is blocked by all the incongruous rubbish inherited from colonization'.[16]

For his part, Thandika Mkandawire observes that the social science community in Africa is relatively new and because of this, tends to be dependent on Western social science paradigms. This dependency manifests itself in 'the continued existence of replicas of institutional forms borrowed from the metropolitan countries in undiluted, albeit progressively tattered,

forms as a result of the economic crunch and neglect' and in the large numbers of expatriate scholars at African educational and research institutions. He adds:

> Intellectual dependence also generates a negative self-image among African scholars. Such an image may be demonstrated by forms of intellectual mimetism in which local scholarship is confined to 'empirical verification' of hypothesis thrown up by institutions in the metropolitan countries without any attempt to evaluate their theoretical appropriateness and historical status. To reinforce this mimetism is a reward or merit system which accords foreign appreciation of research results greater weight than that of the local peer group. Not surprisingly, this leads to intellectual opportunism in which choice of themes and approaches are not a reflection of one's understanding of the issues but a compliance to the criteria of the dominant reward system.[17]

Similarly, K. K. Prah laments how African scholars who emerged in the post-Second World War era tended to define their 'scholastic roots ... within the framework of the various western philosophical and methodological schools' and have not made any efforts to develop a distinctly African research tradition and methodology 'free of the preoccupative benchmarks of the dominant western scholarship or its methodological paradigms'. As a result,

> ... they have nurtured the permanence of an appendage status to western scholarship. This outlook dictates a condition in which African scholars examine issues through western preoccupative blinkers. The selection of issues for scientific enquiry, the methodological mindsets and the prioritisation of research items are approached through western criteria... Until and unless reference is made to western academic authorities and homage paid to scholastic shrines, African intellectuals are unable to put out their own flags and stand on their own feet... This mentality reinforces inferior and appendage status for African academics, in a world where most of the prestigious institutions of higher learning are in the west, where most scholarly journals are based and where most of the financial resources for research emanate.[18]

Yet, as Prah also points out, the reaction of early African intellectuals to the denigration of and Western onslaught on Africa was not always a resort to mimetism but to a robust defence of the African past. Early black writers like James Africanus Neale Horton fought hard to combat the 'false theories of modern anthropologists',[19] while others, the most prominent of whom was Chiekh Anta Diop, advanced an Afrocentric interpretation of African history. A committed defender of the dignity of the African past which Western social science was dismissing, he was convinced that 'only by re-examining and restoring Africa's distorted, maligned and obscured place in world history could the physical and psychological shackles of colonialism be lifted from our Motherland and from African people dispersed globally'.[20] Among his publications, *African Origin of Civilization: Myth and Reality* (1974) and *Civilisation or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology* (1981) are good examples of a scholarly effort to restore to the African past what Western social sciences had taken from it. Other early writers were J. E. Casely Hayford, S. M. Molema, Jomo Kenyatta and the various authors associated with the *Negritude* movement. What they all had in common was their determination to 'correct

western misunderstandings and distortions about the nature of the society, history, and being of the African'.[21]

In the meantime, European colonialism, informed by various social sciences, which characterised African institutions as primitive and static, imposed western structures, systems and practices that had been developed in Europe under particular historical circumstances on societies with a different world view and different histories. Even the methodologies employed by Western social scientists were not appropriate, as they had been developed for a Western environment. Thus 'concepts of the individual, of class, of the state, community, justice, equity and security' were applied willy-nilly to an analysis of Africa whose culture, values and traditional practices the scholars little understood. The result was the imposition of 'structural parallels derived from the experience of Western societies' which tended to entrench 'foreign cultures and ideologies that have failed miserably to tackle the pressing problems of underdevelopment and poverty'[22] and have sometimes made the problems worse.

The determination to replicate in Africa structures familiar to them in Europe led the colonial authorities to invent traditions and institutions for Africa. Thus 'warrant chiefs' were invented and imposed on the people of south-eastern Nigeria, while self-serving laws were created and decreed 'customary law' to govern the colonised even though there were no such laws before the arrival of the colonialists.[23]

Sometimes there were glaring contradictions in the manner in which colonialists attempted to carry out their civilising mission, for while, on the one hand, their Political Science championed democracy, human rights and fair play and sought to inculcate these values into the colonised peoples, the colonisers were also quick to harass and imprison African nationalists who clamoured for the vote and for the right to participate in political decision making processes in their countries. African nationalist leaders have, of course, proved to be very good students of the fundamentals of oppressive rule, namely that demands for democracy, respect for human rights and fair play are matters best handled by the police and the military and through detention and imprisonment. It is telling, for instance, that many of Africa's first independent leaders were 'prison graduates', having spent some time in prison or detention for demanding the vote and independence. It is not surprising, therefore, that they tended to rule their countries with as much intolerance for dissent as their predecessors.[24]

The colonial period came to an end, beginning in the early 1960s when most African countries became independent, amidst an intense debate between Western social scientists, subscribing to the Modernisation or Diffusionist school of thought and supporters of the Dependency/Underdevelopment paradigm, mostly from the Third World.[25] The eurocentric Modernisation model, with its contention that the path of development followed by European

nations was the same path that Developing countries also had to traverse in order to become developed, tended to ascribe the lack of development in Africa, Asia and Latin America to cultural and other shortcomings in the societies of those continents and called for closer ties between the developed and developing worlds to facilitate the diffusion of modern values from the former to the latter. Without this process, it was argued, these countries would never develop.

Consequently, American President John Kennedy's government set up the Peace Corps and deployed them around the world to diffuse modern Western values. Hence, Modernisation was sometimes referred to as Westernisation. Modernisation, of course, justified the continued domination of developing countries by Western capital and facilitated the penetration of these markets by multi-national enterprises, which were seen as agents for the diffusion of modern values.

The alternative paradigm, Underdevelopment/Dependency theory, pointed out that the poverty and underdevelopment that Modernisation theorists regarded as evidence of the developing countries' backwardness were, in fact, the result of years of these countries' interaction with the West and that the West's wealth and prosperity were achieved at the expense of the rest of the world.[26] A powerful critique of the Modernisation approach, Dependency/ Underdevelopment, however, lost credibility due to its failure to show how developing countries could disentangle themselves from the clutches of the dominant global capitalist economic system.

The post-colonial period

After a few years of euphoria at the achievement of Uhuru, it became evident that political independence had not brought about economic independence and Kwame Nkrumah and other African spokespersons began to denounce the neo-colonial relations that had replaced formal colonialism. Economically, for a variety of reasons, including the inherited non-viable mono-cultural economies, mismanagement, corruption, the OPEC oil price crisis of 1973 and a generally disabling global economic environment, among other factors, African countries soon found themselves in trouble, with mounting debts and serious balance of payments problems.

At this point, as on many occasions in the past, Western social science inter-vened through the advocacy of a neo-liberal economic model that was touted by its promoters as a panacea for Africa's economic woes. Championed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, this economic paradigm shared Adam Smith's faith in the market to correct all economic ills and to promote economic growth and his belief in the principle of comparative advantage, among other tenets. The IMF and World Bank imposed economic

reform packages known as economic structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) on scores of African countries from the 1970s onwards.

Arguing that African governments were interfering too much in the economy and sending wrong signals which distorted the market, IMF and World Bank proponents of this paradigm called for the roll back of the state and demanded, among other things, that governments trim their bureaucracies, remove any subsidies for services and goods and price controls and privatise public institutions or parastatals. Under the tutelage of these institutions, governments across the continent retrenched their civil servants and trimmed their bureaucracies in the name of promoting economic efficiency. In addition, they opened up their economies to international competition (trade liberalisation), devalued their currencies, ostensibly to make exports cheaper and therefore more competitive, and implemented export-led growth strategies, among other measures, in line with the recommendations of the multilateral agencies.

As has been documented across the continent, the results of these reform programmes were disastrous. Escalating balance of payments problems, mounting foreign debt, domestic political unrest, mounting social problems stemming from unemployment in shrinking economies, de-industrialisation as local companies folded in the face of unmitigated competition from long-established and well-heeled multi-national companies, and a debilitating brain drain as professionals voted with their feet in search of greener pastures abroad; these have been the results of IMF and World Bank-inspired economic structural adjustment programmes.

Under the new neo-liberal wisdom, Africa is being pushed back to where it is desperately trying to run away from, namely, to the production of a few raw materials for the Western markets in return for manufactured products in accordance with the principles of comparative advantage that are championed as good economic policy. They will, thus, continue the marginal role that they have always played in the global economy.

More significantly, Africa is being encouraged to continue to produce raw materials at a time when bio-technology is producing artificial substitutes for some of the raw products exported from Africa. It is urged to liberalise its economy at a time when the Western powers are consolidating their protective blocs, and to remove subsidies for their farmers at the very time that farmers in the European Union and in the United States are enjoying massive subsidies that make it impossible for African producers to compete in the European markets. As in the past, the Western world view or sociology of ideas is marginalising the African continent and facilitating the economic domination of the continent by Western multinational companies.

As has been shown above, the social sciences were born in the West and reflected the experiences and the hegemonic interests of an expanding socio-economic, political and cultural Western world. Central to this body of

knowledge and the methodology that informed it was the assumed superiority and universality of its findings and the need, indeed the desirability, of spreading the benefits of Western civilisation to the rest of the world.

It has also been argued that Western knowledge systems, ever since the dawn of the modern era, have not served Africa well and have led to the domination and marginalisation of the African continent. This, therefore, behoves African scholars to develop their own social science tradition that will enable African societies to fully understand the nature of their problems and provide solutions to them and that will contribute towards the correction of the distortions of African society and its culture perpetrated by the many years of the dominance of Western world views and interpretations. What are the prospects for this happening?

Towards an African social science tradition

As various scholars have demonstrated, there is a growing pool of African social scientists working in and on Africa, often in the face of very difficult economic and political circumstances. However, declining economies, weakening currencies, political instability, heavy teaching loads, and non-existent financial and other research resources have meant that the quality and volume of research in the universities has dwindled in the last thirty or so years, following a brief period of vibrancy soon after independence.

The need to earn a decent living has also seen scholars moving away from basic research to the better paying consultancy work, which produces reports for Non-Governmental Organisations, international organisations and Western governments and their agencies but does not contribute to the pool of knowledge that will inform policy and shape strategies to answer Africa's fundamental problems and challenges. Because the consultancy work is foreign funded, it only addresses the issues that are of interest to the funder and not necessarily matters that are of importance either to the researcher or to his/her society.

A hopeful development in the last few decades is the establishment of regional and continental research organisations that have revived social science research in Africa and provide both funding for research and publishing outlets for African scholars. The most prominent among these are the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), the Organisation of Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA), and the Association of African Political Scientists (AAPS). These and other donor-funded research organisations encourage research, provide post-graduate level training and support universities.

Since its formation in 1980, for instance, OSSREA has encouraged basic research by running a number of programmes, including research competitions for young scholars, research grants for senior scholars, networking and partici-

pating in a number of collaborative research projects, running research methodology training programmes, and holding conferences, workshops and seminars at which scholars present their findings. CODESRIA for its part has, through its various research and grant programmes, contributed immensely to the advancement of scholarly research in Africa. These organisations have proved to be crucial vehicles of intellectual production and dissemination on the African continent and beyond.[27] Thus, while the state of scholarly research in Africa is far from ideal, it is clear that the situation is not entirely bleak, the numerous problems that confront African scholars notwithstanding. However, the heavy dependence on donor funding by these research organisations is a major threat to their sustainability in the long run.

A major constraint facing African social scientists is the lack of publishing outlets. It is common cause that the African publishing industry is grossly underdeveloped. Evidence of this is the fact that in 2002, Africa's contribution to the world's total of 900 books published was a mere 1.5 percent.[28] This is not really surprising given the numerous problems that confront efforts at developing a viable publishing industry in Africa, which include among others, lack of capital and skills, severe national economic problems, the smallness of domestic markets, the lack of a reading culture among African communities, resulting in non-viable domestic markets for books, and competition from the more established multinational publishing companies.[29]

The publishing sector was not always weak and unviable, for soon after independence in the 1960s, the industry experienced a boom in response to the rapid growth of the education sector, as governments poured resources into this sector which was seen as the key to national development. The period also saw a boom in university education and was characterised by the publication of vibrant academic journals by the various university presses across the continent. The subsequent economic decline, the result of global factors and mismanagement by the ruling elite, the rift between academia and the ruling elites as the former increasingly criticised the governing styles of the latter and the destruction caused by the economic structural adjustment programmes imposed on the continent by the IMF and the World Bank since the 1970s; all this negatively impacted on the African publishing industry.

Of late, however, there are signs of recovery. Contributing to this recovery are various organisations that are providing training in the area of publishing, establishing and running publishing and distribution networks and helping with the dissemination of scholarly research through electronic journals. Key organisations are the Africa Publishing Network (APNET), African Book Collective (ABC), Pan-African Bookseller Association (PABA), the Bellagio Publishing Network, the Working Groups and Learning Materials of the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), and the International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications

(INASP).[30] Book fairs, such as the Zimbabwe International Book Fair have also helped to promote the book industry in Africa.[31]

While some locally published academic journals exist in Africa, many are finding it difficult to continue operating, partly because of lack of adequate funding, but also partly because, for reasons already noted above, African academics are reluctant to publish their best work in local journals, preferring to publish in the more prestigious 'international' journals. Thus, a vicious circle is perpetuated where scholars in Africa avoid publishing their best research in African journals because they are not prestigious and the journals remain weak and not prestigious because African scholars do not publish in them.

Nevertheless, although unsatisfactory, the publication of scholarly research in Africa has not been entirely non-existent, as a number of university presses, multinational publishing houses and smaller independent publishers have published many good titles. In Zimbabwe, for example, the University of Zimbabwe Press, Baobab Press, Weaver Press, Mambo Press and others have published some of the best scholarly works to come out of the country in the past two decades. Also to be commended is James Currey Publishers who have entered into co-publishing arrangements with African publishers to publish African editions to be made available to the local market at affordable prices.

As in the field of research, regional organisations are doing tremendous work in promoting publication of scholarly research on the continent. Apart from books, these organisations also publish research reports, workshop reports, and journals that help disseminate scholarly research in Africa and beyond.

As can be seen from the above, there are signs that, despite many challenges and problems, social science research is growing in Africa although there is still need for African social scientists to establish a truly African social science tradition and not to continue to be dependent on the paradigms initiated by scholars in the north. The theoretical frameworks that they should develop independently of the North must address African realities and challenges and help develop appropriate policies that resolve African issues in ways that reflect the lived experiences of Africa's societies.

It is important that 'knowledge of Africa must reflect on Africa's reality not as constructed through Eurocentric prisms, but through a deep immersion in Africa's popular social realities'.[32] In addition, Africa must make its own unique contribution to world knowledge and forge 'the theoretical and philosophical lenses through which Africa can be truthfully understood'.[33] In the words of Walter Bgoya, Africa needs to develop its own 'knowledge production centres and knowledge producers, recognised not only locally but internationally as well'.[34]

An African social science tradition is absolutely essential if the distortions perpetuated by Western social science in the past are to be corrected, for as Cyril Obi pointed out, there is need for African scholars to 'transcend the

limitations of truthful lies, [or] imperialism at the level of the sociology of ideas' which have characterised Africa's relationship with the North since the days of European colonialism and which have privileged Northern knowledge, ideas and practices at the expense of African 'knowledges'. The deliberate marginalisation and silencing of African knowledges and voices facilitated the North's mission to construct and perpetuate 'truthful lies' about Africa which present the Continent as the 'insignificant other'.

Accompanying Northern colonialism in Africa was an epistemology that validated Northern presence in Africa and presented colonialists as 'saviors [sic], initiators, mentors, arbiters' in what was, in the words of Ake, 'imperialism in the guise of scientific knowledge'.[35] This tendency continues to manifest itself in these days of globalisation where Africa continues to be marginalised and to be subjected to Western paradigms, research methods, knowledge production and dissemination and the measure of what should be regarded as 'authoritative scholarship'.

In any case, Africa's dependency on knowledges imported from the North has serious implications for the African people's self image and pride in African institutions and practices. As J. Mugambi correctly observes, where knowledge is generated and packaged is very important because of the cultural, ideological, political contexts, which it embodies and conveys. Africa, as a net importer of published knowledge generated abroad, runs the danger of losing its identity and of underdeveloping and undervaluing its own unique forms of knowledge. This is because, when textbooks used in schools and universities in Africa are generated from abroad, they are not likely to speak to the lived experience of the African students or to help them come to terms with their own identity as Africans. In the words of Mugambi, Northern-based publishing houses with outlets in Africa have been:

> ... exporting into this continent, books that are culturally intended for schools, colleges and universities in Europe and North America. Education is a cultural enterprise. Ideally, the publishing industry ought to support that enterprise. Thus, the ... publishing industry has contributed immensely towards the alienation of the African élite from its own culture, by providing texts that are culturally uncontextualised ... How can Africa's élite chart the future of this continent when its education is based on policies and ideas intended for other cultures? How can Africa's youth develop new insights to solve problems in the context of its own culture, while it is exposed only to literature coming from other cultures? The time has come for Africa's élite to contribute towards shaping the future of this continent through publication of the knowledge and experience accumulated at home and abroad.[36]

The emphasis on imported knowledges is at the expense of a rich fund of indigenous knowledge (IK), which has yet to be tapped, transcribed, recorded and published. IK is 'the common sense knowledge and ideas of local peoples about everyday realities of living which form part of their cultural heritage. It includes the cultural traditions, values, belief systems and worldviews of local peoples as distinguished from Northern scientific knowledge'.[37] IK in Africa has generally been sidelined and denigrated as Northern knowledge has been

privileged, especially in the development discourse.[38] Yet, such knowledge is perhaps more appropriate for the needs of African societies and is, certainly, more acceptable to them than imported knowledge, since it emerges out of their lived experiences, traditions and collective wisdom.

Lastly, it is important to note that Africa's economic development will depend greatly on the extent to which its people are empowered to transform their lives and to chart their own destiny instead of being at the receiving end of ideas, schemes, and policies designed elsewhere outside their control, particularly in a globalised world where information is of critical importance. Without empowerment, Africans will remain victims of other people's machinations, for as UNESCO correctly observes, 'those who lack knowledge see their fate shaped by others in the light of their own interests'.[39] Similarly, societies that lack knowledge are doomed to perpetual manipulation by others. This demands, in part, that relevant knowledge generated from African realities and which speaks to the African people's lived experience be made available. It is the duty of African social scientists to make this knowledge available to their societies rather than continue to echo imported wisdoms from Western social sciences.

Conclusion

As has been argued above, Western social sciences or sociology of ideas, in combination with Western science and capitalism, have led to the domination and marginalisation of the African continent through imposing an alien world view, institutions and practices on African societies, being dismissive of African knowledges, cultures and institutions and promoting Western ones and also through imposing an economic regime that underdeveloped the continent and bequeathed weak and skewed economies to the incoming independent governments. The latest Western neo-liberal economic paradigm is subjecting Africa to harmful experimentation by multilateral financial agencies through their economic structural adjustment programmes, which further entrench Africa's marginalisation in the world economy.

