Governing the African Public Sphere: A Synthesis of Scientific Sessions [1] of the 12th CODESRIA General Assembly

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The 12th General Assembly (third in the new millennium, after Kampala, 2003 and Maputo, 2005) of the Council for the Development of Social Sciences in Africa (CODESRIA) was held in Yaoundé, Cameroun between 7th and 11th December, 2008 under the theme *Governing the African Public Sphere.* CODESRIA's General Assembly has the established reputation of being the largest and most respected meeting of researchers and experts in the social sciences in Africa and the Diaspora. The 12th General Assembly was unique in a number of ways: it had in attendance the largest number of the Council's institutional partners.[2] It also was a display of the commitment of the Council to multi-disciplinary research, as 40 percent of the papers presented were from the humanities. More importantly, the 12th General Assembly served as the occasion for the completion of the transition in the leadership of the Council's secretariat - from the outgoing Executive Secretary, Professor Adebayo Olukoshi, to the incoming Executive Secretary, Dr Ebrima Sall.

The choice of the theme, *Governing the African Public Sphere,* as pointed out by the outgoing Executive Secretary, was motivated by the strong conviction of the Executive Committee of CODESRIA that 'for Africa to have hope, it was necessary to interrogate the concept of the public sphere with its various spaces, which have implications for good governance'. The scientific proceedings of the General Assembly took place in plenary and parallel sessions. The 7 plenary sessions[3] were forums for communal (multi-disciplinary) reflection on the theoretical foundations of the key aspects of the theme of the General Assembly which were further elaborated and debated under different sub-themes during the parallel sessions.[4]

Plenary Sessions of the Public Sphere, Governance and Democratisation[5]

How does one construct a democratic public sphere in Africa when all the rules of the democratic game are continually grossly violated? How does one reinforce democracy in Africa beyond the holding of elections, and how can African societies achieve development? What is the utility and pertinence of the public sphere? The application of the theory of Habermas to questions of corruption, identity and public administration has its limits as shown by the Nigerian and South African cases. The habermasien conception of the public sphere, due to its exclusive nature which does not take into consideration certain realities like traditional rulership, the ancestors and religion, and so constitutes a limitation to the advancement of theorisation of Afri-

can reality. An understanding of the public space therefore demands an analysis that is anti-hegemonic in nature, that will take into account - within the context of wider public debate - the role of institutions like a strong civil society and activist non-governmental organisations in ensuring public debate about and in the public sphere.

Governance and Governability (Leopold Sedar Senghor Lecture) [6]

The Guest Speaker, Prof El-Kenz anchored his discussion of governance and governability on a critique of the habermasien conception of the public sphere and an examination of the role of communications in human organisations. For the Senghor lecturer, the public sphere is the space where different dynamics play out. It is therefore not the state whose dynamics are distinct from that of public sphere and which has a different implication for the issues of governance and governability. Concerning the public sphere, it was important to emphasise the fact that every society had a different dynamic. Furthermore, the public sphere can be found in various areas of human interaction in society, a situation that the term 'sphere' cannot adequately capture, as it refers to something that is physical. The public sphere, as the arena where different dynamics are played out, underlies the importance of communication in public governance and the importance of the public sphere for ensuring good governance. The lecturer argued that the stability of the Senegalese state can be traced to the harmony that existed in the public sphere, where the freedom of expression allowed the Muslim brotherhoods have ensured religious and political harmony that has become the characteristic of the Senegalese governance regime. The points raised by Prof El-Kenz on the nature of the public sphere and the importance of communications were to be reiterated by most paper presenters throughout the course of the General Assembly.

The Special Guest Lecture: The Popular Arts and Culture in the Texture of the Public Sphere in Africa [7]

The importance of communication in public governance was underscored by the special guest lecturer, Tsitsi Dangarembga, who argued that the promise of the public sphere as facilitator of free expression of views and as the site for debate on issues of common interest can only be realised if its creation is anchored on African culture, group solidarity, family values, popular culture and cultural identity. In other words, Africa can succeed in establishing its own proper democratic culture only if the answers to questions such as what is Democracy, what type of Democracy is been referred to: that defined by the West or by Africans?. Who owns Democracy? are located in African cultural values, and not the capitalist based values of the West.