It has also been argued that there is a need for African scholars to develop an independent and truly African social science tradition to enable them to reflect on African problems, address the challenges confronting African societies and economies and help undo some of the distortions that resulted from centuries of Western domination.

Notes

1. The term 'social science' is used here loosely to refer to a variety of disciplines, which include sociology, anthropology, economics, social science, psychology, political science, education, and history. Because of the centrality of the social sciences to the development of Western knowledge systems, the term 'social

sciences' is used to denote the Western world view in this paper; a world view that was buttressed by and operated in tandem with science and capitalism to promote a particular world system.

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3. Lewis Hanke, 'Pope Paul III and the American Indians', *Harvard Theological Review*, XXX (1937), 65-102.

4. Franz J. T. Lee, 'The Historic Roots of Oligarchic Racism: A Venezuelan View', at, www.africaspeaks.com/articles/2004/2708.html

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6. Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984); Leslie Rout Jr., *The African Experience in Spanish America: 1502 to the Present Day* (London: CUP, 1976).

7. Walter Rodney, 'African Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave Trade', *Journal of African History*, vol. VII, no. 3, (1966), 431-43; Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington DC: Howard University Press, 1972); J. E. Inikori (ed.), *Forced Migration: The Impact of the Export Slave Trade on African Societies* (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1982).

8. Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944).

9. John Argerich, 'A Study of Modernity' at, www.immi.se/irf/invandraren/inva982/modernity.htm

10. Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 2.

11. 'Marxian Theory and Social Change in India (and the subcontinent)', in *Theories of Social Change and Social Liberation* at members.tripod.com/~INDIA_RESOURCE/marx.html

12. Albert J. Beveridge in Congress, cited in Richard Hofstadter, *Manifest Destiny*, p. 193. For a detailed examination of Social Darwinism, see Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston: Bacon Press, 1944).

13. Theophilus Okere, 'African Culture: The Past and the Present as an Indivisible Whole', at www.crvp.org/book/Series02/II-3/chapter_i.htm

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Coverage of African Related Studies in International Journals: Greater Exposure for 'Public Intellectuals' in Sociology and Industrial Relations?

Abstract

This paper assesses the coverage of African topics in leading international journals, focussing on sociology and an important sub-discipline, industrial relations. In doing so, it evaluates whether the number of articles with an African focus has grown or declined over the last decade. The findings reveal a very limited exposure of African and related debates. Moreover, the number appears to be declining, with periodic bulges in publication activity linked to journal special issues. However, there appears to be no relationship between the ranking of journals and the appearance of articles on African issues; scholars working on Africa have published in the most highly ranked journals in the field. There are therefore some grounds for optimism. But for African scholars, this is heavily dependent on the availability of resources. Without such resources, some doubt is cast on the future ability of 'public intellectuals' in Africa to influence international debates.

Introduction

African and related studies have much to offer to an international audience. This is at least partly due to the varied and challenging political and economic histories of the various countries within the continent, which provide a rich background to current debates. More importantly, however, the way in which such challenges have been, and are being, dealt with offer lessons to both developing and developed countries. This is true for the wide spectrum of societal changes charted by sociological studies, and in particular for studies of the changing fortunes of the labour movement. Without broad and international dissemination of research, such lessons will not receive the audience that would otherwise be possible.

The need for such dissemination places further demands on academics as public intellectuals. The role of the public intellectual is one that has been the subject of much debate (Small 2002; Poyner 2003; Williams 2006), but includes the expectation that academics will critically engage with societal

changes and the broader public, and encourage the development of scholarly activity. Against this background, the publication of articles in leading international journals can be seen as unwanted pressure.

Sociologists, along with social scientists in other fields, are now rated according to their 'international standing' (Burawoy 2004), and at the same time, raising the international profile of studies of African topics can provide the broader academic community with much-needed stimulation and insights. Thus, those engaged in research in fields such as sociology and industrial relations are under considerable pressure to publish more widely, irrespective of the severe constraints that are ever present for many academics working within the continent. These constraints are at least partially due to the implementation of structural adjustment programmes in Africa in the 1980s and 1990s, which have had devastating consequences for higher education on the continent (Ghai 1991). Not only did chronic under-funding greatly detract from the learning experience of students, but it greatly reduced the scale of research at tropical African universities. Although universities in South Africa remain very much better funded, staff have faced the challenges of servicing relatively large classes, with limited administrative resources.

The need to track the extent of publication of African related studies is not a new idea, and in the 1950s, a list of publications on tropical Africa compiled by the International African Institute included over 5,000 entries. A list of publications on African topics, which spans a wide range of subjects as diverse as agriculture, languages, social sciences and literature is, moreover, now updated quarterly in the International African Bibliography (Barbour 1984). As yet, however, there appear to have been limited attempts to assess these publications according to internationally recognised rankings. This is at least partly due to the difficulty in obtaining agreement on which journals should be included, and how highly they should be ranked. Nevertheless, an attempt to measure the number of international publications might provide a valuable insight into the spread and scope of studies on Africa. This paper therefore tackles this challenge, and in doing so focuses on those journals that fall within the broad subject of sociology and an important sub-discipline industrial relations.

African Studies and the Role of the Public Intellectual

The role of an academic has arguably changed significantly over recent years, with pressure to deliver on both teaching and research outputs. At the same time, the traditional role of the academic has been challenged by factors such as consultancies, technocracy, commodification and the politicisation of universities (Burawoy 2005). Such factors can inhibit the ability of the academic to engage in activity that may mark them as a 'public intellectual'. This term has been characterised in numerous different ways, but for the purpose of this paper

is taken to include the wider dissemination of research to an international community of scholars that may yield benefits for the public good.[1]

For sociologists, there has been a similar debate about 'public sociology'. In 2005, at the 99th American Sociological Association annual meeting, Michael Burawoy called for a renewal of commitment to this aspect of sociology, but also acknowledged the complementarity of other perspectives, namely 'critical', 'professional' and 'policy' dimensions. For Burawoy (2004), 'public' or 'liberation' sociology in South Africa has entailed a dialogue with social movements, and a focus on industrial sociology and labour, gender, violence, education and popular culture. This engagement between the use of sociology as an intellectual activity and as a way for creating a better society has been taken forward by eminent scholars in the field through public dissemination of findings, contribution to policy formulation, and the encouragement of a new generation of social researchers. However, in addition to these endeavours, a central goal has been the publication of academic papers in peer reviewed publications (Webster 2004).

The wider dissemination of African issues through academic publication is an important challenge, not least because such debates can challenge the insularity and hegemony of the United States sociology. As Burawoy (2005) argues:

> ... critical perspectives from different parts of the world must be developed and must be taken up by US sociologists, who have a special responsibility in contesting the hegemony of their own sociology (Burawoy, 2005b: 427).

Without such influences, United States sociology can be immune from international agendas. At the same time, it also has the ability to influence scholars who study and work in the US to take up the methodological frameworks and subjects that are relevant to that country (Inglis, 2005), which could again lead to a rather narrow sociological framework.

Other countries can, however, pro-actively set the agenda. One example of this is the massive debate that has emerged around the concept of 'social movement unionism', which was used to characterise the labour movement during the anti-apartheid struggles in South Africa. This term has since been applied to a variety of regional contexts, including the United States. Somewhat controversially, it has been suggested that although this concept was developed in South Africa, the term was 'reinvented' in the US, oblivious to African debates (Burawoy, 2005: 427). If this is indeed what happened, then the lesson is obvious: the fact that a major strategy for union organisation that emerged in Africa was not attributed to the work of African-based scholars presents strong challenges to those studying African issues.

The Crisis of African Universities

It is generally recognised that one of the most invidious long term effects of structural adjustment has been to weaken the university system within much of tropical Africa (cf. Harvey 2002; Ghai 1991; Ekong 1996; AAU 2006); part of the World Bank/IMF mantra in the 1980s was that money spent on universities was better spent on basic primary education (Szanton and Manyika 2006). Declining pay in real terms, and increasing teaching loads, forced many African academics into exile or into other areas of economic activity. Remaining academics have often been forced to supplement their incomes through consulting or commercial activities, leaving little time for research (Akilagpa 2004; Webster 2004). Finally, most African universities have been forced to cut back heavily on library holdings (Szanton and Manyika 2006). Again, this has discouraged scholars from publishing in leading journals – it is very difficult to prepare articles for, or get published in, leading journals without having seen back copies, both to obtain pointers in terms of issues and writing style, and to locate empirical research findings in terms of broader debates. Although many African universities have since sought to improve their position through re-attracting donor support and through greater numbers of fee paying students (Szanton and Manyika 2006), the major setbacks of the 1980s and 1990s have yet to be reversed.

Whilst, as noted earlier, South African universities tend to be very much better funded, again, library holdings have often faced heavy cutbacks. Moreover, South Africa's democratic transition has led to a 'rain drain' of many talented scholars into government and independent policy organisations. At the same time, a 'managerial revolution' at universities has in many cases led to instability, uncertainty, and an increased administrative burden on staff, again reducing time available for research output (Southall and Cobbing 2001). All of these factors have implications for the international dissemination of academic publications.

Selection of Data

The analysis that follows focuses on international 'core' general journals in sociology, and on those covering an important sub-discipline, industrial relations. It is recognised that African scholars may prefer to publish in African-based journals, in area studies journals, and/or in those specifically dealing with development. However, it should be noted that the funding crisis facing African universities has greatly thinned out the range of journals based in the continent. There are only two broadly sociological journals with strong international profiles, the *African Sociological Review* and the *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. However, both have a very much smaller circulation than major journals based in Europe and the United States, and hence reach a smaller audience in both the developed and large areas of the devel-

oping world. There are also a number of other well-established broadly socio-logical journals in South Africa, including *Society in Transition* (now renamed the *South African Review of Sociology*), *South African Journal of Labour Relations, African Studies, Transformation* and *Social Dynamics*. However, all of these currently have quite small circulations and tend not to include many articles dealing with tropical Africa. Finally, there are a number of well-established international African studies journals, including *African Affairs, Journal of Modern African Studies, Journal of Southern African Studies,* and *Review of African Political Economy*. However, only the first two have 'high impact factors' (in terms of Social Citations Index scales). The low impact factors of the others may make these less attractive outlets in environ-ments where publication in highly ranked journals is prioritised.[2] Again, work published in such journals is specifically aimed at 'Africa specialists', and, hence, while a high quality of work is often found in these journals, they are less likely to impact on the discipline at large or mould central debates within sociology generally.[3]

In the following sections, we summarise the number of articles published on African topics and/or which develop broader theoretical insights, based at least in part on the African experience, and analyse their relationship to journal rankings. A different approach would have been to examine the number of articles by scholars actually based at African universities, but this proved very difficult given the scale of the African diaspora, with many scholars actually working abroad whilst retaining formal links to African universities.

Exposure of African Topics in International Sociological Journals

The frequency with which African related studies have appeared in interna-tional sociological journals is presented in Table 1 below, which summarises the number of articles on Africa or African related topics published in general sociology journals over the years 1996 to 2006. This list was compiled by analyzing the content of articles appearing in top ranked journals (Harzing, 2003) and through the use of key word searches in two major electronic databases of journals, JSTOR and Swetswise.[4] In addition to showing the number of articles published in these journals, the table also shows the journals' respective citation impact factors – the frequency with which a particular article has been cited in a specific year – defined in the Social Citations Index as the ratio between the citations and citable articles published (Harzing 2003). Those journals with no impact factor given have not registered with the Social Citations Index.

Three major issues are readily noticeable from the above list. The first is that – given that most of the above journals appear at least four times a year – the number of articles published on Africa or Africa related topics is relatively small. Secondly, the exposure of African issues or perspectives in primarily

theoretically orientated journals is particularly slight. This is grounds for some concern given that theory is about summarising, ordering, and making predictions from prevailing social realities; the dominant sociological theories of the day have little grounding in, or make little reference to African social realities. Thirdly, most articles on Africa or related topics were concentrated in a handful of journals: *Contemporary Studies in Society and History*, *International Sociology*, *Current Sociology* and *Gender and Society*. Whilst all of these journals include some excellent articles, and are generally well regarded, their impact factor (and overall ranking in journal league tables) ranks well behind the *American Sociological Review*, the *Annual Review of Sociology*, the *American Journal of Sociology*, or the *British Journal of Sociology*, although certainly ahead of the bulk of sociological journals. In part, this reflects the dominance of particular methodological tools: the ASR and the AJS are dominated by articles centring on the use of advanced quantitative methodologies; in contrast, most African sociological departments have tended to focus on more qualitative methods. However, this would also reflect the limited nature of journal holdings in most tropical African – and South African universities. This would mean that many African scholars lack exposure to the most recent debates, as well as the most recent advances in quantitative data analysis.

Table 1: Number of Articles on Africa or Africa-Related Topics Published in General Sociology Journals 1996-2006

Journal Title	Number of articles	Impact Factor
American Journal of Sociology	3	2.12
American Sociological Review	3	2.85
Annual Review of Sociology	3	2.75
British Journal of Sociology	3	1.58
Comparative Studies in Society & History	15	0.6
Contemporary Sociology	4	0.83
Current Sociology	21	–
European Sociological Review	1	–
Gender and Society	10	–
International Sociology	14	0.346
Journal of Sociology	1	–
Revue Francaise de Sociologie	1	–

Social Forces	7	–
Social Problems	1	1.1
Social Science History	5	–
Sociological Forum	6	–
Sociological Perspectives	5	–
Sociological Theory	3	–
Sociology	1	1.07
Sociology of Education	2	–
Theory and Society	7	–

In order to evaluate the extent which the exposure of African studies has changed over time, Figure One depicts a summary of the number of articles published on Africa or related topics in general sociological journals from 1996 to 2006. The bulge in 2000, and again in 2004, in part reflects the effect of special editions. Again, overall trends are grounds for some concern: the number of articles is not only relatively small, but appears to be declining.

Figure 1: Time Series Plot for Number of Articles Published in General Sociology Journals on Africa and Africa-Related Topics 1996-2006

Number of articles

Time period

A further concern is the quality of the journals in which the articles appear. In order to assess this, we subjected the relationship between journal impact factor and number of articles to a simple regression analysis, as shown in Figure Two. Tables 2 and 3 present the relevant statistics.

Figure 2: Plot of Fitted Model – Number of Articles versus Journal Impact Factor

Articles = 7.72747 - 2.14527*Journal impact factor

Dependent variable: Articles
Independent variable: Journal impact factor
Linear model: Y = a + b*X

Table 2: Coefficients

Parameter	Least Squares Estimate	Standard Error	T Statistic	P-Value
Intercept	7.72747	2.42388	3.18806	0.0086
Slope	-2.14527	1.21306	-1.76848	0.1047

Table 3: Analysis of Variance

Source	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F-Ratio	P-Value
Model	60.0353	1	60.0353	3.13	0.1047
Residual	211.153	11	19.1957		
Total (Corr.)	271.188	12			

Correlation Coefficient = -0.470509
R-squared = 22.1379 percent
R-squared (adjusted for d.f.) = 15.0595 percent
Standard Error of Est. = 4.38129
Mean absolute error = 3.3118
Durbin-Watson statistic = 2.63929 (P=0.8597)
Lag 1 residual autocorrelation = -0.329164

The output in Table Two shows the results of fitting a linear model in order to describe the relationship between Articles and Journal impact factor. The equation of the fitted model is:

Articles = 7.72747 - 2.14527*Journal impact factor

With regard to the data in Table Three, given that the P-value is greater or equal to 0.05, the relationship between Articles and Journal impact factor at the 95 percent or higher confidence level is not statistically significant. Moreover, the R-Squared statistic indicates that the model as fitted explains 22.1379 percent of the variability in Articles, while the correlation coefficient equals -0.470509, indicating that the relationship between the variables is relatively weak. The standard error of the estimate reveals that the standard deviation of the residuals is 4.38129, and the mean absolute error (MAE) of 3.3118 is the average value of the residuals. Finally, the Durbin-Watson (DW) statistic shows that, since the P-value is greater than 0.05, there is no evidence of serial auto-correlation in the residuals at the 95 percent confidence level; in other words, there was no significant correlation based on the order in which the observations were captured.

In summary, the lack of a relationship between specific topic and journal focus shows that Africa and Africa-related articles are not necessarily clustered in inferior journals. This would reinforce the viewpoint that the lack of exposure of Africa and Africa related articles in leading general sociological journals is not so much a problem of the quality of work submitted but of volume – the relatively limited number of articles prepared for international journals (even lower ranked ones) in this area, and the choice of methods: most of the articles that appeared were based on purely qualitative methodologies, when many international journals favour more quantitative methods.

In order to assess whether similar issues emerge in a sub-field where studies in Africa can make a potentially wide impact on debates, the next section of the findings examines the exposure of Africa-focussed and related articles in leading industrial relations journals, an important sub-discipline of sociology that has relevance in almost all national contexts.

Exposure of African Studies and Issues in Industrial Relations Journals

Table Four depicts the number of articles on Africa or Africa related topics published in leading industrial relations articles from 1996-2006. Although not strictly an industrial relations journal, the *Academy of Management Journal* does carry articles within the broad area of employment studies, and is extremely highly ranked. It also has carried four articles with an explicit focus on African issues over the past decade – a relatively small number, but far more than many other highly ranked journals.

Table 4: Number of Articles on Africa or Africa-Related Topics Published in Industrial Relations Journals 1996-2006

Journal Title	Number of articles	Impact Factor
Academy of Management Journal	4	2.54
British Journal of I. R.	1	0.83
Employee Relations	3	–
Industrial Labor Relations Review	1	1.47
Industrial Relations Journal	2	2
International Journal of HRM	13	0.423
Journal of Human Resources	2	1.26
Journal of Industrial Relations	1	–
Labour	1	–
Labour/Le Travail	2	–
Relations Industrielles/IR	2	–
Work and Occupations	2	1.44
Work Employment and Society	2	

The journal that has carried by far the most articles on African or related topics is the *International Journal of Human Resource Management*. Not only has this journal had a special issue on African topics (see Kamoche 2002), but it appears to be generally receptive to a range of different perspectives, country studies, and viewpoints on issues relating to employment relations on the continent. Also encouraging is that debates within the journal have led to new theoretical insights based on the African experience being developed, which have also been consolidated and further developed in two edited volumes (Budhwar and Debrah 2001; Kamoche et al., 2003).

The remainder of papers – in general industrial relations journals – represent the efforts of a relatively small pool of South African scholars, and scholars with strong links with South Africa. However, encouragingly, there has been a growing trickle of articles dealing with employment relations in the Horn of Africa.

Does Marginalisation Matter?

The exclusion of the experience and lessons of large number of societies from broader sociological debates and theory building is a matter of great concern; the bulk of the analytical tools forged to understand societies and social

relations within tropical Africa have been developed in the light of social experiences elsewhere. At the same time, theoretical insights developed in the light of the African experience may have some relevance to understanding the broader operations of global capitalism.

Africa's marginalisation within the global economy can result in research on Africa being cast as peripheral and of limited interest to an international audience. This is despite the fact that socioeconomic happenings in Africa are intensely relevant in understanding the nature of contemporary capitalism. Conversely, if the analysis of African social reality becomes more central to international sociological debates, this may have an impact on the broader perceptions of Africa's relevance to the global and political economy.

In seeking regional integration, the temptation might be to take an insular approach, and ignore the need for wider influence. However, as Burawoy (2004: 25) comments on the state of South African sociology: 'It is one thing to be embedded in national publics, national issues, but it is quite another to attempt an impossible and dangerous isolation from the global'.

The number of ways in which African scholars can potentially influence debates is huge, and admittedly, this paper does not attempt to cover all means of dissemination to an international audience. One such measure that is not included here is discussion of the changing focus of international conferences. In this respect, there is a need to develop initiatives such as those already established by groups such as the International Sociological Association and the American Sociological Association, who are seeking to open and expand US sociology to other forms of sociological knowledge (Webster 2004; Inglis 2005). At the same time, it is acknowledged that this paper does not cover all areas of academic publication. A fertile area for future research would be an investigation into the relative exposure of specifically Africa-related studies – and African scholars – in international/cross-national development studies journals, as well as in those concerned with general management topics and social policy.

Nevertheless, the paper does offer insights into the current state of publication within both sociological and industrial relations journals, and presents important challenges both to African scholars, and to others who are engaged in research on African related topics.

Conclusion

Burawoy asks how national sociologies can become 'full participants in a global vision and division of sociological labour' (2005: 431). This paper seeks to address this concern by examining the extent to which African studies have broken through to an international audience.

The findings reveal a very limited exposure of African and related debates within international sociological journals with a general focus. Moreover, the

number appears to be declining, with periodic bulges in publication activity in the area being linked to journal special issues. However, there does not seem to be a relationship between the ranking of a journal and its willingness to publish articles on Africa or related topics: given the necessary resources, it is possible for scholars working on Africa to publish in the most highly ranked journals in the field.

This raises the question as to what could be done to raise the profile of Africa and Africa related research within the broader sociological review. The principle cause – the chronic under-funding of African universities – will be difficult to resolve without broader structural changes in the global economy. However, given that many of the other problems faced by scholars in Africa centre on the lack of availability – and access to – international journals and cutting edge texts, the availability of free online access to journals produced by the major journal publishers – Taylor and Francis, Sage, Blackwell, Frank Cass and Elsevier – would provide a major boost to scholarship on the continent. Whilst this could result in a potential loss of revenue to the major publishing houses, it should be considered that journal subscriptions by most tropical African universities are very limited; restricting free online access to physical university campuses located in very poor countries would preclude the spread of free access beyond such areas. Again, publishers could gain through boosting their journals citation profile, and through the possibility of obtaining a greater number of high quality article submissions. Finally, we would suggest that those journals who do not wish to do this could experiment with 'research note sections'. This would provide scholars who have first rate primary data, but a lack of access to the most recent literature, an opportunity to showcase their research findings in front of an international audience.

Notes

1. There has been much debate about the term 'public intellectual', and this term can also be used to denote the practical activity of political activism.

2. A caveat is in order here. This system is most associated with US-based journals. Whilst increasing numbers of European journals have sought to be listed in the indexes, there are many other excellent journals which remain outside the system.

3. It also should be noted that articles in such journals are dominated by European scholars and members of the African diaspora, rather than by scholars based on the continent, while the same is true for the range of journals dealing with Development Studies, and, more controversially, Anthropology.

4. The list includes those journals that were listed in Harzing (2003) in addition to those which were entered in the Social Citations Index after that time.

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Olajide Oloyede

The First Ten Years: A Review of African Sociological Review, 1997-2006

Abstract

Scholarly journals are acknowledged as the mainstays of scientific communication and academics publish in them for promotion, recognition among peers and mobility in academia. The scrutiny and assessment of academic journals is therefore vital to the scientific academic community. Such scrutiny is part of the organisation of scholarly publication and allows insights into the publishing performance of a journal. It is within this academic practice that this paper reviewed the contributions to the African Sociological Review, which is now in its tenth year. Examined as part of the review were the type of papers published, the quantity of each type, the authors of the papers, and the institutional affiliations of the authors and the country of origin of the papers. The analyses showed that the African Sociological Review could best be regarded as a journal of commentary, mostly with a theoretical bent, extended essays with carefully built arguments and qualitative empirical articles. The review therefore drew the conclusion that the journal falls into the category of social science journal that has been described as a 'literary' type than the 'normal science' type.

Introduction

In all fields of study, there is a need for knowledge of the ways in which an academic discipline has developed and for critical overviews of the theoretical and empirical dimensions representing the subject matter and classification of relevant research methods and tools of analysis. Over the years, part of this need has been the increasing practice in academic journal publication of the analysis of contributions and contributors over a period of publication in the life of a journal. In most cases, such analyses are retrospective and mark a milestone in the life of the journal. Editors write reflective pieces and give account of their stewardship or commission authors to review the contributions to the journal. Such reviews tend to be efforts at analysing the publishing performance of the journal, justified, in most cases, on the grounds that potential authors will be assisted in selecting the journal for the submission of their articles. The review is expected to provide information regarding the quality and nature of research of typical contributors and the identities of their employing institutions. This practice has been observed as part of the organi-

sation of scholarly publication and has typically been studied from the perspective of those in the natural sciences, who treat refereed journals as the crucial mechanism of professional control. Statistics on publication, references, citation and other bibliographical items – scientometrics and bibliometrics – has become a standard basis of classifying, mapping and assessing journals (Garfield, 1972). Those in the social sciences, in particular, sociologists, have become, as evidence shows,[1] drawn into this type of endeavour. This would hardly seem surprising given that those outside the natural sciences have the tendency to seek a 'scientific basis' for whatever they do. Scientific method is often considered as the major avenue into valid knowledge about certain important aspects of the world and as such there is the tendency to establishing whether a mode of inquiry and a body of knowledge have a scientific standing.

Regarding the analysis of contributions to academic journals, sociologists take their cue from Merton's ([1942] 1973) account of the professional organisation of science as a mechanism for the production of novel, objective, and cumulative knowledge. He suggested that the 'ethos of modern science comprised four sets of institutional imperatives – universalism, communism, disinterestedness [and] organised scepticism' – which are 'transmitted by precept and example and reinforced by sanctions [and] are in varying degrees internalised by the scientists, thus fashioning his scientific conscience' ([1942] 1973: 269-70). As pointed out by Clemens et al., (1995), Merton was concerned with establishing the relation of scientific publication to the stratification system of science. Viewed from this perspective, Clemens et al., (1995) suggested, the system of scientific publication is an instrument for enforcing these imperatives. So, a refereed journal, they indicate, is a dynamo at the core of scientific endeavour, eliciting new research, ensuring impartial evaluation among members of a scientific community and disseminating new knowledge. It is a means of conveying information to broader publics and, possibly, as some would not hesitate to point out, to secure support or legitimacy for a discipline. Put in another way, as has been well noted, scholarly journals are the mainstays of scientific communities and academics publish in them for the purposes of promotion, salary increase (a fact many would shy away from mentioning), recognition among peers and mobility in academia.

In the social sciences, an established refereed journal is undoubtedly a repository of good and novel insights derived from data-based research, scholarly enquiry, rigorous analysis of current policies (social, economic and political) that regulate the affairs of the citizens of a country and a careful well-developed logical debate about an issue or phenomenon. In this report, what can be said about the *African Sociological Review*, (ASR)? This question sums up the objective of this paper. It provides a review of the first ten years of the journal. Evidence suggests that when a new academic journal is launched, its future course becomes an issue of doubt amongst academics. The questions are asked:

Why another journal? Does it have a functional niche in the academic community? Will it have a regular appearance? Will it survive? Later, when the new journal has become well established and is taken for granted by the academic community, the question of what conditions led to the establishment and maintenance of the publication arise. Ten years would seem to be ideal in reviewing a journal, whose name suggests continental coverage of sociology. In the context of Africa, it is a significant milestone in academic journal publication, which is bedevilled by financial difficulties, circulation problem and paucity of quality papers, due in part by the fact that a significant number of academics' first preference is an American or European journal with international readership.

The ASR

The ASR was launched in 1997. As stated in the Editorial by the founding Managing Editors, Fred Hendricks of Rhodes University (South Africa) and Jeff Lever of the University of the Western Cape (South Africa), the journal was 'the result of cooperative efforts' by the Council for Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) based in Senegal and 'personnel of the *South African Sociological Review*'. The Editorial went on to state that the ASR

> is part and parcel of the overall Pan African vision of CODESRIA. This encompasses the promotion of social science research in Africa and of relevance to the needs of the continent's people. It is an African sociology journal, but not a journal of 'African Studies'. Its aims and objectives are wide-ranging. It seeks to encourage scholarly work in social analysis broadly conceived, without an undue concern with narrow disciplinary and institutional boundaries. It hopes to stimulate a vigorous theoretical debate, in the belief that African social science need not come down to a mere application of metropolitan ideas. By opening its pages to both the standard scholarly article as well as other contributions, it aims to create a more flexible forum for the exchange of ideas and the promotion of wider intra-African contacts.

The 'co-operative efforts' stated in the editorial refer to the continuous discussion between Fred Hendricks, who had edited some volumes of the *South African Sociological Review* under the Managing Editorship of Jeff Lever, and Thandika Mkandawire, then Executive General Secretary of CODESRIA. The discussion culminated in the agreement by CODESRIA to finance the new journal on the condition that the word South was dropped from *South African Sociological Review* (one of two sociology journals in South Africa and which was about to be phased out by the South African Sociological Association following the merger of the Afrikaans-speaking sociology association and its English-speaking counterpart) and the new journal be made more continental in coverage as well as being bilingual – French and English.

The journal started as a bi-annual publication based at the Department of Sociology at Rhodes University; this has not changed. There were two

Managing Editors in the beginning, both South African and an Editorial board consisting of the 'Executive Committee of CODESRIA'. The second issue of the new journal saw an additional Managing Editor, Momar-Coumba Diop of Université Cheikh Anta Diop in Senegal. This was an attempt to reflect Francophone Africa, which was rather overplayed with an editorial in French in the issue, which contained no article in French. The editorial board changed from the Executive Committee of CODESRIA to a board of eight members after the first five years of publication. The new board was made up of three members from South Africa, one from the US, one from France, one from Egypt, one from Canada and one from the Netherlands. Jeff Lever and Mamar-Coumbe Diop resigned as Managing Editors and were replaced by Francis Nyamnjoh of the Department of Sociology at the University of Botswana and Abdelkader Zghal of the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Economiques et Sociales in Tunisia, who was then the President of the Tunisian Sociological Association. Jeff Lever, however became a member of the Editorial Board of the journal.

In 2004, two new Managing Editors, Elizabeth Annan-yao, of the Universite de Cocody in Côte d'Ivoire and Onalenna D. Selolwane, of the University of Botswana in Botswana joined the journal and a Book Editor, Alcinda Honwana of the Social Science Research Council in New York was appointed. Francis Nyamnjoh ceased to be a Managing Editor when he became head of the department of Publications at CODESRIA . The editorial board expanded to include 20 members. As evidence suggests, the Editorial Board of a journal might not reflect the character of the journal but the network of the Editors. This would seem to apply to ASR. The expanded editorial board which was made up of eight members from Africa, two from USA, one based in the UK, one in Norway, one in Finland, three in France, one in Belgium, one in Sweden, one in Netherlands and one based in Canada. Inasmuch as the international compo-sition of the Board reflects the networking skills of the Editors, it indicates also the 'universalism' (one of the cardinal norms of science [Merton, 1942] of the journal. This is in the sense in which it is believed that there are no privilege sources of scientific knowledge. Scientific manuscripts are deemed as 'objec-tive' and should be evaluated and accepted using criteria that are impersonal. If the editorial board of ASR actively functions, like most editorial boards to solicit and evaluate manuscripts for submission, the contributions to the journal would no doubt be international spanning many countries all over the world, most especially the countries from which the board members are based. The origins of contributions to the journal discussed below should provide evidence for this hypothesis.

The international composition of the editorial board did not however change the editorial policy of the journal, which is the handiwork of Fred Hendricks. What changed over the years under review, as shown earlier, were the Managing Editors. Fred Hendricks remains the constant, which says a lot about

the ASR editorially and in terms of types of papers. The journal publishes articles in both English and French. The first article in French appeared in the second issue of the second volume in 1998. This was an article by Jean-Germain Gros of the Political Science Department of the University of Missouri in St. Louis, in the United States. The article was on French-African relations in the context of globalisation titled 'Les relations france-africaines à l'age de la globalisation'. Subsequent issues have seen one or two papers in French with one issue containing almost fifty percent of the papers in French, reflecting, perhaps, the support of the then Executive Secretary, Achille Mbembe. However, the bulk of the articles in the journal are in English, which raises a serious question regarding the bilingual policy of the journal.[2] Papers in French account for five percent of the total number of papers published in the past ten years.

The journal pages have grown since its inception – the first issue was 127 pages and the last issue was 240 pages, a special issue, questionable in my opinion, on 'Critical Tradition at Rhodes University' edited by one of the editors of the journal and Peter Vale, a professor of politics at the same institution as the editor. The pages of the journal varied slightly from issue to issue. The first issue of volume 5 in 2001 had surprisingly, 96 pages, which was the smallest number of pages in any issue in the journal's history. However, ASR has a healthy average of 174 pages (see Table 1) and appears frequently (bi-annual), which shows that the journal has been stable throughout the first ten years. The format is still as it was ten years ago but the journal's jacket and the colour has changed. It is no longer red letters against white background of the first two volumes and white letters against red of volume 3, green letters against a white background of volume 4, blue background and black letters of volume 5 but black letters against a green background which started with volume 6 in 2002.

The remainder of this paper is devoted to the analysis of the contributions to the journal. Following a description of the methodology, the main body of the paper presents the results of a series of analyses each supported by a number of tables. It needs to be pointed out that the key issues which the analysis could cover were constrained by the nature of ASR and its editorial policies, and within these, the self-reflecting nature of those who seek to publish in it and their particular interests and orientation. However, the paper does serve as a snapshot of the journal. Some of the obvious yet important questions in this review are:

– What types of papers were published?
– How many of each type has been published in the past ten years?
– Where was it written?
– Who were the contributors?
– How many of the contributors were female?

Method

Various methodologies have been used in this type of investigation; these include surveys, citation analysis, content analysis, time series analysis and modified Delphi techniques. While some previous retrospective studies of journal contributions have counted articles published, others have considered the number of pages published or citations of articles published (Rutherford and Samenfink 1992, Oppermann and Roehl, 1995). For the purpose of this paper, an important methodological issue was that of constructing a classification framework for the contributions to the journal. A number of attempts were made in this area before a satisfactory solution was found. The resulting framework classified the contributions according to type using six a priori categories – theoretical essay, empirical report, literature review, commentary/reply, book review, extended review essay and others, for example, address (presidential) and those that could not easily be classified in the established categories – and origin of contribution – university, research institutes, non-governmental organisations etc., as well as the country of origin of contributions. Regarding the six categories, theoretical essays refer to articles that deal with highly abstract issues or the interrogation of concepts. In terms of empirical papers, the content was coded based on categories used in *Contemporary Sociology* to classify books reviewed in the journal. Each research work was coded with respect to its primary evidentiary base: original data primarily qualitative (e.g. ethnography); secondary evidence, primarily qualitative (e.g. non-quantitative comparative historical); original data, primarily qualitative (e.g. original surveys or experiment) secondary evidence, primarily quantitative (e.g. secondary analyses of census) and textual criticism (commentary on classics). Commentary/reply refer to commentaries on health, political and economic issues or social phenomenon. Such commentaries could have a theoretical bent but not necessarily theoretical and sometimes generate debate. Extended review essays refer to long carefully constructed socio-political or economic reviews of policies and sometimes are of a methodological nature. Each paper included a title, the name of the authors and their affiliations like all journals. All the papers were examined to see if they could be obviously assigned to any of the classification. Every paper was evaluated to determine its category in terms of subjects or topic. Editorials were not included.

Descriptive analyses were then performed. Within the bibliometrics literature a range of approaches has been developed for assessing the contributions of individual authors to a journal and to jointly authored papers. What was adopted, especially regarding authorship, is the number of author appearances. This is based on a simple count of articles published. For example, where there were several authors on a paper, each author was given the same amount of credit for having a publication as a single authored paper. In order words, credit

was not adjusted to give a partial credit for joint authorship. Articles were counted both in 'real' terms and in 'general'. The former refers to the number of papers published per journal while the latter refers to the published papers and correspond to the number of authors on the papers.

Results

At the time of writing, nine volumes had been published, comprising 17 issues with 211 papers (in general) written by 192 authors from 26 countries. There were 2960-authored pages in total. There were 197 single-authored papers, nine co-authored papers, one paper was co-authored by three authors, two four-authored papers and two papers were co-authored by five authors each. All the papers were included in the analyses that followed. The breakdown of the papers according to article type, topic area and institution of contributor are presented in the tables below.

What type of Papers: The majority of papers published as shown in Table 1, have been extended essays/reviews, accounting for 43 percent of the total number of papers published followed by commentary/reply (28 percent); empirical research accounts for 17 percent, other types of papers make up 10 percent of all published papers and theoretical essays published in the past ten years of the journal were two percent of the total number of papers. There were a few literature reviews.

Table 1: Percentages of Types of Paper

Type of Paper	Percentage
Extended review/essays	43
Commentary/reply	28
Empirical research	17
Others (presidential addresses, reflections, etc.)	10
Theoretical essays	2
Literature review (integrating research)	–

When the coded content of the empirical research was analysed (see Table 2, original data, primarily qualitative accounted for 68 percent, secondary evidence, primarily qualitative, that is, non-quantitative comparative historical accounted for 20 percent and original data, primarily quantitative accounted for 15 percent. Secondary data, primarily quantitative was six percent of the published empirical research.

Table 2: Percentages of Types of Research

Type of empirical research (coded content)	Percentage
Original data, primarily qualitative	68
Secondary evidence, primarily qualitative (comparative historical)	20
Original data, primarily quantitative	15
Secondary data, primarily quantitative	6
Textual Analysis	

The topic areas of the papers published by ASR have been diverse, covering 14 categories with the majority of papers pertaining to political process and political institutions (22 percent), the state of the discipline – for example, anthropology and sociology – (18 percent), cultural/language (13 percent) and organisational, occupational and labour market (9 percent). Globalisation as a topic accounted for seven percent of all topics covered over the ten-year period. Health issues (e.g. HIV/AIDS) did not feature much (see Table 3). This was only four percent of the topics covered.