Intellectuals and the Public Sphere [8]

As should be expected of a gathering of academics, the debate session on The Intellectuals and the Public Sphere received special attention. The key result of the presentations and debate was that, in the light of an African public sphere subjugated by the state, the University appears to be an essential agency for the realization of the national project. But in the light of the anti-democratic comportment of academics in positions of power, the ability of academics and universities in Africa to be defenders of public interest was very much in doubt.

Identity Discourse and Xenophobic Reaction in the Public Sphere [9]

Papers on the theme Identity Discourse and Xenophobic Reaction in the Public Sphere sought to establish the intimate relationship between violence and immigration and public discourse in South Africa and Zimbabwe. Discussions centred on the suitability of the concept of xenophobia in a situation where the different actors involved in a conflict are of the same race. For some, negrophobia (rather than xenophobia) best described the South African case while xenophobia (rather than nativism) was more appropriate for the Zimbabwe situation because it involved two different races. To view the Zimbabwe situation through the prism of nativism would mean mistaking anti-colonialism for nationalism. So, what is the relationship between Nativism and Democracy?

The Cheikh Anta Diop Lecture: Public Sphere in Latin America [10]

In the light of criticism of the insensitivity of the Habermas concept of the public sphere to the reality of African and devel-oping societies' politico-social and economic realities, of Atilo Boron's presentation rovided the opportunity to examine the concept of the public sphere from a South-South perspective. For Boron, the picture presented by the public sphere in Latin America is a deceptive one as, despite seemingly free and fair elections, democratic governance is still not assured, since the people are not the real sources of power in Latin America. In other words, the public sphere is not owned by the people as it is dominated by powerful economic agents, the Trans-national Economic Corporations (TNC) which control the state executive. The anti-democratic nature of the public sphere in Latin America is linked to the fact that democracy in Latin America was not internally generated, did not arise from demands from the public sphere, but arrived as part of the neo-liberal Structural Adjustment programmes that transformed citizens' rights (education, free health, etc.) into commodities.

The Claude Ake Lecture: The Public, the Private and the Social Role of Higher Education Institutions in Africa [11]

The importance accorded the role of intellectuals in the governing of the African public sphere was further emphasised by the Claude Ake lecturer – NAME - who focused her attention on the identification of the key factors that have structured and conditioned the role of the intellectual and universities in the African public sphere.. For her, the essential questions were: Are African universities sufficiently prepared to engage the challenges facing the continent? Are academics capable of establishing and sustaining a democratic governance of the public sphere? How can the legitimacy of the state in Africa lost, in the wake of the successive political crises and upheaval the African continent has known in the last two decades, be restored? The conclusion is that, in the light of the debatable legitimacy of the public university in Africa, induced by the SAP programme and the transformation of the academic into a consultant for international organisations, the intellectual in Africa is poorly equipped to engage in the rigorous research and debate necessary for the erection and entrenchment of a democratic public sphere in Africa.

Governing the Public Realm for State and Nation-Building [12]

One of the principal preoccupations of the post-colonial state in Africa is nation-building. It is also one that has proved most difficult to achieve despite concerted efforts by the state through programmes like Federal Character in Nigeria, 'Week of National Forecast' in Kenya, and the issuing of stamps. The failure of nation-building can be traced to the political manipulations of ethnic identity and the over centralisation of access to political and economic resources of the state. The public sphere is presented as the most effective agent of nation-building, given the fact that it is an arena for debate and contestation, the very processes necessary for the reconciliation of particularistic interests and generation of democratic ethos that underpin nation-building.

Parallel Sessions

The Media in the African Public Sphere [13]

Of key interest to the papers on the Media in the African Public Space was the issue of liberty of expression. The papers all agreed that the media was simultaneously the source of hope and despair for Africans; and that for a true African public sphere to emerge, a re-definition of the role of the media that took into consideration the social and cultural realities of the peoples of Africa had to be undertaken. Such re-definition also had to engage primarily with the extremely precarious nature of press freedom in Africa. The multiplicity of the press, it was noted, does not mean or translate into press freedom, nor was democracy. What mattered was the content of media and the uses to which such was deployed. Similarly, the question of press freedom required an interrogation of the nature, content and limits of press freedom. Does the press have the right to cover all facets of the lives of public officials (their state of health, property, family life, sexual preferences, etc). Is the public official entitled to a private life? Is Africa ready to assume the full responsibilities and implications of total press freedom? Is the press capable of self-regulation? Can self-regulation be envisaged in Africa?