Table 3: Percentages of publications by topic categories (Top 5)

Topic	Percentage (%) N=14
Political process and political institutions	22
State of the discipline	18
Cultural/Language	13
Organisational, occupational and labour market	9
Globalisation	7

Who gets published in the journal?: This question essentially relates to the structure of that part of the academic community that gets published in the ASR, whether it is stable or changing, and whether publication is based on a hardcore of regular contributors or whether it is shared amongst a large and diffuse group with members who publish infrequently. The answers to these questions reflect, in part, the nature of academic journal article publications and academic leadership in the discipline. It is partly also a manifestation of what has been described as publication bias, a practice that is defined to encompass dissemination bias or the accessibility of research findings related to when,

where and what format the findings are published. Such a practice is an increasingly source of concern in all fields especially in science where it manifests prominently by lack of publication of negative results (DeMaria, 2004). Though as DeMaria (2004:1708) notes, this could be minimised by editors 'being especially observant in the selection of reviewers and consideration of critiques'.

The analysis of the author data, the degree to which authors contributed to ASR or the number of appearances in the journal, reveals a situation not uncommon to most journals in which few authors publish several papers and many authors publish a few. Indeed the distribution of frequency of authorship appears to follow that found for other journals: an approximated inverse square law (Allen and Kau, 1991). However, compared to other journals, the strength of this relationship suggests a low level of author concentration, as might be expected in a journal that does not confine itself to a discipline, university academics and national geographical boundary. Table 4 provides information on the share of the number of appearances. One-time authors contributed the dominant share – 82 percent. Those contributing twice constituted 10 percent, those that appeared three times, seven percent and four times appearance was one percent. This latter category was mostly book reviewers.

Table 4: Appearances by authors

One-time authors	Twice-appearing authors	Thrice-appearing authors	Four-times-appearing authors
82%	10%	7%	1%

A noticeable trend in the author data is that those who enjoyed high publication rates in the first five years of ASR were less prominent in the second five years. Since its inception, the journal has in due course attracted a new group of major contributors, mostly from Francophone Africa and Europe, in particular, the Scandinavian countries. This, one needs to say, reflects the evolution of the reputation and position of the journal over the period and the growth in its familiarity to potential authors. The changing identity of regular authors may also indicate the careful steps taken by the editors in ensuring the publication of contributions from a number of well-established researchers and younger academics.

Origin of Contributions

The origin of contributions can be considered in a number of ways, for example, the type of institution, the name of institution and the country of origin. This question can provide insights into the institutional structure of the discipline in terms of whether the discipline is strongly centred on a small

number of key institutions in particular countries with specific academic orientations. This in turn provides information about the accessibility of the discipline, and whether it is bounded by national cultures and the nature of patterns of communication within the research community. Again, it is also a measure of publication bias – although one's institutional location or country of origin should not be what matters in scholarly publication. However, what one writes and where one publishes are shaped by one's history in the discipline.

Table 5 shows that academics in universities have provided the greatest number of papers. Researchers based in research institutes are the second largest contributors followed by contributors from other institutions, for example Ford Foundation and CODESRIA. The latter group has contributed relatively few. Indeed the number of papers from this source is very small. Unattributable sources include for example some of the contributions of ex-students of Rhodes University to the special issue on 'Critical Tradition at Rhodes' who are consultants or work outside academia and research or non-governmental organisations This group accounts for one percent of the total contributions per type of institution.

Table 5: Classification of papers by type of institution (percentage)

Institution	Percentage of Papers (1996-2006)
Universities	80
Research Institutes	17
Others (e.g. Funding Organisations, NGOs)	2

Table 6 provides the share of academic institutions from which each paper has originated. Most papers come from Rhodes University, accounting for 44 percent of the contributions from South African universities. The University of Cape Town (UCT) has a share of 16 percent, University of the Western Cape (UWC), 14 percent, University of Witswatersrand (Wits), ten percent and University of Kwa-Zulu Natal (University of Natal and University of Durban-Westville) has a share of five percent of the total contribution from universities in South Africa.

Table 6: Percentages of top five contributing South African universities

Institutions	Percentage
Rhodes University	44
University of Cape Town (UCT)	16

University of the Western Cape (UWC)	14
University of Witwatersrand (Wits)	10
University of Kaw-Zulu Natal	5

The next paragraph lists the country origin of contributions and Table 7 shows the top five contributions on a country basis. The analysis of the journal contributions on a country basis contains little surprise.

Country origin of contributions: Benin, Botswana, Cameroun, Côte d'Ivoire, Czech, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, Gabon, Ghana, Germany, Iceland, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Nigeria, Norway, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Switzerland, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, United Kingdom, United States, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

Country contributions to the journal have been international as the above list indicates. Quite a few of such contributions have been single contributions. Some of such countries are Finland, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Switzerland, Tanzania, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Table 7: Share of Top 5 contributing countries (in general terms)

Country	Percentage
South Africa	45
United States	8
Kenya	6
Botswana	5
Nigeria	4

Discussion

The style of articles published in the ASR has been varied. The volumes offered a mix of standard reports of empirical studies (mostly qualitative), book reviews (occasional extended book reviews), commentaries (sometimes of a theoretical bent) and extended essays with carefully built arguments. The first issue heralded a theme that became an enduring feature of subsequent volumes: papers dedicated chiefly to theoretical analyses of the state of a discipline and special issues in which leading authors contributed papers on topics by a guest editor or editors. Interestingly, the first volume and the last volume of the journal over the period under review in this present paper reflect the 'themed' issue: the second issue of the first volume saw the publication of a symposium on Mahmood Mamdani's *Citizen and Subject* thesis. The first issue of the

second volume in 1998 continued with the debate format in the form of a tour-de-force (a 43-page monograph) by one of South Africa's, and indeed the continent's, foremost anthropologists, Archie Mafeje. It was a highly engaging piece on the state of the art of the discipline of Anthropology in Africa. Well-known scholars like Rosabelle Laville, Sally Falk Moore, Paul Nchoji Nkwi, John Sharp and Herbert W. Vilakazi were invited to respond, an invitation to which they all responded robustly. The issue is a treasure trove that merits adoption in an Anthropology course. Indeed, it was a clear statement by the founding Managing Editors of the journal's intent.

Having special issues of the journal devoted to a paper that the editor believes is broad, interesting and controversial, and inviting referees who have objections to the paper to submit comments is indeed a standard practice of good academic journals. Ideally, these comments, along with a reply from the author, are published together in the same issue. Such a policy has often has the benefit of reducing what can be referred to as the penalty for dealing with broad topics in an innovative way. It also goes a long way toward making a journal more interesting and provides a forum for the exchange of ideas on the research frontier. ASR seems to have done well on this score. However, who decides on the themes and editor of specials remains the prerogative of the editors.

Although there is the proclamation in the ASR's stated goals that the journal does not confine itself to the discipline of sociology, it is essentially a journal of sociology. Sociology papers account for almost 58 percent of the papers, political science 26 percent, and anthropology ten percent. In fact there was evidence to suggest an overwhelming tendency for the most peculiar papers to have originated from the disciplines other than sociology. This can be explained by the fact of the journal's name, which, at first sight, is registered to the mind of those 'scouting' around to submit papers as a journal of sociology. As one can claim of most academic journals, the journals stated goals reflect an attempt to protect the discipline's ability to control its members' reputations, which, as Whitley (1984) suggests, is a critical component of the organisation of work in the academic world. As Stinchcombe (1994) pointed out, work organisations in which the control of reputation is centralised and clearly bounded differ from those in which it is diffuse or fragmented, although observers may disagree as to which situation is personally or intellectually preferable. So, ASR, as a journal of sociology, though contributions come from other social science disciplines, is symptomatic of sociology's distinctive arrangements as a reputational work organisation. This point can be boldly made if we look at the audience of the journal, which is limited to other sociologists. Not only is this the case, the journal's circulation and subscription base is low and limited to English-speaking African countries.

Who gets published in a journal is partly a function of who submits. There is no information on who submits. What the evidence suggests is that there is a paucity of women in the ranks of the most prolific authors. In general, women

authors accounted for 28 percent of the papers compared to 72 percent male authors. This is striking and among a number of hypotheses, it illustrates the complex ways in which the publication system shapes careers. One must stress the point that to evaluate the representation of women adequately, one would need to know the distribution of men and women, amongst many other things, across university rank, sub-field and methodological orientation.

There was no notable trend over time evident in relation to paper type or topic area. Nevertheless, there has been a steady decrease in the proportion of papers published by authors based at Rhodes and a corresponding increase in the proportion of papers published by authors from other institutions. There has also been a slight increase in the number of papers published by women authors. There are two women editors and a woman also edited a special issue of the journal on one occasion.

Conclusion

The measure of ten years brings a certain sense of stability and success. However, the only true measure of the success of an academic journal is whether, in the end, it really makes a difference. This requires, amongst other things, to look backward at the papers published in the journal to establish the most influential. Citation analysis becomes necessary. That is the number of times that a target paper is referred to in other papers in a journal. Accessibility, objectivity and validity are some important reasons that favour this method, which seems to have high face validity. It seems unarguable that if the findings or ideas of an article have broad impact in the work of other researchers, the latter will be disposed to refer to that article in their own publications. ASR score very poorly in this regard. A recent report on research publishing in South Africa by the Academy of Science of South Africa categorised ASR as having 0.09-journal impact factor in 2002, 0.07 in 2003 with a composite extended journal impact factor of 0.08 for the two years. This must be of great concern for a journal that has a 20-member international editorial board, four Managing Editors and claims a continent-wide coverage. This point is stated with caution because the journal contains very many excellent papers. In fact the quality of contributions to the journal compares reasonably well with other journals. In addition, the Academy of Science of South Africa Report was based on two years – 2001/2002. This can hardly provide a reasonable and reliable reflection of the journal's impact.

Secondly, and in general, citation analysis does have its problems. Very often the ideas used in a text are not original to the text's author, but merely a reformulation of the work of someone else. Some have argued that most texts contain very little original information. However, a citation analysis still remains in some ways, a superior method. The poor score of ASR in terms of citation might partly be explained by the fact that the journal is not listed or

indexed in international databases, indexes and abstracts. There are schemes aimed at bringing African journals into global limelight such as the African Journal On-line (AJOL) project supported by the International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications (INASP) based in the United Kingdom. AJOL serves to promote the awareness and use of African journals with the aim of increasing knowledge about African scholarship and the fact that ASR is not listed in this initiative after ten years of publication is a serious oversight by the Managing Editors who are supposed to co-ordinate the affairs of the journal.

ASR can best be described as a journal of commentary, empirical articles and reviews. It is more a 'literary' journal than a 'normal science' journal. That is, it publishes less research with quantitative evidence and methods. In fact it has 85 percent of qualitative research and 22 percent of quantitative research. However, in general, there seems to be less of the standard empirical articles whose raison d'être is the reporting of new data and the publication of new data that are subordinate to the purpose of reviewing a literature or formulating some original theoretical proposals. This comment does not necessarily mean that ASR consciously set itself up as a journal that precludes authors from reporting **n**ew findings. There are papers in the journals that are excellent examples of influential literature reviews and theoretical essays in which new findings appear. Overall, ASR has answered all the questions (see introduction) that are usually asked when a new journal is about to be launched and which, perhaps, were asked when the Editor met with the Executive Director of CODESRIA in 1996 to discuss the funding for the new journal. As a last comment, what this paper has done is to reveal some features of ASR and give some hints about how to improve its visibility and prestige in future. It is hoped that the Managing Editors of the journal will see it as that.

Notes

1. See for example, Durden, G. C., 1994, 'An Analysis of Publishing Performance in Social Science Quarterly, 1977-1987', *Social Science Quarterly*, 72, (March), 181-8; Moore, L. J. and Taylor, III, B. W., 1980, 'A Study of Institutional Publications in Business-Related Academic Journals, 172-178', *Quarterly Review of Economics and Business*, 20: 87-97; Academy of Science of South Africa, (2006) *Report on a Strategic Approach to Research Publishing in South Africa*, Pretoria: Academy of Science of South Africa.

2. There is no information regarding whether the journal is a regular read in Francophone Africa given that it is published mostly in English language; the Editor however acknowledged the difficulty thrown up by the bilingual policy.

3. An unweighted paper is assigned to an author, department or institution if his/her/its name appears as any one of the authors. The weighting for a weighted paper is a fraction that is dependent upon the number of authors. The same principle applies to the number of pages.

4. Interview was conducted at the Dean's Office, Faculty of Humanities, Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa on 25 April 2006. Issues covered range from the journal's history, editorials, and distribution to review process.

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ADDRESS

Pan-Africanism or Imperialism? Unity and Struggle towards a New Democratic Africa

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[Second Billy Dudley Memorial Lecture at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, 27 July 2005]

I am honoured and humbled by your invitation to deliver the Second Billy Dudley Memorial Lecture. Memorial lectures are no doubt occasions for us to celebrate the lives of our colleagues and comrades and learn from their contributions to the causes that we hold dear. I take it that they are also an occasion to reflect critically on our intellectual discourses and what they mean for the societies we live in. So I wish to take this opportunity to reflect with you on one of the most important of such discourses – African Nationalism.

In this 'era' of the so-called globalisation of the world into a global village, to talk on nationalism must sound anachronistic, if not foolish. But I shall be a fool, and you, I am afraid, have no choice but to bear the brunt of it!

I will talk of African Nationalism as an antithesis of globalisation. For me globalisation is imperialism. So I shall call it by its true name – imperialism – and henceforth imperialism shall mean and include globalisation.

I will talk about African Nationalism from the vantage point of a village; not Kivungu in the district of Kilosa in a country called Tanzania, where I grew up. No! I am talking of the village called Africa, the African Village. I am quite sure when I mention names like Kivungu and Kilosa you do not recognise them nor do you emotionally feel any affinity to them; but shrug them off as some administrative spaces somewhere – where? – in Africa, an African village. It is the Africanness of my village which binds us emotionally and arouses the whole bundle of perceptions, convictions, emotions and feelings associated with the phenomenon called nationalism. Thus African Nationalism is Pan-Africanism. There is no, and cannot be, African Nationalism outside of, apart from or different from Pan-Africanism.

True, after 40 years of flying 'our' flag and you being turned away from 'our' airports for lack of visas (I am told Nigerians have great difficulty in getting Tanzanian visas!), you did recognise the name Tanzania but it did not quite strike a chord in you. But if I had said I come from the country of Julius Nyerere,

it would have immediately stuck and you may have even felt some kind of affinity to it. Why? May I venture to say because of Nyerere's Pan-Africanism?

African nationalists like Nkrumah and Nyerere, Nasser and Azikiwe, Modibo Keita and Amilcar Cabral, Hastings Banda and Houphouët-Boigny (yes, even them!), Albert Luthuli and Jomo Kenyatta and Ahmed Ben Bella and Patrice Lumumba, were all Pan-Africanists. With varying degrees of commitment to the cause or even out of political expediency, as African nationalists, they could not be anything but Pan-Africanists. As Nyerere said: 'African nationalism is meaningless, is anachronistic, and is dangerous, if it is not at the same time Pan-Africanism' (Nyerere 1963a in Nyerere 1967: 194).

No other continental people feel the same affinity, emotional bondage and political solidarity as do the people of Africa. Not only is our self-perception African, rather than Tanzanian or Nigerian or Chadian, even others perception of us, whether positive or negative, is African. Again Nyerere expresses well what many of us have often experienced: In a lecture in Accra on 'African Unity'; to mark 40 years of Ghana's independence, he observed:

> When I travel outside Africa the description of me as former President of Tanzania is a fleeting affair. It does not stick. Apart from the ignorant who sometimes asked me whether Tanzania was Johannesburg, even to those who knew better, what stuck in the minds of my hosts was the fact of my African-ness. So I had to answer questions about the atrocities of the Amins and the Bokassas of Africa. Mrs Gandhi did not have to answer questions about the atrocities of the Marcosses of Asia. Nor does Fidel Castro have to answer questions about the atrocities of the Samozas of Latin America. But when I travel or meet foreigners, I have to answer questions about Somalia, Liberia, Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire, as in the past I used to answer questions about Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia or South Africa (Nyerere 1997).

Territorial nationalisms, signified by our 53 flags and anthems and mini-states and trigger-happy armies, can hardly be described as expression of African nationalism. Outside Pan-Africanism, territorial nationalism tends to degenerate into chauvinism at best, racism and ethnicism, at worst, all compounded by utter subservience to imperialism. Nyerere in his characteristic simple but picturesque language described what he called 'exclusive nationalism', meaning territorial nationalism, as 'the equivalent of tribalism within the context of our separate nation states' (Nyerere 1965, in Nyerere 1967: 335).

It is not my intention to go into the history of African nationalism but I want to put forward a thesis that in this Second Phase of the Second Scramble for Africa, (which I shall explain in due course), Pan-Africanism is more important than ever before. Elsewhere I have talked about the coming insurrection of African nationalism (Shivji 2005). Today I want to go further and urge you to make it happen. Before I do that, let me identify some of the important tensions in the thought and practice of African nationalists of the independence period. This should provide us with the building blocks for a new discourse on African nationalism and Pan-Africanism as we struggle to construct a New Democratic Africa (NDA).

Tensions in African Nationalism

African nationalist thought of the independence period had two major strands, Pan-Africanism and anti-imperialism. African nationalism, almost by definition, was an antithesis of imperialism whose synthesis was African Unity. The Pan-Africanist idea was developed in the Diaspora towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century by such great Afro-Americans and Afro-Caribbeans as Henry Sylvester Williams, George Padmore, W. Du Bois, C. L. R. James, and others (Legum 1965). The early Pan-Africanist thought revolved around essentially cultural and racial issues whose main demand was for equality and non-discrimination (Pannikar 1961). This was reflected in the resolutions of various Pan-African congresses before 1945 (Legum op cit., passim). The Manifesto of the 1923 Congress, for instance, proclaimed, 'In fine, we ask in all the world, that black folk be treated as men' (ibid: 29).

The turning point was the Second World War. In 1944 some thirteen students', welfare and other organisations based in Britain came together to form the Pan-African Federation which was to organise the most famous Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester in 1945. The Manchester Congress was most political, with clear demands for independence and whose rallying cry was 'Africa for Africans'. It was also for the first time attended by young Africans from Africa. Its two organising secretaries were Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana and Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya. Some 200 delegates attended the congress, among them were representatives of trade unions, political parties and other organisations.

The resolutions were unambiguously political demanding autonomy and independence; sounding warnings that the age-old African patience was wearing out and that 'Africans were unwilling to starve any longer while doing the world's drudgery' (quoted in Legum op cit., 32); condemning and discarding imperialism while proclaiming in its own language a kind of social democracy. One resolution said:

> We condemn the monopoly of capital and the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome economic democracy as the only real democracy (Legum, ibid: 155).