Artistic Expressions, Orature and Culture in the Texture of the Public Sphere [14]

Following TSITSI Dangarembga, the papers in the panels on Artistic Expressions, Orature and Culture in the Texture of the Public Sphere underscored the role of culture in accessing the public sphere in Africa, as a determinant of legitimacy and power and as a critique of hierarchies of power and political authorities in the public sphere. They all draw attention to the need to pay greater attention to the politics-culture link as a means of understanding the dynamics of the public sphere in Africa. In the debates that followed the paper presentations, two points were emphasised: (a) The importance of the various forms of African cultural patterns as mechanisms for re-claiming or re-conquering the public sphere; and (b) The richness of the various forms of African literature, including local languages, and the need for some Pan-African policy action to preserve and protect them.

Engendering the African Public Sphere [15]

The diverse forms of women's engagement with power and authority in the public sphere in Africa are reflected in the presentations on the theme Engendering the African Public Sphere. Through studies that focused on the politics of gender equality in the Congo, female literature, female identity mobilisation, female social networking via the internet and dance/performance, panelists posited that while the African public sphere was for women a place for demanding rights, negotiating gender equality, consciousness raising and participation, communication, contestation of Masculinity/Patriarchy, the formal public sphere remained the most inaccessible for women to traverse, their dominant population strength notwithstanding. Factors accounting for low access of women to the political arena were identified to include education, marriage, patriarchy and the capitalist burst and boom syndrome. In situations where getting into politics does not and cannot change the status-quo, women are to exploit networking opportunities provided by traditional forums and institutions, such as the Igbo August meetings, and expropriate the mobilisation potentials of the current ICT revolution and the arts. They must also be sensitive to, and seize the spaces and opportunities created by

incongruence in public policies, such as those created by the existence of a secular constitution in a state that is 98% Muslim. A major gap identified in the discussions was the equation, in all the papers, of gender with Women.

Religions and Religiosities in the African Public Sphere [16]

In the light of the key role of religion in African post-colonial politics and civil society, the exploration of the place of religion in the administration of the public sphere was a 'must' for the General Assembly. In examining the interface between religion and the public sphere, the ambiguity in the definition and use of the public sphere as well as state regulation of the public sphere, papers delivered identified the importance of religion and its capacity to set the moral tone of public discourse. Such a capacity is also recognised as a critical resource by political actors (including religious leaders who engage in a vigorous struggle to control religious public spaces and symbols). Control of the religious public sphere is thus a means of acquiring control of the state. Hence, the capacity to set the moral tone of public discourse does not necessarily make religion a guarantor of public order, nor is it a mechanism for democratic governance of the African public sphere.

The Sacred, the Sacrilegious and the Public Sphere [17]

Since the importance of the sacred in African public space is located in its capacity to set the moral tone of public discourse, to confer moral value on interactions in the public space; then the management of sacred space becomes an important means of conferring value on interactions within the African public sphere, and hence a crucial component of socio-political dynamics of the public sphere in Africa. So, who has the right to control the management of sacred public space and determine its use: the state or the various cultural communities, experts or individuals? Presentations on the Sacred, the Sacrilegious and the Public Sphere showed that, in present day Africa, the management of sacred public space no longer responded to, nor catered for the moral needs and memory of the African peoples, but responded more to the demands of capitalist accu-mulation as dictated by globalisation, a situation vastly encouraged by the non-deliberative nature of the African public sphere.

Theorising the African Public Sphere[18]

The overwhelming and coercive domination of the public space in Africa has resulted in imaginative popular ways, using metaphor, songs and rumours to broaden and articulate political views, as reflected in the ways African writers have employed their creative literary abilities to deal with social, political and religious issues of the public sphere. Thus, a focus on popular culture addresses some of the critiques associated with the concept of the public sphere. In other words, analysis of the public sphere must encompass the political, the philosophi-cal rumours, popular culture and virtual publics. The various uses of signs and symbols have the unique and desirable quality of enhancing the capacity of the public sphere to act as the foundation for a universal consciousness against oppression and exploitation that trans-cends boundaries.