Significantly, the Fifth Pan-Africanist Congress already signalled, albeit in an embryonic form, the idea of African Unity in the following words: '... [T]he artificial divisions and territorial boundaries created by the imperialist Powers are deliberate steps to obstruct the political unity of the West African peoples'. Nkrumah, who organised the West African National Secretariat at the Fifth Congress, followed up the idea of African Unity at its conference in 1946. The conference pledged to promote the concept of a West African Federation as a path towards the achievement of a United States of Africa. This resolution was formally endorsed by Azikiwe. Thus was born Nkrumah's life-long passion

against Balkanisation and for African Union which he pursued single-mindedly until the end of his life (ibid: 32-3).

Armed with the Pan-Africanist ideology, Nkrumah returned to Ghana, then the Gold Coast. His organisational genius soon yielded results as he reorganised the existing Convention Party led by the intellectual petty bourgeoisie into a mass organisation and called it the Convention People's Party. The insertion of the word 'people' was not an empty boast. Nkrumah was able to mobilise lower middle classes and the youth and draw into the fold of the party trade union leaders. Ghana became independent in 1957, the first African country to break off and throw away the shackles of colonialism. This was a great triumph for African nationalism. The African had reclaimed his/her dignity and self-respect. In the words of that great historian, C. L. R. James, Nkrumah 'led a great revolution' and he 'raised the status of Africa and Africans to a pitch higher than it had ever reached before' (James 1966 in Grimshaw, ed., 1992: 356).

Nkrumah was no petty nationalist. For him the Ghanaian flag and anthem were a means towards building the African Union. Just as African nationalism could only be expressed in Pan Africanism so, for Nkrumah, Pan-Africanism could only be expressed in the formation of a political union of Africa which he variously called the United States of Africa or the African Union. With passion, and sometimes over-zealousness, Nkrumah set to organise the independent African states and African people towards realising the vision of African Unity.

Between 1958 and 1964, two sets of conferences took place: the Conference of Independent African States, and the All Africa People's Conference, pursuing African independence and African unity. In April 1958, Nkrumah with the help of his Pan-Africanist mentor George Padmore organised the conference of independent African states in Accra. Eight states – Ghana, Liberia Ethiopia, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Sudan and Morocco – attended. In the same year, Accra organised the All African People's Conference of delegates from national political parties and trade unions.

The Second Conference of the Independent States took place in 1960 in Addis Ababa. Fifteen states attended it including Nigeria and the Provisional Government of Algeria. In the same year again there was the All Africa People's Conference held in Tunis. The Third All Africa People's Conference was held in Cairo in March, 1960. In the same year in May, 32 independent African states met in Addis Ababa and adopted the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity or OAU.

The resolutions of the Independent States invariably declared their allegiance to the United Nations and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the African states and mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs. While affirming the need for solidarity and co-operation among African states, the goal of African unity is posited as something in the future. Interestingly, though, neither the term nor the concept of Pan-Africanism finds

any mention in their resolutions while anti-imperialism is confined to demanding the independence of African countries still under colonialism. This showed the limits of the 'Pan-Africanism' of the African states. The limits were later to become shackles around Nkrumahist Pan-Africanism as the consolidation of the state proceeded apace under the guise of nation-building.

On the other hand, the resolutions of the All Africa People's Conferences militantly express the idea of Pan-Africanism leading to the union of African states. They resolutely condemn imperialism in both its forms, colonial and neo-colonial. They urge the mobilisation and education of the masses in Pan-Africanism and anti-imperialism. The People's conferences were organised under the auspices of the All Africa People's Organisation or AAPO which fell into disuse after the formation of OAU. The potential of the bottom-up people's organisations for Pan-Africanism was thus suppressed under the weight of African statism.

During this period fundamental differences between Nkrumah's position on the need for a political union of African states as an urgent task and those who continued to counsel caution and gradualism, became crystallised. Gradualism was finally inscribed in the OAU Charter. Nkrumah inscribed Ghana's readiness to surrender its sovereignty in the interest of African Unity in the 1960 republican constitution of his country. Nkrumah's passionate advocacy of Union Government earned him many enemies among his fellow Heads of State inviting personal hostility and accusations of personal ambitions. The head of the Nigerian delegation to the 1960 Conference, for example, made this biting remark: '... if anybody makes this mistake of feeling that he is a Messiah who has got a mission to lead Africa the whole purpose of Pan-Africanism will, I fear, be defeated' (quoted in Legum op cit., 192). Even an otherwise passionate, albeit pragmatic, advocate of African Unity, Julius Nyerere, clashed with Nkrumah at the 1965 OAU Assembly of Heads of State in Accra. The background was Nkrumah's criticisms of regional groupings and associations such as PAFMECSA (Pan-African Freedom Movements for East, Central and Southern Africa), including the proposal to form an East African federation in both of which Nyerere was an active and a moving spirit. Nkrumah believed, not unreasonably, that regional groupings and associations would make continental unity even more difficult while Nyerere seemed to subscribe to the gradualist approach holding that any form of unity among any number of African states was a step in the direction of African unity.

With the wisdom of 40 years of fruitless 'territorial nationalism', and the pursuit of power by Africa's pseudo-bourgeoisies and compradors, Nyerere perhaps came to regret his vitriolic 1965 attack on Nkrumah. Speaking at the 40th independence anniversary of Ghana in 1997, Nyerere admitted that his generation of nationalist leaders had failed to realise the objective of African unity. The OAU, Nyerere said, had twin objectives: to liberate the continent from colonialism and unite Africa. They succeeded in one but failed in the

other. Yet some of them, with Nkrumah, believed that colonialism and Balkanisation were twins which had to be destroyed together. They had a genuine desire to move Africa towards greater unity, he asserted. Why did they fail then? Nyerere, in his figurative, albeit apologetic language attempts an answer. It needs to be quoted in full.

> Kwame Nkrumah was the greatest crusader for African unity. He wanted the Accra summit of 1965 to establish a Union Government for the whole of independent Africa. But we failed. The one minor reason is that Kwame, like all great believers, underestimated the degree of suspicion and animosity which his crusading passion had created among a substantial number of his fellow Heads of States. The major reason was linked to the first: already too many of us had a vested interest in keeping Africa divided ... Once you multiply national anthems, national flags and national passports, seats at the United Nations, and individuals entitled to 21 gun salutes, not to speak of a host of ministers, Prime Ministers, and envoys, you would have a whole army of powerful people with vested interests in keeping Africa Balkanised. That was what Nkrumah encountered in 1965. After the failure to establish the Union Government at the Accra Summit of 1965, I heard one Head of State express with relief that he was happy to be returning home to his country still Head of State. To this day I cannot tell whether he was serious or joking. But he may well have been serious, because Kwame Nkrumah was very serious and the fear of a number of us to lose our precious status was quite palpable. But I never believed that the 1965 Accra summit would have established a Union Government for Africa. When I say that we failed, that is not what I mean, for that clearly was an unrealistic objective for a single summit. What I mean is that we did not even discuss a mechanism for pursuing the objective of a politically united Africa. We had a Liberation Committee already. We should have at least had a Unity Committee or undertaken to establish one. We did not. And after Kwame Nkrumah was removed from the African political scene nobody took up the challenge again (Nyerere 1997).

In this Nyerere is no doubt vindicating Nkrumah's position. Is he also critiquing his own position of step-by-step unity, any unity? Nkrumah himself had much earlier held the gradualist position but was quick to learn from experience. In *Towards Colonial Freedom* written between 1942 and 1945, his ideas on unity were limited to West African unity as a first step. 'Since I have had the opportunity of putting my ideas to work, and in intensification of neo-colonialism', he said, 'I lay even greater stress on the vital importance to Africa's survival of a political unification of the entire continent'. 'Regional economic groupings', he argued, 'retard rather than promote the unification process' (Nkrumah 1973: 14).

Nyerere is laying stress on local vested interests as an impediment to the unification of the continent. Nkrumah is reminding us that local vested interests are allied with imperial interests to keep the continent balkanised. Unlike Nyerere, Nkrumah is acutely aware that not any form of unity is necessarily a step towards greater unification. In particular, economic co-operation or economic associations may, as a matter of fact, act as a hindrance rather than facilitate political unification. In this Nkrumah is refuting the oft-heard argument that economic association should precede political unification, the trajectory of European unification being used as an example (see for instance

the arguments of the secretary general of Malawi Congress Party, Chisiza 1963 in Luthuli et al., 1964: 38-54). The two situations are not analogous though.

Colonial economies inherited by independent Africa are woefully incompatible with each other; rather they are competitive. Each of them, separately, voluntarily or otherwise, seeks association with metropolitan economies. African economies are not only incompatible but exhibit extreme uneven development. The result is that in any economic association some countries are bound to be in disadvantageous position, giving rise to perpetual acrimony and irresolvable contradictions (Nnoli 1985). The only way to overcome these contradictions would be by a deliberate act of political will. This is the lesson to be drawn from what was once hailed as one of the most successful economic associations, the East African community. Services and even the currency in the four East African countries, were integrated. This worked so long as there was a single political overlord, the colonial state. But with independence the respective sovereign states set on very different trajectories, each wanting to maximise its advantage. Only a political decision in the interest of African Unity could have addressed and resolved these issues. In the absence of a single political centre, the East African Community floundered and was dissolved in 1977. Recent attempts at reviving East African economic co-operation have been difficult and are fraught with problems, not the least of which is, for example, the multiple memberships of the member states in different economic associations such as COMESA and SADC. A couple of months ago the East African heads of state postponed the fast-tracking of the proposed East African federation ostensibly to get people's views. In reality, the economic contradictions of the association and the underlying competition among member states to get aid and investment from erstwhile donors is proving formidable to political unification. So much so that even the attempt by President Museveni to get a third term in Uganda is being seen by some Tanzanians as a proof of his ambition to become the President of the proposed East African federation. True or not, these arguments sound like the echoes of the arguments against Nkrumah. Unashamedly wedded to imperialism as he is, Museveni is of course no Nkrumah.

Be that as it may, my point is simply that these experiences have proved both Nyerere and Nkrumah right. Nkrumah's dictum, 'Seek ye first political unity and the economic union shall be added thereunto', held true then and holds true now. Nkrumah's fear that a delay in political unity would expose individual African states to neo-colonialist manipulations and Nyerere's fear that sovereignty, flags and state power would be too sweet to surrender, have all come to pass, and tragically so. The Congo crisis of the 1960s then, and the DRC crisis of 1990s now, in which five African states went to war, express in the most extreme fashion all the woes of the continent and the tensions of African nationalism: dismal disunity among African states, utterly cynical manipulations of imperialist powers; rapacious exploitation of the resources of one of the richest

countries of the continent, war, oppression, dictatorship and looting and pillage.

The trajectory of the Congo from Belgian Congo through Zaire to the DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo) is really the story of the last 40 years of independent but disunited Africa. Pan-Africanism was buried with Patrice Lumumba in the Congo. 'Statist nationalism', more correctly compra-dorialism, in cohort with imperialism has wreaked havoc on the continent since.

But Pan-Africanism shall resurrect, who knows, perhaps in the DRC. That brings me to the second part of my lecture.

Towards the Insurrection of Pan-Africanism

I said earlier that in this second phase of the Second Scramble for Africa we need Pan-Africanism more than ever before. I owe you an explanation of what I mean by the second phase of the Second Scramble. The first Scramble for Africa was of course the colonial carving up of the continent; the first phase of the Second Scramble was what Nkrumah called neo-colonialism and Nyerere defined as 'Africans fighting Africans' (Nkrumah 1965; Nyerere 1963b in Nyerere 1967: 205 et seq.). The second phase of the Second Scramble is what we are witnessing today under the so-called globalisation. The local manifes-tation of globalisation is the neo-liberal package enforced by imperialism through the IMF-WB-WTO triad and donor policies and conditionalities on aid, debt, trade. Let us provisionally call this phase the compradorial phase.

The first and second phases of the Second Scramble more or less correspond to the Cold War and post-Cold War phases of neo-colonialism. In the first phase, Pan-Africanism was 'nationalised', or more correctly statised, under the rhetoric of territorial nationalism. This is the period of military coups, dictator-ships, one-party governments, and Cold War manipulations. True, a few African countries managed to maintain relative autonomy, thanks partly to superpower rivalry. True again, that this was the period when the liberation of the continent was completed. Internationally, Third World nationalism in which at least some African countries played a significant role was on the ideological offensive and imperialism was on the defensive. Then the Berlin Wall fell; the bi-polar world collapsed. Reaganomics turned into warmon-gering Bush-politics.

In Africa the second phase began with structural adjustment programmes or SAPs of the early 1980s. The point about SAPs was not simply the imposition of neo-liberal economic conditionality. The point was the loss of political self-determination in making economic decisions that it signified. Soon after the fall of the Berlin Wall imperialism mounted a frontal ideological attack on Third World nationalism (see generally Furedi 1994). Whatever was left of African nationalism, even of its territorial variety, was discredited, if not destroyed, in the rhetoric of globalisation. African states, which had in fact

hardly departed from the policy prescriptions of the erstwhile IFIs, were now made villain of the piece: corrupt, inefficient, patrimonial, and undemocratic. All of that may be true but all of it happened under the hegemony, and with the connivance of, the same imperialist powers. New prescriptions were handed down on good governance, human rights, transparency, multi-party, democracy and so on. SAPs moved from the realm of economics to politics, from policy to ideology, from adjusting our economies to accommodating theirs. Masses, who, we once said, are the prime subject of history became the object of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers or PRSPs. Country SAPs combined with PRSPs became the continental NEPAD (New Partnership for African Development). Forward-looking African nationalism, which traced its genesis to Pan-Africanism, was displaced by African Renaissance, a spurious echo of European history. African states and leaders joined in the chorus of their own condemnation and in the condemnation of their Pan-Africanist predecessors, if not by words then by deeds. Peer review committees replaced liberation committees; our presidents queued to have tea with G8s at Davos instead of joining their Asian counterparts at Bandung. The Blair Commission replaced the South Commission while the Geldofs with their guitars led the procession of begging presidents from Africa. The mantra of the chant 'Make Poverty History' is supposed to make us forget not only the history of poverty and the political economy of imperialist pillage of our continent but, and this is even more crucial, .it is meant to demean our national liberation straggles.

But enough of humiliation. Everywhere Africans are harking back to the self-respect and dignity that the struggle for independence gave them. Our young intellectuals are writing PhDs on Nkrumahs and Nyereres, albeit in foreign universities, because our own have fallen victim to the dictates of structural adjustment programmes. African masses, in their varied ways and idioms, are censoring their leaders and evaluating their weaknesses. In my country when the president says 'utandawazi' meaning globalisation, people echo 'utandawizi' meaning 'a network of theft'.

Globalisation chickens are rapidly coming home to roost while neo-liberal eggs are cracking up one after another. SAPs and subsequent privatisation and liberalisation policies have severely undermined the welfare of our people. The indices of education, health, sanitation, water, life expectancy, infant mortality, literacy have all fallen. Privatisations have thrown thousands of people out of work and increasingly privatisation projects are being exposed as big scandals. In my own country, all the four big privatisations – bank, water, electricity, telecommunication and mining – have proved to be utterly one-sided in favour of MNCs, if not outright fraudulent, costing the country billions of shillings.

The imperialist ideological offensive is losing steam. After the unilateral Iraq war, Guantanamo and Abu Gharib it has lost its last veneer of legitimacy. Increasingly, not only in its backyards but even at home it is resorting to coercion, force and wars in the process provoking resistance of all kinds from

the oppressed. In the absence of a global, coherent ideology with a vision, the oppressed, the marginalised and the disregarded fall back on the only ideological resource available – racial, religious ethnic and chauvinistic prejudices.

I want to suggest that Pan-Africanism is the ideology of national liberation at the continental level in the post-Cold War era just as nationalism was the ideology of liberation in the post-Second World War era. For Pan-Africanism to play this role we need to modify and rework it in several directions. I can only suggest a few.

Firstly, Pan-Africanist ideology must give primacy to politics. It must be a political ideology, not a developmentalist programme. It must provide a vision, not simply set out a goal. It must inspire and mobilise. While African Unity is undoubtedly the rallying cry it must unite us to struggle and inspire us to struggle to unite.

No doubt Africa needs economic development. But as the Lagos Plan of Action, which was shamefully rejected by African states because of lack of endorsement by their imperialist masters, argued, such development cannot be self-reliant or sustainable unless African economies and resources are internally integrated (see Adedeji op cit., in Nyong'o et. al., 2002). This in itself requires a political decision.

Secondly, Pan-Africanism in its theory and ideology, in its programme and strategy must be anti-imperialist and pro-people. It must totally and uncompromisingly distance itself from the position that globalisation offers opportunities and challenges and that we should use the opportunities. The fact that in your struggle you may wrench the master's weapon and turn it against him, does not mean that the master has given you an opportunity to do so. Globalisation, as all serious studies show, is a process of further intensification of imperialist exploitation through the deepening the integration of the world economy in the interest of international finance capital.

Thirdly, Pan-Africanists must think continentally and act both continentally and regionally. By regionally I mean to refer to spaces beyond single countries, whether this is East African or West African; North African or Southern African or Central African. Pan-Africanists must prize open spaces to expand the spaces of struggle beyond regions because regions are only battlefields, the war is continental.

Here we need to recall the debate among the African nationalists on the step-by-step as opposed to continental approach to unification. Nyerere argued that unification at regional levels would enhance the process towards continental unity because you would have fewer units to unite. This would be so provided, he argued, we did not lose sight of the ultimate vision of African Unity (see Nyerere 1966). Experience however has proved that in practice so long as such processes are led by states, the very vision of larger unity tends to disappear as state leaders get embroiled in the pragmatism of power politics.

These dilemmas, to a certain extent, may be overcome by the conception of Pan-Africanism as a people's ideology of struggle and a vision of liberation as opposed to the statist Pan-Africanism of leaders.

Fourthly, therefore, Pan-Africanism must be a bottom-up people's ideology putting pressure on states and monitoring their actions rather than a top-down statist programme or plan. People's Pan-Africanists must be wary of African states and their imperialist backers who wrap up their 'nepadisms' in the garb of Pan-Africanism.

NEPAD, which underpins the African Union, is in line with compradorialism rather than Pan-Africanism as a number of African scholars have shown (see Adedeji, Nabudere, Mafeje, Olukoshi, Mkandawire, Tandon and others in Nyong'o et. al., 2002). Adebayo Adedeji succinctly sums up NEPAD's objective as strengthening imperialism's hold 'by tying the African canoe firmly to the West's neo-liberal ship on the waters of globalisation (ibid: 42). And one may as well add that South African capital provides the rope painted in the colour of African renaissance. As two South African authors have put it:

> The pinnacle of Mbeki's Renaissance Africa has been a drive for the virtues and dictates of the free market in Africa. Essentially, this boils down to making Africa safe for overseas multinational investment and private capital ... This, above all else, may be why Washington supports the thrust of a Mbeki-articulated renaissance. This could also account for why Mbeki is clearly liked by America's Corporate Council on Africa, as well as western European investors (Landberg & Kornegay 1998).