The Public Sphere as a Site for Negotiating Citizenship[19]

The violence that has accompanied elections in African states in the last couple of years shows clearly that elections are not the key to the construction of the much expected democratic public sphere in Africa. The discussion on the public sphere as place for the negotiation of citizenship in Africa therefore focused on questions of citizenship, political participation, human rights and elections. What determines the discourse of citizenship in the public sphere, and what is the relationship between the rights and responsibilities of the citizen? Civic education is seen as being of premier importance in the process of citizenship negotiation. For civic education to be effective, it must not be seen as a privilege but as a right of the citizen. As the case of Zimbabwe shows, the question of the guarantee of citizenship rights and liberties is also a crucial determinant of the existence of the public sphere.

Institutions of the African Public Sphere[20]

The significance of institutions is located in their role as channels of communication, as regulators of social intercourse and as sites of debate and exchange of information essential for overcoming isolation and vulnerability. Institutions are thus veritable public spheres, as they permit a form of participation for citizens in issues that affect their daily lives. In-stitutions represent places where people can enrich their experiences and understanding in ways most conducive for achieving collective good. Institutions, as sites for the elaboration of public interest, are thus essential for overcoming the severe alienation of most Africans from the sphere of public authority in Africa and for ensuring the democratic governance of the polity. Unfortunately, the reality is that in Africa, institutions at all levels are certainly not up to the task of acting as the mobilisers and managers of state and society relations; and there is a need for this, given the importance of institutions for the democratic governance of the state in Africa and for a critical analysis of the reasons for such failures.

Languages and Linguistics in the African Public Sphere[21]

Discussions on the theme Language and Linguistics in the African Public Sphere centred on the question of how the linguistic plurality that characterises African public space can become an agent of development in Africa. The answer lies in a consummate grasp of the diversity, mobility and complementarity of language forms in Africa. In other words, for their development potentials to be realised, African languages must be seen as a factor that encourages cohesion and not conflict. The failure of most development interventions can partly be located in the non-recognition of the necessity to define and implement deve-lopment programmes interventions in the languages of African beneficiaries. Lack of attention to local languages reflects an ignorance of the role language plays in the creation of social solidarity and security; as the public sphere results not only from the exchange of goods and services, but also from the exchange of signs and symbols that contribute to the creation of network of familiarity that extends beyond national borders

Spaces, Sites and Processes of the Public Sphere

The debate on the Spaces, Sites and Processes of the Public Sphere reaffirmed the multiple nature of the African public sphere as forums for egalitarian political participation (Forum Social Marocain). As promoted by the Habermas concept, the public sphere exists side by side with African lineage systems, such as traditional chiefdoms, where participation in political debate is a privilege restricted to a few and is determined by age and sex. In such a situation, how can a con-nection be achieved between tradition and modernity at the level of political deliberation and participation in African public space. A position which consists of relegating the modes of public consultation and political participation in African traditional chiefdoms to the level of barbarism can only lead to a theoretical impasse which only a recognition that the traditional public sphere has similarities with the bourgeoisie public sphere described by Habermas, but different from it by the fact that the notables act in the interest of all members of the chiefdom. So, in the African case, it is essential to talk of multiple public spaces and not of one public space, in order to put in context the internal dynamics of African popular culture that produces sub-cultural public spheres that are sites for the emergence of a deliberative democracy.