Fifthly, unlike the times of African nationalists, today's Pan-Africanist face another challenge and that is the rise of regional hegemons. South Africa seems to be moving in that direction. Africa is the fourth largest export market for South African goods with the trade balance heavily tilted in favour of South Africa. South African corporations have rapidly moved into many African countries taking hold of banks and mines; telecommunications and energy; retail networks and hotel business. Even cultural exports in the forms of TV networks and shows are a daily diet of African urban (fortunately so far only urban) homes (Daniel et. al., 2002). South Africa's active role in the so-called peace-making in the DRC has paved a way for its corporations to take hold of that rich country. South Africa is also known to supply arms to a number of neighbouring African countries. No wonder some have wondered whether the renaissance is not Pax Pretoriana thinly disguised as a Pax Africana (ibid). New Pan-Africanism will have to evolve new strategies to deal with this development so that Pan-Africanism does not fall prey to the ambitions of stronger African states.

Sixthly, the new Pan-Africanism must find an organisational home in the movements of African people as opposed to state (political) parties. It should walk in the footsteps of AAPO, All Africa People's Organisation. Pan-Africanism should be an explicit credo of our All-Africa research and

professional organisations; All-Africa trade unions, All-Africa peasant associ-
ations, All-Africa women's organisations. I would say even our regional
people's organisations should be branches of All-Africa organisations.

If we truly want an All-Africa Federation of People's Republics, we have to
start with an All-Africa Federation of People's Organisations (AFPO).

No doubt in this lecture I have only set out in broad strokes some of the
elements of a new vision. This requires a lot of further discussion, debate and
struggles to realise the Pan-Africanist vision. And that is where we should
begin. We should consciously place Pan-Africanism on the agenda. For
example, in our various debates on constitutionalism and federalism, like the
one which is currently going on in your country (Nigeria), Pan-Africanism
could have been, and ought to be, one of the central issues.

We, intellectuals, have to generate a deliberate, consistent and protracted
continent-wide discourse on new Pan-Africanism. It is in such a discourse that
we can debate and agree and debate and disagree on many and varied aspects of
new Pan-Africanism. We shall discuss and debate on the motive forces of
Pan-Africanism and the social character of our states. We shall analyse and
struggle over who are the friends and who are the enemies of Pan-Africanism.
We shall begin to chart the type of New Democratic Africa we want. We shall
go beyond the Pan-Africanist liberation of the continent to the social emanci-
pation of humankind. It is in such debates and dialogues that we will nurture our
new George Padmores and Du Bois, Nkrumahs and Nyereres, Fanons and
Cabrals. A Pan-Africanist discourse will, in the words of Nyerere, 'link our
intellectual life together indissolubly' (Nyerere 1966 in Nyerere 1968: 217). It
is through such discourses that we shall evolve our All-Africa People's Organi-
sations.

Remember: 'Insurrection of ideas precedes insurrection of arms'.

A spectre is haunting Africa – the spectre of Pan-Africanism. We, Africans,
have been exploited a great deal, humiliated a great deal, disregarded a great
deal. Now we want to make a Revolution, a Pan-Africanist Revolution so that
we are never again exploited, humiliated and disregarded.

> People of Africa Unite,
> You have nothing to lose but your drudgery
> And a whole Continent to gain.

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RESEARCH REPORT

The Use of Documentary Research Methods in Social Research

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Introduction

Social research is an activity that is undertaken to find an answer or explanation regarding a particular social phenomenon. It involves *systematic* collection of data about such a social phenomenon for the purpose of finding and or under-standing patterns and regularities in it. Social science departments in most universities require some of their final year students to undertake a small piece of social research, commonly referred to as a 'research project' in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a degree. A social research project is normally small in scale and is intended to gauge the student's ability to convert social research *knowledge* (acquired in class) into social research *skills*. Depending on how the student performs in the research project, the department will know whether the student is competent to undertake independent research in the future or to work with little supervision as a research assistant. To the majority of social scientists the idea of a research project is that it is something that is 'original' and for which 'new data' must be collected. To this end the social survey method, sometimes supplemented by in-depth interviews and participant observation, is selected as the method of choice, and very few social scientists ever think of re-analysing existing data sets (Hakim 1982).

Although social surveys, in-depth interviews and participant observation have been tried and tested, they are not the only ones available nor are they always useful. There is another research method that is often marginalised or when used, it is only as a supplement to the conventional social surveys. This is the *documentary research method* or the use of documentary sources in social research. This method is just as good and sometimes even more cost effective than social surveys, in-depth interviews or participant observation. The use of documentary methods refers to the analysis of documents that contain information about the phenomenon we wish to study (Bailey 1994). Payne and Payne (2004) describe the documentary method as the techniques used to categorise, investigate, interpret and identify the limitations of physical

sources, most commonly written documents whether in the private or public domain.

Unfortunately, documentary research methods have often been incorrectly considered a monopoly of professional historians, librarians and information science specialists, whilst social scientists rely on surveys and in-depth interview methods, the professional sociologist in particular. In the event that social scientists use documentary research methods, it is only to supplement information collected through social surveys and in-depth interviews, but seldom as the *main* or *principal* research method. No wonder that in order to undertake a research project, most students (following this poor example by their academic advisors) tend almost instinctively to think of questionnaires as *the* tools of data collection. Although social surveys are a respected research method, they are not always appropriate or cost effective. The purpose of this article is to show that documentary research in social science is a useful and under-utilised approach that can be adopted by researchers in the full confidence that it is also a scientific method that requires rigorous adherence to research protocol. The article does not intend to give an in-depth exposition on the use of documentary research methods, a task that has been ably dealt with elsewhere (Platt, J., 1981; Scott, J., 1990) but rather attempts to demonstrate its applicability to those who are not familiar with it or are just sceptical. Hopefully this introduction will provoke their thoughts, challenge their *usual* approach, persuade them to integrate documentary research methods in their social research courses and to explore this other option in their research activities.

What are Documentary Sources?

A document is an artefact which has as its central feature an inscribed text (Scott 1990). Simply put, a document is a *written text*. Documents are produced by individuals and groups in the course of their everyday practices and are geared exclusively for their own immediate practical needs (Scott op cit.). They have been written with a purpose and are based on particular assumptions and presented in a certain way or style and to this extent, the researcher must be fully aware of the origins, purpose and the original audience of the documents (Grix 2001). It must be noted that documents are not deliberately produced for the purpose of research, but naturally occurring objects with a concrete or semi-permanent existence which tell us indirectly about the social world of the people who created them (Payne and Payne 2004). A document, unlike a speech, can have an independent existence beyond the writer and beyond the context of its production (Jary and Jary 1991).

There are two types of documents that are used in documentary study, namely *primary documents* and *secondary documents*. Primary documents refer to eye-witness accounts produced by people who experienced the particular event or the behaviour we want to study. On the other hand secondary

documents are documents produced by people who were not present at the scene but who received eye-witness accounts to compile the documents, or have read eye-witness accounts (Bailey 1994: 194). Documentary sources provide what Scott (1990) characterises as *mediate access* as opposed to *proximate access*. Mediate or indirect access becomes necessary if past behaviour must be inferred from its material traces, and documents are the visible signs of what happened at some previous time. This is in contradistinction to proximate or direct access whereby the researcher and his sources are contemporaneous or co-present and the researcher is a direct witness of the occurrences or activities (Scott 1990).

Documents range from public through private to personal documents. The list of public document sources include government publications such as Acts of Parliament, policy statements, census reports, statistical bulletins, reports of commissions of inquiry, ministerial or departmental annual reports, consultancy reports, etc. Private documents often emanate from civil society organisations such as private sector businesses, trade unions and non-governmental organisations, as well of course from private individuals. They include minutes of meetings, board resolutions, advertisements, invoices, personnel records, training manuals, interdepartmental memos and other annual reports, etc. The list of personal documents include household account books, photo albums, address books, medical records, suicides notes, diaries, personal letters, etc.

Sources of documents

Most countries regularly produce crucial documents that can be easily accessed relatively cheaply. Documents can be found in ministry and departmental libraries, office shelves of officials, newspapers 'morgues' and even store rooms! The Central Statistics Offices in many countries produce statistical bulletins on various topics such as health, economics, employment, the cost of living, economic growth, housing and the population census reports and other topics. In my own research on labour issues I have relied on published public documents, some obtainable from the Government Stationery Office, The Register of Trade Unions and Employers' Organisations in the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, Employment Policy Unit, the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, the Botswana Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Manpower (BOCCIM) and the Botswana Federation of Trade Union (BFTU). I have also collected data from the Botswana National Archives, the Botswana National Library and the British Newspaper Library, London. For data on economic growth, structural transformation and class formation, I have relied on official publications such as the National Development Plans, Labour Statistical Bulletins, Employment Surveys, and Labour Department's Annual Reports. For data on income distribution I have referred to the Household Income and Expenditure Survey reports and government commissioned

consultancy reports. I have supplemented these with unpublished consultancy reports on wage policy and government ministers' speeches on wage policy and trade unions. For state control of labour I have analysed statute laws on labour legislation. To this I added a comprehensive review of literature on the politics, sociology and economics of post-independent Botswana. I have also used trade unions' commentaries on the wage policy and labour legislation and searched for relevant newspaper coverage of strike activities, including government reactions to strike actions.

Whilst the use of documentary sources may not be very popular in mainstream social research, documentary research is not new, having been extensively used by such classical social theorists as Karl Marx and Emile Durkheim. Marx made extensive use of documentary sources and other official reports such as Her Majesty Inspectors of Factories Reports made between 1841 and 1867 (that is spanning over a period of 26 years!), reports by the Medical Officer of the Privy Council, Royal Commission and Inland Revenue Reports, reports on the employment of children in factories, the Banking Acts, the Corn Laws, Hansard, and Census Reports for England and Wales. He also referred to various Acts and Statutes such as the Factory Regulations Acts of between 1833 and 1878 (that is spanning a period of about 45 years!). Marx also used newspapers and periodicals such as *The Times*, *Economist*, *New York Daily Tribune* etc., (Harvey 1990). For his part, Durkheim, who is credited as one of the founding fathers of the discipline of sociology, relied on official statistics in his study of suicide. Durkheim made extensive use of statistical information on suicide waves in a number of European countries, looking amongst other things at suicide rates by religious affiliation, race, age group, gender, marital status, class and economic position and occupation (Simpson 1952). According to Simpson, Durkheim's book *Suicide* is regarded as the first modern example of a consistent and organised use of statistical methods in social research. At a time when statistical techniques were poorly developed, Durkheim managed to establish relationships between series of data by methodological perseverance and inference. He was able to establish that suicide, which looks like a very individual and personal act, is in fact induced, perpetuated or aggravated by certain social environments and actions.

Handling documentary sources

The general principles of handling documentary sources are no different from those applied to other areas of social research. In all cases data must be handled scientifically, though each source requires a different approach. Scott (1990: 1-2) has formulated quality control criteria for handling documentary sources. These are authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning. *Authenticity* refers to whether the evidence is genuine and from impeccable sources; *credibility* refers to whether the evidence is typical of its kind, *representa-*

tiveness refers to whether the documents consulted are representative of the totality of the relevant documents, and *meaning* refers to whether the evidence is clear and comprehensible. I shall look at each criterion in turn.

Authenticity

Authenticity refers to whether the evidence is genuine and of reliable and dependable origin. Authenticity of the evidence for analysis is the fundamental criterion in any research. The researcher therefore has a duty and a responsibility to ensure that the document consulted is genuine and has integrity. This is in the same way that an interviewer must be sure of the identity of the interviewee or the participant observer must be sure of being in the right place and that the activities observed are not stage-managed for onlookers, but the 'normal' activity of the people involved. There are, however, many instances where documents may not be what they purport to be. For example wills, legal documents, diaries and letters can be forged or falsified, and even literary works may be attributed to authors who did not write them (Platt 1981). This places an enormous responsibility on researchers to satisfy themselves that the documents being analysed are not forgeries and are indeed what they purport to be. Documents should therefore not be taken for granted. According to Platt (1981), circumstances may arise that necessitate a close scrutiny of a document. Such circumstances include the following:

(i)   When the document does not make sense or has obvious errors;
(ii) When there are internal inconsistencies in terms of style, content and so on;
(iii) When there are different versions of the same document;
(iv) When the version available is derived from a dubious, suspicious or unreliable secondary source; and
(v)   When the document has been in the hands of a person or persons with vested interest in a particular reading of the text.

Having established the authenticity of a document, the researcher must also authenticate the authorship, that is, verify that the name inscribed on the document is that of the author. Instances exist where authors have been incorrectly named, or where documents were falsely presented as being the work of certain well-known personalities, such as the so-called 'Hitler Diaries' in the 1980s (Scott 1990).

But what does the researcher do when confronted with a government document signed by a minister or a company's annual report signed by the board chairman? In all probability the government document would have been written by civil servants whilst the annual report will have been written by the chief executive officer with the help of his staff. Under these circumstances it is better to take for granted the names of the authors inscribed on the documents. To illustrate the point, Botswana's first wages policy paper was produced by

Professor Ghai, a consultant. But I regard such a document as an official Botswana government document because it has been endorsed and accepted by the government as its policy document on wages. I also suspect that several documents I have used were produced by experts, for example, the Household Income and Expenditure Survey reports are produced by civil servants at the Central Statistics Office, and the BFTU policy proposals were probably written with the help of a consultant labour economist. The President and the minister's speeches on trade unions could have been written either by civil servants or with their help. But I have taken for granted that the speech is reflective of government policy as delivered by the relevant minister.

Credibility

Credibility refers to whether the evidence is free from error and distortion. According to Scott (1990) the question of credibility should concern the extent to which an observer is sincere in the choice of a point of view and in the attempt to record an accurate account from that chosen standpoint. On the question of credibility, that is, whether the documents consulted were free from distortion, I can only say that all the documents I have used were prepared *independently* and *beforehand*. None of the documents were produced for my benefit. I therefore believe that they were sincere and could not have been altered for my benefit or to mislead me. The question of credibility also applies to my respondents. I believe that the views that these people expressed were made honestly regardless of the fact that they could have erred in fact or in judgment of the situation. This point also applies to views expressed in the consultancy reports. I have no grounds to believe that the consultants could have deliberately misled their client, the government. Similarly, the views expressed by the trade unionists were made in their representative capacity. The extent to which their views reflect those of the rank-and-file is a matter that continues to bedevil representative democracy: the views of the representatives are not necessarily those of the people they represent. With regard to newspapers, I have ignored the reporters' comments and opinions on strike actions, and concentrated only on factual press statements or interviews of trade union leaders or government spokesmen. Any newspaper commentary used was acknowledged but not passed as fact. Although a possibility exists that an incorrect entry could have been made in the documents, for instance, some figures in the Labour Statistics Bulletins do not always add up, I have regarded such occurrences as genuine errors and not a fraudulent activity. I have no reason to believe civil servants can deliberately 'doctor' documents in order to mislead the public. With regard to consultancy reports, it is also relatively easy to establish their authenticity because these documents are not acquired from unreliable sources, but are collected from the consumers of the reports such as government.

Representativeness

The question of representativeness applies more to some documents than to others. Representativeness refers to whether the evidence is typical of its kind, or if it is not, whether the extent of its untypicality is known. Documents such as the Household Income and Expenditure Surveys were prepared by professional statisticians using generally accepted sampling frames and random selection procedures. This is clear from the methodology section of these reports. The fact that some of the findings are actually embarrassing to the government testifies to their representativeness and authenticity. But as to whether the documents I consulted were representative of the totality of the entire relevant document pertaining to a specific issue under investigation is difficult to say. Bureaucrats are notorious for secrecy, and I was dealing with bureaucracies of both the state and trade unions. During my field work, I was denied access to some files on the pretext that they contain sensitive information or could embarrass government. I believe however that speeches by the President and his cabinet colleagues accurately reflected the position of the Botswana government. There is no known case of a cabinet minister who has made a pro-trade union speech which could be atypical of the government position on the issue. I can safely say that a speech by one minister, notwithstanding its particular nuances or personal idiosyncrasies, to a large extent represents or reflects government policy.

Meaning

Meaning refers to whether the evidence is clear and comprehensible. The ultimate purpose of examining documents is to arrive at an understanding of the meaning and significance of what the document contains (Scott 1990: 28). However, what documents contain can have either a literal or *face value* meaning, and an interpretative meaning. According to Scott (1990), the literal meaning of a document gives only its face value meaning, from which its real significance must be reconstructed. On the other hand, in an interpretative understanding, the researcher relates the literal meaning to the contexts in which the documents were produced in order to assess the meaning of the text as a whole. Another important point to be considered in the use of documentary sources is how to decide which inference to make from a document about matters other than the truth of its factual assertions (Platt 1980). For example, information on the growth of both gross domestic product and per capita income is given in factual quantitative terms. On its own, this type of infor-mation may lead people to expect a more equitable distribution of income and a higher standard of living. But when this information is read together with infor-mation on sectoral and structural changes in the economy, ownership and control of the means of production, employment patterns and income distri-bution, the picture is more complex. This is because statistics only give face value meaning. Statistics are only 'raw materials' which must be interrogated

and their real meaning reconstructed. One can only make sense of this welter of apparently disparate bits and pieces of information, by situating it within a *theoretical* context. It is the theory that re-orders the data, and inferences come as a matter of interpretation of the raw material informed by theory. For example, in my research on labour relations in Botswana (Mogalakwe 1994), I realised that although both wages policy and various pieces of labour legislation appeared innocuous, a rigorous reading of these, that is, informed by critical theoretical approach, revealed how the wording of these documents, that is their language, was a form of discourse that subtly ordered people's perceptions of the social structure and could be used to construct specific forms of social relationships and maintain the status quo. Language, whether written or spoken, subtly orders our perceptions of situations, and thus also constructs and creates social interaction. Social texts do not merely reflect or mirror objects, events and categories existing in the social world, but also actively construct a version of those objects, events, and categories (Potter and Wetherell 1987).

Conclusion

The main point in writing this article is merely to introduce documentary research method to those who may not be familiar or just sceptical about its relevance in sociology, and to show that even *original research* can be done using old data (Hakim 1982). The intention is not to present documentary method now as *the* research method of choice, but to show that like all research methods, this approach requires rigorous adherence to research standards and ethics. To this end a quality control formula of handling documentary sources exist and must be adhered to. This is important to bear in mind especially now in the era of information superhighway. There is just too much information, especially on the Internet, with some people now creating their own web-sites and publishing all sorts of documents online. Needless to say, these developments place an extra burden on the user of documentary sources when it comes to establishing their authenticity and credibility. But these dangers are no more pronounced in documentary research method than in other research methods. Every method of inquiry has its weak and strong points. This applies no less to documentary research method than to other research methods.