The Emergence of Virtual Publics in the African World[22]

As a form of protection against the manipulation of information, the appropriation of the internet has become a must for Africans. As a matter of fact, the use of the internet as site for delibe-rative democracy can be traced to the manipulation of traditional news media, such as radio and television, by the politically and economically powerful. Deliberative democracy and cyber-democracy thus appear to be rational responses to fraudulent electoral processes where the choices of the electors are not respected. The virtual public and, by extension, on-line activism, has undergone further conso-lidation with the on-line presence of traditional mass media. The internet offers, therefore, an ideal context for free expression of views and cyber-democracy. Despite the importance of the virtual public, queries about the credibility of the information placed online demand that the regulation of the virtual public be treated with the urgency it demands. Similarly, is the virtual public truly a well founded public sphere? In practice, the virtual public is not inclusive, given the restriction in access to internet imposed by state control or economic limitations. Cyber-democracy is, therefore, democracy for the elite. To be useful as a tool for governance in Africa, the virtual public sphere must become inclusive within a context of illiteracy and poverty.

Economics of the Public Sphere [23]

The Economics of the Public Sphere in Africa raises essentially the question of governance and the possible alternatives for achieving good governance in Africa. The public sphere is presented as a place where transparency is of fundamental importance for the protection of public interest. Briefly put, the public sphere makes possible the debate on transparency in state governance. It is a site for the reinforcement of societal stability. The analysis presented showed clearly the dimensions of public sphere and their implication in the governance of economic issues. Some alternatives such as the 'informal economy' and 'l'économie solidaire' were suggested as solution to the problems associated with the neo-liberal governance of the economy of the public sphere because they encouraged the creation of an 'espace public de proximité'; that is, a public   space that encourages debate, collective decision-making that combats the exclusion that characterise the management of the economy of the public sphere under neo-liberalism.

Conflict and Violence in the African Public Sphere [24]

The contributions made on the theme of conflict and violence in the Africa public sphere highlighted the importance of the question of natural resources and their management in the analysis of conflict and violence in Africa. Do countries like Nigeria or South Africa have a national policy for resource distribution amongst its components? Who profits from the exploitation of natural resources? Do government institutions have a constitutional obligation to account for their utilisation of public resources? How does the policy of decentralisation work in African states? It is sufficient to examine the existing situations on ground in Africa to know that what exist in African states is a politics of pillage. A politics of pillage does not in any way favour social cohesion. On the contrary, it stimulates, as the situation in the Niger-delta of Nigeria clearly shows, a resistance of the people to hegemonic exploitation. In African societies, in the face of oppressive authorities engaged in a politics of pillage, violence becomes the preferred means of State-society communication. The management of conflict requires the active intervention and implication of civil society organisations and religious institutions for the promotion of a language of equality as alternative to the politics of pillage of public resources and the violence it engenders in the African public sphere.

Democratising the African Public Sphere [25]

The possibility of democratising the public space in Africa was a point of discussion and debate through out the General Assembly. Essentially, democracy in Africa is a work in progress, still under construction as expressed in its current dominant form of negative freedom - freedom that is recognised but not open to full utilisation because of certain constraints and barriers - and in the fact that it only became prominent in the public sphere as from the 1980s. To be successful, ownership of the democratisation process by Africans is a must; hence, popular mobilisation is the key to deepening democracy in Africa, as democracy cannot be externally imposed through conditionalities proposed by international organisations and funders. In other words, the process of democratisation must be owned by the people and be culture and history sensitive in order to be successful.

The End Note [26]

The presenter of the End Note Abdoulaye Bathily, began with an exploration of a number of issues, such as development failures in Africa, issues of succession to political office, privatization of the state, personalization of the state, military rule and breakdown of collective leadership. For him, these issues in African politics have structured the current trends observed in the presidential system of governance in Africa. Using the example of the Convention Peoples Party of Ghana, the lecturer traced the trajectory of the antecedents of the current violent and venal form of presidentialism in Africa and identified its characteristics, namely: a very powerful President with few checks and balances over the limits of his/her actions; a judiciary that has become an instrument of the President and not a check; a President who is the source of material enrichment – distributing economic largesse and political appointments; a President who is an adept constitutional manipulator; First Ladies who have become institutions of the state, even where the constitution does not recognize the office. The result of a presidential system displaying the above charac-teristics is a state transformed into a monarchy, one in which succession ensures that family members retain high government positions through stage-managed elections that are held only to confirm the person in power.

For the lecturer, the most serious danger to democratization and the future of Africa was foreign domination. According to him, Africa has to be her own actor, with her own agenda and not just a subject of history. He warned that there is a subtle and silent new Berlin Conference going on about how to get a piece of Africa. He noted that more African Heads of State attend more global summits than the African Union (AU) Summit, and that this is a sign of acute dependency. In concluding, the keynote speaker noted that though it is important to gather and discuss the African public sphere, CODESRIA's founding fathers have also called attention to the need for Africans to change their own history. Thus, African intellectuals should not allow the present course of events to continue, because if they do, Africa will remain a prey of foreign domination and its peoples will continue to be poor. In conclusion, Prof Bathily observed that the 12th General Assembly was taking place at a particularly important period that can enable everyone to marry vigorous scientific research with the goal of liberation.

Conclusion

In choosing the theme 'Governing the African Public Sphere for the 12th General Meeting of CODESRIA, the Executive Committee of CODESRIA 'believed that for Africa to have hope, it was necessary to interrogate the concept of the public sphere with its various spaces, which have implications for good governance'. From the various panels and sessions above, it can be concluded that the goals set by the Executive Committee of CODESRIA for the 12th General Assembly have been achieved through the rich and exciting papers presented and the debates they have engendered. The papers presented have shown the wide employment of the concept of public sphere to capture the multiplicity of shared, deliberative, interlocking and contested spaces and structures that characterise the African society. Furthermore, the papers and debates have underscored the historical specificity of the African public

sphere, its various dimensions, contradiction and its work-in-progress nature.

Most importantly, they have reinforced the appropriateness of CODESRIA's emphasis on the need to conjugating multi-disciplinary insights as the key to rescuing the study of Africa from faulty analogies drawn from a unilineal reading of the history of Europe and the United States. The innovativeness of works presented at the General Assembly showed that much has been done, and would continue to be done, by Africans to build concepts, theories and methods that capture the general and specific attributes of the African public sphere. In all, the 12th CODESRIA General Assembly has confirmed the position of CODESRIA as the foremost Pan-African network of scholars committed to socially-engaging scholarship.

Notes

1. Synthesis of the different scientific reports submitted by the following colleagues: Murindwa Rutanga, Addo Mahamane, Edewor Dennis, Alex Ratebaye Tordeta, Khalid Ali El-Amin, Susan Y. Awasum, Margaret Ayike, Herman Touo, Sylvie Mpon-Tiek, Osita Agbu, Therese Azeng.

2. Human Sciences Research Council, HSRC The Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO); African Studies Centre (ASC); University of South Africa (UNISA); African-Arab Research Centre; Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden; SIDA/SAREC; Stockholm, Sweden, Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) and European Association of Development Institutes.

3. Of the Public Sphere, Governance and Democratisation The 12th General Assembly Léopold Sédar Senghor: Lecture Ali EL KENZ, *Gouvernance et Gouverna-bilité)*; 12th General Assembly Special Guest Lecture: Tsitsi Dangarembga, *The Popular Arts and Culture in the Texture of the Public Sphere in Africa);* Intellectuals and the Public Sphere; The 12th General Assembly Cheikh Anta Diop Lecture; Atilo Boron: The Public Sphere in Latin America); Identity Discourses and Xenophobic Reaction in the Public Sphere, The 12th General Assembly Claude Ake Lecture (Teresa CRUZ E SILVA, *The Public, the Private and the*

Social Role of Higher Education Institutions in Africa..

4. Governing the Public Realm for State- and Nation-Building (4 sessions); The Media in the African Public Sphere (4 sessions); Artistic Expressions, Orature and Culture in the Texture of the Public Sphere (4 sessions) ; Engendering the African Public Sphere (3 Sessions); Religions and Religiosities in the African Public Sphere (3 sessions); Theorising the African Public Sphere (2 sessions); The Public Sphere as a Site for Negotiating Citizenship (2 sessions); Institutions of the African Public Sphere; Languages and Linguistics of the Public Sphere; Spaces, Sites and Processes of the Public Sphere; The Emergence of Virtual Publics in the African World; Economics of the Public Sphere; Conflict and Violence in the African Public Sphere; Democratising the African Public Sphere; The Sacred, the Sacrilegious and the Public Sphere.