But having said that, it is important to note that no social research method is exclusive of other research methods and that on its own, is sufficient to remove all doubts from a researcher's mind. Occasionally social scientists combine research methods in order to enhance the reliability and the validity of their analyses. This is referred to as 'method triangulation', or the use of two or more research methods to investigate the same phenomenon (Grix 2001). According to Grix, *method triangulation* should not be confused with *data triangulation*, or the use of multiple data sources to investigate the same phenomenon.

Through method triangulation, a researcher can rise above the personal biases that stem from single methodologies and overcome the deficiencies that flow from one method (Mouton 2001). To this end the researcher may augment documentary data by in-depth interviews with a few key informants. The conventional way amongst social scientists is the other way round - to augment social surveys and in-depth interviews with documentary research! Key informants are people who are familiar with and or knowledgeable about the social phenomenon under investigation. Such interviews can help capture certain perceptions, attitudes, views and feelings, and the meaning and the interpretations that people have given to certain events and situations, and to detect any conflicting attitudes and interpretations of the same events and situations (Hakim 1987). Again if I can borrow a leaf from my own research on labour relations in Botswana (Mogalakwe 1994), it was amazing how I was able to gain a deeper understating both of the income policy and labour legislation through the perceptions and interpretations of both trade union leaders and employers as a result of in-depth interviews with a few key informants on both sides. The interviews helped me get the feel of what was happening in the industrial relations field of Botswana, something that I could not easily infer from the documents. The interviews helped me to subject the documents to additional and even more rigorous interrogation. It can not be overemphasised that the weaknesses and strengths of various research methods are subjects of ongoing debate. Suffice it to point out that no one can pretend to have risen above the fray. There is no one research method and there is no research method that is superior to others. The choice of a research method should only be on the basis of such a method's appropriateness, including costs. To this end, the documentary research method should be utilised by social scientists with the full confidence that it is also a respected scientific method.

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NEWS & COMMENT

The strike and academic freedom at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, 2006

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On Thursday, 2 February 2006, the four Unions at UKZN (COMSA, NEHAWU, NTESU and UNSU) served notice on the University Management that they would embark upon strike action beginning Monday, 6 February 2006. Staff had been given a 4 percent increase while the University management, in addition to a 4 percent increase for 2006, had been given bonuses of up to 12 percent of their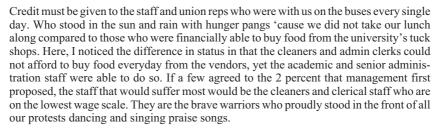 salary packages. Beyond the immediate disparity in salaries and conditions, staff were angered by the 'autocratic management style' of the senior university administration. In the salary review process, the management committee broke with the ritual of bargaining. Presumably on the grounds of efficiency, they simply told everyone what they were getting – no negotiations. For twelve days, beginning with the poorest workers, the strike gathered steam.

The strike was timed with registration week, and it was uncertain that academics loyal to students would strike during this period. The unresponsiveness of the university executive from day one, however, proved to be the strike's biggest asset. Those who were initially diffident soon downed their pens. The vice-chancellor's pretence that registration was continuing as normal unravelled and it became apparent that teaching could not start as scheduled at the start of week two. Support continued to snowball. It seems that the strike had touched a nerve. Staff were run down and demotivated by the effects of a merger between the University of Durban-Westville and the University of Natal to create the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. Tectonic forces were forcing departments together and in many cases moving them across town. The various forced removals of the university merger, despite cascades of promotional material and rebranding, had failed to produce a robust camaraderie among staff. It was the strike, incredibly, which achieved this. The strike had an electrifying effect on staff who, for the first time, came together across race, class, and employment category, as never before in institutional memory.

Admittedly, the burdens of the strike fell hardest on the poorest, and academic staff were among the last to head to the picket lines. As Helen Poonen, an administrator at the UKZN's Centre for Civil Society, observed:

> Credit must be given to the staff and union reps who were with us on the buses every single day. Who stood in the sun and rain with hunger pangs 'cause we did not take our lunch along compared to those who were financially able to buy food from the university's tuck shops. Here, I noticed the difference in status in that the cleaners and admin clerks could not afford to buy food everyday from the vendors, yet the academic and senior administration staff were able to do so. If a few agreed to the 2 percent that management first proposed, the staff that would suffer most would be the cleaners and clerical staff who are on the lowest wage scale. They are the brave warriors who proudly stood in the front of all our protests dancing and singing praise songs.

Nonetheless, by the end of the first week the management, correctly, sensed that staff were solidly behind the strike. In a bald attempt at intimidation, the management committee sent word through the deans that 'line managers' were to take a register of staff, and any found deserting their posts would find their salary docked accordingly. Ari Sitas, Director in the programme of Industrial, Organisational and Labour Studies and Head of School of Sociology and Social Studies responded thus to instructions from the Dean:

> I am not a 'line manager', I am a Head of School. I am heading or leading a large number of free South Africans and free professionals who are exercising their legal right to embark on an industrial action, according to their conscience. Furthermore, I am a trade union member and have exercised my democratic right as well. I am there, as democracy implies, as a participant in the current stand-off and present on the campus throughout its duration. Therefore your instruction to take a register is an insult to my dignity, as a head of school, as an academic, as a manager and as a citizen of post-Apartheid South Africa.

The university's public relations director, Dasarath Chetty, moved to staunch the support for the strike, through a combination of spin and suppression. Dissent within the university was successfully shielded from the Fourth Estate, and for three days newspapers refrained from printing anything about the strike. It became clear, however, that word was getting out. Two days into the strike, staff received the following instructions from the office of Public Affairs and Corporate Communications:

> Public Affairs and Corporate Communications would like to request that all staff who receive any media query related to the impending industrial action refer these calls to Jennene Singh … or Bhekani Dlamini … We appreciate your assistance in this regard.
>
> Professor Dasarath Chetty
> Executive Director

Like *Fight Club*, the number one rule about the strike, apparently, was that one didn't talk about it. Jimi Adesina, chair of sociology at Rhodes University wrote a lacerating response, which included this observation:

> I have before me a copy of the ban order that the Government of the Republic of Transkei issued against Clarence Mlamli Makwetu on 7 December 1976; it carried the signature of K.W. Matanzima. C. M. Makwetu was asked by Matanzima to 'immediately withdraws (sic) together with your wife, children and household effects from the said area in the said district [Tembuland] and proceed to NYANDENI AREA ... And there to take up residence at a place to be pointed to you by the Magistrate, Libode'. All nice and orderly, isn't it?

'Proceed', 'take up residence', etc. K.W. Matanzima could argue that he never used the word 'ban' or 'restriction', as I suspect you would argue that your e-mail to the staff of UKZN never used the word 'gag' or said that UKZN staff could face disciplinary action if they flout your instruction. You could argue that it is an 'injunction', an 'advice' not an order or even an instruction. But Matanzima fooled no one; neither will you...

Adesina's support for the strike, and for the freedom of expression issues raised through it, were echoed by a range of organisations and individuals, including the Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa, and the Institute for Academic Freedom, based in Nigeria.

Concerns over academic freedom and freedom of expression remain. Ashwin Desai, an academic at the Centre for Civil Society and noted critic of government policy has had his honorary research fellowship revoked and the vice-chancellor also instructed a selection committee not to consider his candidature for a position at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. Despite a campaign for his reinstatement, his banning remains unresolved. Dasarath Chetty himself has shown little tolerance for criticism, and has filed suit for defamation against Jimi Adesina for the text printed above.

REVIEW ESSAY

Negotiated revolutions or evolutionary regime transitions? The Czech Republic, South Africa and Chile

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1. Global democratisation

By the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s democratisation appeared to be a world-wide trend. The fall of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 was the direct culmination of a series of events and processes within Central Europe as well as the international political economy – all pointing towards a broadening of autonomy and liberation from the shackles of oppression:

– The systematic disintegration of the Soviet Union (starting in Lithuania, the hotbed of nationalism, spreading to Uzbekistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Latvia and further).

– Poland's Communist Party lost its grip on power. For the first time in the post-war history of Europe a Communist government had handed authority to a non-Communist opposition. Shortly thereafter the ruling Hungarian Socialist Party decided that it would no longer be officially called 'Communist'.

– The collapse of important symbols of Communist rule contributed to the momentum of the process of democratisation. By October 1989 Czechoslovakia opened its borders to East Germans, allowing them to cross into Hungary and from there via Austria to West Germany – paving the way for the crumbling of the Berlin Wall.

The collapse of the Wall coincided with other liberating factors elsewhere. On the other side of the globe in Southern Africa a range of conditions and causes opened the way for political transition in South Africa:

– The international success of the anti-Apartheid struggle, obtained by means of effective disinvestment campaigns, cultural/sport/academic boycotts and extended lobbying in international council chambers, forced the South African government to negotiate the political future of the country.

- The South African economy started to weaken within a rapidly deteriorating world and regional context, forcing the major role players to reconsider their confrontational strategies.
- At the same time the Soviet Union and its allies, faithful backers of the struggle against oppression, were no longer in the position to support the armed revolution.

On the Latin American sub-continent the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet lost a plebiscite in 1988. International pressure ensured that the vote was relatively fair. At the same time, the outgoing military junta implemented a series of measures allowing it to delay much needed reforms, providing substantial legal protection for gross human rights violators, and allowed the former dictator, Pinochet, to retain considerable political influence. This very partial revolution was marked by the persistence of deep social divisions and the process of political change largely being driven by elite consensus (Lawson 2005: 223). This process of elite pacting in some respects mirrored that of South Africa (cf. Przeworski 1991); in both cases, economic elites retained much of their power, albeit in South Africa, the largely racial division of wealth made some economic redistribution inevitable.

It was as if the world of the early 1990s was naturally moving toward democratisation on multi-party lines and the opening up of previously closed political structures, a process that at the same time was marked by the durability of powerful elite interests and a failure to bring about greater social equality. This is the background to the book by George Lawson, *Negotiated revolutions. The Czech Republic, South Africa and Chile*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2005.

2.   A brief review of Lawson's book

This book is a comparative study of transitions from authoritarian rule to multi-party democracy in three states: South Africa, Chile and the Czech Republic. Lawson notes that whilst revolutions represent an essential part of the modernisation process, they are often open-ended and assume many different forms. He suggests that the transitions that took place in the three countries represent one such form: negotiated revolutions. The opening, theoretical chapter briefly alludes at an international sociological approach that brings together the best in historical sociology and industrial relations. Lawson hints at the emerging critique of neo-liberal rational choice models within the latter discipline, which echoes long standing sociological concerns in this regard.

The second chapter explores the different ways in which revolutions have been studied, including radical, structuralist, Weberian and neo-liberal approaches, and more recent accounts that see revolutions as the product of systemic crises, structural openings and collective action. As noted by Hobsbawm, revolutions involve both the destruction of the old order, and the

'destructive creation' of a new one. This entails the establishment of a new political and economic order, following on the establishment of a new socio-legal regulatory framework once the revolutionaries have taken control of state power. Where these processes are partial and incremental, then the process of revolutionary change is incomplete. And this is the main critique against Lawson's book: it is conceptually inept, theoretically inconsistent and factually unsubstantiated to use the concept revolution in the case of the transitions of South Africa, the Czech Republic and Chile.

Chapter 3 represents an overview of the Czech case; it owes a great deal to Timothy Garton Ash's insightful accounts of the 1989 Central European transitions. Change in the Czech Republic was rather more rapid than in Poland, Hungary and the former GDR; through a combination of popular protest and elite negotiations, leading to the ousting of the communist government and free elections in which the former ruling party performed poorly. To members of the old communist elite, the 1989 uprising represented little more than a disorganised rabble of intellectuals that could have easily been put down had the will existed. In contrast, the opposition narrative is one of a new coalition of grass-roots groupings, opening the way for a new international politics centring on the concerns of the masses and their movements. It is argued that both discourses contain an element of truth; crucially, both sides ascribe a central causal role to international events. Again, whilst the opposition lacked the desire or resources to violently confront the government; the communists, divided and increasingly bereft of Soviet support, saw their coercive capacity drain away. The resulting settlement reflected the desire of the bulk of the Czech opposition to return the country to Europe, catching up with its Western neighbours. There seems little evidence of a utopian strand to the opposition, as encountered in the former GDR. Strong Western support for the changes and a lack of interest in utopian alternatives made for a peaceful and uncontested transition to a market economy. Weak political parties and the persistence of personality politics has meant that, despite the suffering caused by radical economic adjustments (and their general unpopularity), there has been little pressure for a social democratic alternative. Changes in government have not made for further policy shifts in this regard. Surprisingly, the chapter says relatively little about the velvet divorce that saw Slovakia gaining independence at the beginning of 1993, and the effect of this on politics in the Czech rump state.

The following chapter looks at the South African case. The author provides an interesting overview of the process of collective action and negotiation. Regrettably, he underplays the role of the apartheid security forces in seeking to derail the transition, not only through heavy-handed action, but through the covert backing of Inkatha militias and sections of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and the links between covert operations and large-scale organised crime. More generally, it seems that at times the author has been rather

overwhelmed by events, and appears uncertain as to their relative importance. In reviewing the post-transition period, the author provides a more measured look at the relative successes and challenges of South Africa's first democratic government. Economic growth has failed to offset gross racial inequalities, whilst the process of transformation of the public service has been uneven, with greater success in some areas than others. This makes South Africa's transition still incomplete.

Chapter 5 examines the Chilean experience. The slow transition represents even more of a 'systemic transformation' than a genuine revolution. Despite levels of internal repression that exceeded even the worst excesses of the apartheid regime in South Africa, pressures increased against the Pinochet regime when its 'economic miracle' collapsed as a result of rising debt, chronic trade deficits and simple greed and corruption. A fresh wave of repression and a very limited retreat from neo-liberalism brought the status quo a temporary stay of execution. A 1988 plebiscite attempting to extend Pinochet's rule resulted in a victory for the 'no' camp. This led to negotiations between the regime and the opposition concerning the nature and scope of democratisation. The relative weakness of the opposition allowed military commanders to retain their ranks, and granted them an effective veto over changes in a range of areas. In the closing days of military rule, a wave of privatisation took place and a number of pro-military judges received life appointments on the bench of the Supreme Court. Nonetheless, post-democratic governments have managed to bring about some changes, gradually prising Pinochet loyalists out of senior ranks in the armed forces, and implementing some redistributive policies that have reduced the number of Chilean households living in poverty from 54 percent to 20 percent, and cut the numbers of the extremely poor from 17.4 percent to 5.4 percent of the populace. Finally, in the early 2000s, a number of senior Chilean military officers, including Pinochet, were brought to trial, a process that may represent the start of a new stage of genuine transformation.

A brief concluding chapter notes that all three 'revolutions' represented more an attempt to catch up with the mature democracies than to embark on a totally new form of governance. At the same time, the changes in all three countries did represent a partial contesting of the existing international economic order. Again, the experience of numerous countries from the Ukraine to Central Asia underscores the point that democratic reforms can be emasculated by unfettered markets. Social and political institutions need to be nurtured to ensure that party politics do not degenerate to merely a competition between different coalitions of segments of the former state elite and criminal underworld.

This book's structure is rather over-formal, and the use of theory rather plodding at times. This probably reflects its origins as a postgraduate thesis. Moreover, its reading base is somewhat uneven, and some key accounts of transitions, notably those of Adam Przeworski, neglected. Nonetheless, it

provides some interesting insights into political change and marketisation in very different contexts, and represents a valuable contribution to the literature. Indeed, the bold comparative approach represents a refreshing departure from country-focussed accounts. But the book could have gone further to explain political transformation.

3.   No revolution: at most evolutionary regime transition

George Lawson describes his book as '... an attempt to rescue revolution, both as a concept and practice' (Lawson 2005: 2). He argues that revolutions seem to have little place within the political discourse in advanced market democracies, having become irrelevant to a world in which the major issues have been settled. A commonly accepted definition of a revolution is 'a rapid, funda- mental, and often violent domestic change in the dominant values and myths of a society, in its political institutions, social structure, leadership, and government activities and policies' (cf. Huntington in Goldstone 1986: 69). In terms of this definition we can describe revolutions as swift, basic and compre- hensive transformations of socioeconomic and political institutions (often accompanied by and effected through class upheavals from below – as Lenin reminded us). Lawson acknowledges that the concept revolution contains the '... notion of volcanic ruptures, quasi-astronomical alignments, sharp breaks with the past from which societies could not turn back' (2005: 4). He then continues by saying: 'There is no universal quality, characteristic or image that encapsulates a revolution: they may be velvet or violent, reactionary or progressive. Equally, there is no theoretical reason to suggest that revolution can take a contemporary form in keeping with an era marked by globalization and heteronomy. The argument of this study is that this novel form of revolu- tionary change should be seen as "negotiated revolution"' (2005: 4). This review article disputes the use of the concept of revolution in Lawson's book. In addition it attempts to draw attention to the idea of 'double transitions' under- lying the transformations of the three countries included in the book (Chile, the Czech Republic and South Africa). Lastly it elaborates on the dual processes of internationalisation and globalisation, which played a significant role in the political transitions of the three countries.

   In all three countries a regime transition occurred when the dissolution of the old political structure took place and a new political dispensation was estab- lished. The new order's establishment had its decisive moment in the first competitive and fair elections. Most evolutionary regime transitions are preceded by a series of events, unique to that particular transition. In addition, and even more importantly, the decisive moment of the first competitive and fair elections is not the end of the transition. Regime transitions imply changes to the social structure; changes to the ways of doing things.

   South Africa's regime transition for instance, has been described by others as a 'text-book case of well-crafted transition' (Jung and Shapiro 1995:

269-308), but it has not led to full democracy. The protection of the interests of some members of the society and the pact between the adversarial elites of the previous and the current regimes, led to limited democracy.

It is inaccurate to talk about 'revolution' when analysing the regime transitions of the Czech Republic, South Africa and Chile. In the next section we elaborate on the transitions of these three countries.
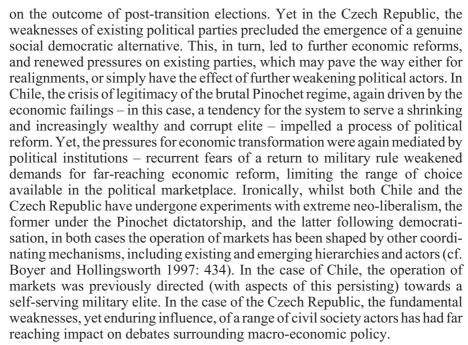
4.   **Double transitions**

A central concern is the Janus-faced nature of social change that has characterised political democratisation in the late 1980s and early 1990s. On the one hand, the benefits accruing from freedom of political expression and participation are not to be underestimated. On the other hand, the process of democratisation has done little to promote greater social inclusion, and, in many cases, has been marked rising social inequality. The latter is true for all three countries under review: in South Africa, the persistent racial division of wealth is particularly untenable: more far-reaching change has only been deferred. In Chile, the spectre of renewed military intervention has weakened the left's ability and willingness to promote social change. At the same time, the popular continent-wide backlash against the Washington Consensus, and the general failure of neo-liberal policies, has gradually brought more progressive alternatives back on the agenda. In the Czech Republic, pressures for greater social equity are somewhat less pronounced owing to a less grossly lop-sided wage distribution than in South Africa and Chile: even here, however, the return of mass poverty is likely to fuel redistributive pressures. In summary, these transitions have had often contradictory effects: political freedom has often coincided with persistent economic volatility and social inequality, even if preceding dictatorships were often ruined by the failings of their own economic policies.

In a seminal essay, Robert Boyer (2000: 416) notes that pressures for political transformation were often impelled by an 'inability to promote a division of labour that favours a growth in the market and productivity', rather than simply static inefficiency. This highlights the central contradiction of 'double transitions'. Investment in skills, and policies geared to promote greater labour market inclusion that will result in renewed consumer demand and more efficient production represent an anathema to the new neo-liberal orthodoxy; yet an inability to bring about these changes led to the collapse of preceding authoritarian governments.

A second factor is the interconnectedness between the polity and the economic domain. The failure of former Eastern bloc Central European governments to create the conditions for a consumer society exacerbated an existing crisis of legitimacy. Political democratisation was followed by far-reaching neo-liberal reforms. Yet, the effects of such neo-liberal reforms included large-scale job losses, and the decline of agriculture and industry, as well as worsening conditions for those on fixed incomes. This in turn, impacted

on the outcome of post-transition elections. Yet in the Czech Republic, the weaknesses of existing political parties precluded the emergence of a genuine social democratic alternative. This, in turn, led to further economic reforms, and renewed pressures on existing parties, which may pave the way either for realignments, or simply have the effect of further weakening political actors. In Chile, the crisis of legitimacy of the brutal Pinochet regime, again driven by the economic failings – in this case, a tendency for the system to serve a shrinking and increasingly wealthy and corrupt elite – impelled a process of political reform. Yet, the pressures for economic transformation were again mediated by political institutions – recurrent fears of a return to military rule weakened demands for far-reaching economic reform, limiting the range of choice available in the political marketplace. Ironically, whilst both Chile and the Czech Republic have undergone experiments with extreme neo-liberalism, the former under the Pinochet dictatorship, and the latter following democratisation, in both cases the operation of markets has been shaped by other coordinating mechanisms, including existing and emerging hierarchies and actors (cf. Boyer and Hollingsworth 1997: 434). In the case of Chile, the operation of markets was previously directed (with aspects of this persisting) towards a self-serving military elite. In the case of the Czech Republic, the fundamental weaknesses, yet enduring influence, of a range of civil society actors has had far reaching impact on debates surrounding macro-economic policy.

South Africa has also experimented with neo-liberalism in the post-apartheid era. At the same time, powerful pressures from the labour movement and community organisations has limited the scale of privatisation and precluded radical labour market deregulation on the scale of that experienced in Chile and the Czech Republic. The relatively favourable bargaining position of the country in the international arena has also enabled a more incremental process of tariff liberalisation, allowing industry valuable time to adjust to global competition. All this has contributed to a return to economic growth, albeit at the expense of job creation and redistribution. Whilst the relatively robust performance of the South African economy is in many respects to be commended, this has served to undermine arguments for more progressive macro-economic policies: the redistribution agenda remains elite driven.

Thirdly, whilst national level institutional realities remain of critical importance, institutions are nested at a range of levels – supra, national and sub-national. The ability of governments to set policy has been diminished through the growing strength of both transnational institutions such as the European Union and International Financial Institutions (IFIs), and through the operation of the international financial services sector; this has resulted in a complex web of interconnectedness of ideology and practice, moulding national polities (Boyer and Hollingsworth 1997: 464). Hence, the public sphere has been subject to ongoing marketisation, at the expense of democratic accountability (Wise 2002; cf. Anonymous 1997; Wood 2004).
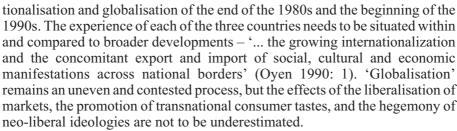
This process has been driven both by the role of IFIs and the pressures posed by the financial services sector, which through the 1990s placed an increasing premium on the realisation of short-term shareholder value. This has led pessimistic commentators to suggest that the non-market elements of national systems and practices are highly vulnerable; the inevitable effect will be a global convergence towards practices encountered in extreme versions of liberal market economies (O'Hagan 2002: 40). Indeed, it has been noted that whilst ostensibly committed to furthering a social model, the EU has pushed for cutbacks in the role of government in a range of areas; the effects of this have been particularly pronounced on the periphery (Masters 1998). More optimistic accounts have suggested that there are a range of pressures for change operating in different directions at a range of levels (Wise 2002; Boyer and Hollingsworth 1997). Enduring institutional ties, and the persistent influence of non-market actors, will result in diverse outcomes, reflecting these competing pressures (ibid; Wood 2004).

Alternatively, it can be argued that there are a variety of agents of change; the predominance of one does not obviate the others, whilst no one set of policy prescriptions is likely to remain hegemonic indefinitely (Wise 2002). Transnational bodies such as the EU have a contradictory effect: a range of directives have had the effect of mediating the powers of markets, genuinely contributing towards an emergent social model, at the same time as other policy interventions have impelled market reforms (Wood 2004). The absence of transnational bodies, such as the EU, that incorporate both social and market dimensions, in the developing worlds, has meant that others, that are primarily geared towards the promotion and operation of unrestrained markets, will have a very much greater effect. Yet, even here, the negative consequences of unrestrained markets has the potential to fuel political backlashes, limiting pressures to ever-greater macro-economic liberalisation. Hence, the process of political and economic transformation will remain open-ended and contested. Whilst Lawson points to this partial and contested nature of change, his analysis is weakened by the lack of a nuanced understanding of these institutional effects, a gap that perforce must be plugged through recourse to contemporary regulationist and related thinking (cf. Boyer and Hollingsworth 1997; Boyer 2006).

5. In conclusion

There is neither a single set of unique conditions nor a shared model in terms of which the processes of democratisation in Chile, South Africa and the former Czechoslovakia can be compared. This does not imply that no similarities occur. To emphasise the unique combination and variety of circumstances of each country should not take away that the experiences of these three countries had been exposed to and influenced by a wider context. The transitions of the three countries have to be situated within the context of the growing interna-

tionalisation and globalisation of the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. The experience of each of the three countries needs to be situated within and compared to broader developments – '... the growing internationalization and the concomitant export and import of social, cultural and economic manifestations across national borders' (Oyen 1990: 1). 'Globalisation' remains an uneven and contested process, but the effects of the liberalisation of markets, the promotion of transnational consumer tastes, and the hegemony of neo-liberal ideologies are not to be underestimated.
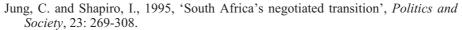
On the level of the macro economy, few countries have the ability to direct global change as a result of their sovereign and independent positions. Countries are heavily influenced by what happens not only within, but outside their national borders, reflecting the nestedness of regulating institutions (Boyer and Hollingsworth 1997).

On the broad cultural level, the impact of technological developments in the field of communications and the flow of information brought about a social world that had shrunk to such an extent that one can truly talk of a 'global village' (McLuhan) or a 'single-network era' (Tilly 1998). Lawson's book does not cover these important international social movements. The transitions in South Africa, Chile and the Czech Republic cannot be understood without an analysis of these.
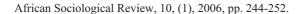
The process of social change is one of continuity, incremental development, hybridisation and rupture (Boyer 2006). The Lawson volume highlights the complexities surrounding the transitions to multi-partyism on three continents, transitions that remain open-ended and contested. At the same time, these transitions highlight the limitations of static or linear social theories, and the need to develop more evolutionary alternatives (Boyer 2006), reflecting the realities of a global economic order characterised by persistent volatility, the ongoing recasting of political institutions and the revitalisation of a new progressive politics of the streets.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Harry G. West. *Kupilikula: Governance and the invisible realm in Mozambique.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press. 2005. 362 pp.

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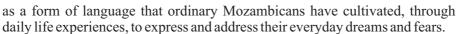*Rhodes University*
Grahamstown, South Africa

Kupilikula is an engaging and readable book that looks at social change in a relatively realistic light by paying close attention to the events on the ground and the interplay of social forces, thereafter showing how these have delivered very little to ordinary Mozambicans. In this book, West provides a rich description of the Muedan society as seen and understood by Muedans, he elucidates the Mozambicans' conception of transformative processes and demonstrates how these processes have been interpreted within the multiple genres of sorcery to embody genius and power.

Through the dialogical engagement with the Makonde people of Mueda plateau in the province of Cabo Delgado in Mozambique, West delineates how the Muedans, through the *language* of sorcery, have constructed their own understanding of the historical and transformative processes of slavery, colonialism, nationalism, socialism and contemporary forces of neo-liberal democracy that have made and remade Mozambican society.

Through the sorcery discourse or *uwavi*, West argues, Muedans have been able to explain social inequalities, processes of domination and forces of exploitation that have continuously shaped the nature of their reality. Having survived turbulent changes, *uwavi* has been understood by Muedans as a significant and stable system of social relations that served as a reference point for understanding the operations of power in Mozambican society from the pre-colonial era to contemporary times.

Kupilikula is arranged in three thematic parts, with each part focusing on a specific period of Mozambican history. The substance of arguments is organised in 28 vignettes through which West conveys his understanding of *uwavi* as well as the Muedans' understanding and use of the discourse to make sense of and engage with the contradictions presented by the making, unmaking and remaking of a world, which although they inhabit it, is not of their making.

The first part of the book part sketches the logics that have generally pertained in the realm of *uwavi* and how the *uwavi* discourse *reflects* and *refracts* Muedans' pre-colonial social relations. In this section, West elucidate the Mozambicans' conception of transformative processes, presenting sorcery

as a form of language that ordinary Mozambicans have cultivated, through daily life experiences, to express and address their everyday dreams and fears.

West maintains that Muedans understand *uwavi* as ability to transcend to the invisible realm and engage in invisible acts. Through acts of *uwavi*, certain powerful Muedans can transform themselves into animals or fabricate animals to either enrich themselves and or harm others. It was precisely out of the need to protect against and prevent – where necessary overturn – such sorcery acts that in pre-colonial times, Muedans organised themselves into settlements.

These settlements were governed and administered by settlement heads. The settlement heads were assigned the task of organising defence and ensuring the protection of the settlement against drought, famine, inter-ethnic conflicts, slave raiding and problems with trading. The success of a settlement head as a responsible governor was measured by the ability to balance the needs and desires of settlement residents through the appropriation, management and redistribution of goods. The settlement heads that were able to balance these interests were seen as a *wakukamalanga* or *providers* who 'shared the bounty of their plates' and commanded, as power holders, authority that Muedans accepted as legitimate.

The powerful Muedans who were unable to balance the interests of residents were conceived of by Muedans as *wakwaukanga* or *those who eat alone*, and condemned as sorcerers with extraordinarily horrific powers that *fed* on people. Due to the inability of the colonial and post-colonial governments to balance the interests of the people, these governments were accordingly perceived by Muedans as sorcerers of destruction, whose interest was only the accumulation of wealth at the expense of their subordinates.

In conveying the ambiance of scepticism prevailing amongst the Muedans and the ambiguities that characterise the *uwavi* discourse, West maintains that even though the *wakukamalanga* were bearers of legitimate power, they were not exempted from accusation of sorcery, rather, they were seen as practitioners of *uwavi wa kudenga*, or the *sorcery of construction*. They were placed in the same category as *waing'angas* or diviners and healers because they both possessed a power form capable of ensuring beneficial rewards for Muedans, whether in the form of goods or *mitela* (medicinal substances).

As sorcerers, *wakukamalanga* would engage in certain power actions, such as *ushaka* (acts of courage and audacity) and *humu* (stabilisers of excessive and predatory appetites), to *kupilikula* (overturn) and suppress acts of *kushulula* (greed) and ensure a relatively even redistribution of resources. Similarly, the *waing'angas* through engaging in various power actions, would render themselves invisible and then transcend the everyday world to the invisible sphere of sorcery, either to annul or to *kupilikula* (overturn) *mutela wakunyata* (bad sorcery), *mutela wa lwanongo* (sorcery of destruction) and or *mutela wakulogwa* (sorcery of murder). West maintains that it is this governance that Muedans understood and embraced. It is the same form of governance that

shaped the Muedans' expectations of the post-colonial state and later, of the neo-liberal democratic government.

The distinctiveness of *Kupilikula* lies in its exposure of power relations as addressed by or exercised within sorcery discourse. As the book provides a rich description of the Muedan society as seen and understood by Muedans, it simultaneously demonstrates how certain economic and political aspects are interpreted within multiple genres of sorcery to embody genius and power.

In the second part, West explores the construction and reconstruction of various sorcery discourses to show how they have enabled Muedans to interpret and make sense of the *language* of power by which they have been and continue to be governed. Embedded within a tripartised conceptualisation of economic, political and ideological power forms, genres of power actions are respectively manifested in the possession and control of resources and distri-bution of rewards. They are evidenced in the acquisition of facilities by which physical violence may be exerted, as well as in the manipulation and monopoli-sation of ideas capable of exerting influence upon the conduct of associated individuals. As bearers of different power forms, Muedans are said to engage in certain power actions that are capable of diminishing or enhancing others' social participation and social integrity. It is power forms that facilitate the fabrication or obliteration of material advantages and initiate either the infliction of bodily damage or the provision of remedial intervention. West refers to this as *Kupilikula* or the transformation and turning over of various things, including power, meaning and phenomena.

Indeed, West argues that it is the cultural schema of *uwavi* that has enabled Muedans to situate the foreign *languages* of power embodied in the processes of colonisation, nationalisation, modernisation, neo-liberalisation and democ-ratisation within an invisible realm. Muedans have been able to interpret and engage with these processes while their experiences with the institutions of these processes, the practices and ideals of both local and foreign governments sought to transform the *uwavi* discourse thus producing other novel forms of *uwavi*.

In part three of *Kupilikula*, West challenges neo-liberal reformers to take it upon themselves to learn and internalise the Muedans' languages of power and the social factors that serve as the demarcation between Muedans' conceptualisations of power relations and those of the reformers. West urges neo-liberal reformers to internalise the Muedans' experiences and meaning by conceiving *uwavi* as a stable system with its own methods, ways of seeing and understanding social reality.

If neo-liberal reformers want to effectively engage with the rural people on the realities and challenges that face Africa, West suggests they should focus on unearthing a balance between scientific governance and local tradition. Such a balance to Muedans can only be attained by powerful reformers who, through acts of sorcery, will enter the invisible realm and undo, prevent or even reverse,

the destruction caused by the colonial and post-colonial sorcerers. West maintains that neo-liberal policy makers who attempt to integrate Muedans in governance structures through the adoption of policies that focus on a tolerance of divergent cultures alone, is not enough. He stresses the need for political leaders to cultivate African languages of power that can express emergent African political ethics.
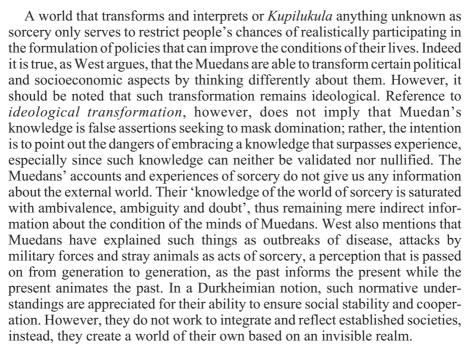
The fact that the Makonde people use *uwavi* discourse to explain their problems, situations and aspirations is common knowledge to most Mozambicans. While this belief has served to provide means by which the Makonde people, especially those in the Mueda plateau, can make sense of their lives for purposes of negotiating the personal, social and political conditions they experience and through which they may even be empowered, such belief also serve to mystify fundamental economic and political forces that have shaped and continue to shape Muedans' reality.

It was against the latter effect of belief in sorcery, amongst other things, that prompted Frelimo socialists to vigorously condemn sorcery beliefs as false consciousness, asserting that such beliefs and practices were counterrevolutionary and obscurantist thus preventing people from liberating themselves from the bonds of superstition and mysticism. Clearly, for Frelimo's modernisation project to work, it needed enlightened members of society who would share its vision, in the same way that a neo-liberal democratic project of development requires citizens, policy makers and ordinary people alike that speak mutually intelligible languages of power. Unfortunately, the historical and transformative processes did not make Muedans conversant with multiple languages of power nor did Muedans gain various degrees of fluency in the languages of power introduced to them over the years as West suggests. The only language that Muedans are fluently conversant in is the language of domination that colonialism and socialism introduced to all Mozambicans. It is the same language of power that the neo-liberal reformers, through processes of economic liberalisation, still use to converse to the rural people of Mozambique.

In disagreement with West's suggestion that policy makers should conceive of *uwavi* as a stable system through which social reality can be understood, it is important for people to understand the real forces through which domination is enforced. People do not need to be buried in a world of ignorance that embraces sorcery as an analytical tool for economic, political and social realities. What a book like *Kupilikula* should be advocating, is an opening of opportunities for the enlightenment of broader society, as well as the devising of tools by which people can be empowered in order to realistically engage with the processes of transformation. West's suggestion that political leaders need to cultivate an African language of power to understand Western-grown phenomena such as neo-liberalism and democracy, sounds to me as yet another language of domination, only home-brewed.

A world that transforms and interprets or *Kupilukula* anything unknown as sorcery only serves to restrict people's chances of realistically participating in the formulation of policies that can improve the conditions of their lives. Indeed it is true, as West argues, that the Muedans are able to transform certain political and socioeconomic aspects by thinking differently about them. However, it should be noted that such transformation remains ideological. Reference to *ideological transformation*, however, does not imply that Muedan's knowledge is false assertions seeking to mask domination; rather, the intention is to point out the dangers of embracing a knowledge that surpasses experience, especially since such knowledge can neither be validated nor nullified. The Muedans' accounts and experiences of sorcery do not give us any information about the external world. Their 'knowledge of the world of sorcery is saturated with ambivalence, ambiguity and doubt', thus remaining mere indirect information about the condition of the minds of Muedans. West also mentions that Muedans have explained such things as outbreaks of disease, attacks by military forces and stray animals as acts of sorcery, a perception that is passed on from generation to generation, as the past informs the present while the present animates the past. In a Durkheimian notion, such normative understandings are appreciated for their ability to ensure social stability and cooperation. However, they do not work to integrate and reflect established societies, instead, they create a world of their own based on an invisible realm.

Nonetheless, *Kupilikula* does a brilliant job of showing how the Muedans have used the ideas of sorcery to conceptualise, cope with and criticise the very modernisation and development projects that sought to nullify the existence of sorcery. The book also raises fundamental questions about the significance of sorcery as a distinct system of knowledge. Throughout the book West treads carefully and does not declare whether sorcery exists or not. He leaves it to readers to draw their own conclusions from narrative vignettes. In this sense, for me the book does not serve as a very useful text where the contribution to knowledge of Muedans and their social reality is concerned.