5. Chair: Teresa Cruz Silva, Discussant : Nyamnjoh Françis Rapporteur: Murindwa RUTANGA & Addo Mahamane.

6. El Kenz, Ali Gouvernance et gouverna-bilité, Léopold Sedar Senghor Lecture, 2009.

7. Tsitsi Dangarembga, Chair : Fatima Harrack, Rapporteur : Sylvie Mpon Tiek.

8. Chair : Thandika Mkandawira, Discussant : Adam Habib, Rapporteur : Herman Touo & Mahamane Addo.

9. Chair: Samir Amin, Discussant : Jimi Adesina, Rapporteur : Osita Agbu.

10. Chair: Selolware Onalenna, Discussant: Adam Habib, Rapporteur: Khalid Ali-El-Amin.

11. Teresa Cruz E Silva « Le public et le privé: le rôle social des institutions d'enseignement supérieur en Afrique » (Claude Ake Lecture).

12. Georges Nzongola- Ntalaja, Rapporteur : Osita Agbu.

13. **Panel I**: Chair: Noel Obotela Rashidi, Discussant: Labana A.A, Rapporteur: Therese Azeng. **Panel II** Chair: Carin Norberg, Discussant: Charles Ukeje, Rapporteur: Therese Azeng. **Panel III** Chair: Said Adejumobi, Discussant: Richard Akum, Rapporteur: Murindwa Rutanga. (Panel IV) Chair: Matlou Matloteng, Discussant: Firoze Manji, Rapporteur: Therese Azeng.

14. **Panel 1**: Kofi Anyidoho; Session Discussant: Pinkie Mekgwe; Session Rapporteur: Dennis Onome Edewor. **Panel II**: chair: Bahru Zewde; Discussant: Firoze Manji; Rapporteur: Susana Awasom. **Panel III**: Session Chair: Leo De Haan; session Discussant: Godwin Murunga; session Rapporteur: Khalid Ali El Amin.

15. **Panel I**: Session Chair, Onalenna Selolwane, Discussant: Antonia Simbine; Rapporteur: Susanna Awason; **Panel II**: Session chair: Odile Faye; Discussant: Atilo Boron; Rapporteur: Susana Awason **Panel lII**: session chair: Joe Oloka-onyango; discussant: Terezhina SIlva; Rapporteur: Susana Awason.

16. **Panel I**: Session chair: Abdelghani Abouhani : Discussant : Ayodeji Olukoju ; Rapporteur : Margaret Ayike; **Panel II**: Session Chair : Thobeka Mda ; Discussant : Ratebaye Tordeka; Rapporteur: Margaret Ayike; **Panel III**:

17. Session chair : Sam Moyo ; Discussant : Francis Nyamnjoh ; Rapporteur : Murindwa Rutanga.

18. **Panel I**: Session chair: Zenebeworke Tadesse; session discussant: Sylvie Mpontiek; session Rapporteur: Khalid Ali El Amin; **Panel II**: Session chair: Nouria Remaoun; Discussant: Omano Edigheji; Rapporteur: Osita Agbu.

19. **Panel I** Chair: Khalid EL-Amin, Discussant: Ebrima SALL, Rapporteur: Tordeka Ratebaye. **Panel II** Chair: Lennart Wohlgemuth, Discussant: Bhekinkosi Moyo, Rapporteur: Sylvie Mpon-Tiek

20. Chair: Claudio Alves Furtado, Discussant: Amady Ali Dieng, Rapporteur: Addo Mahamane.

21. Chair: Catherine Kitetu, Discussant: Willy Bongo-Passi, Rapporteur: Tordeka Radebaye

22. Chair: Fatima Harrak, Discussant: Murindwa Rutanga, Rapporteur: Herman Touo

23. Chair: Jacques K. Nduba Wa Dile, Discussant: Osita AGBU, Rapporteur: Sylvie Mpon-Tiek

24. Discussant: Catherine Newbury, Rapporteur: Tordeka Radebaye

25. Chair : Shadida El-Baz ; Session Discussant : Laroussi Amri ; Rapporteur : Dennis Edewor

26. Abdoulaye Bathily « Le Président dans les régimes politiques africains: l'autocratie et ses conséquences sur la gestion des politiques publiques ».