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This Bulletin is distributed free to all social research institutes and faculties in Africa and beyond to encourage research co-operation among African scholars. Interested individuals and institutions may also subscribe to CODESRIA mailing list to receive the Bulletin promptly upon release. Contributions on theoretical matters and reports on conferences and seminars are also welcome.



Announcements // Annonces

CODESRIA SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE MEMBERS

The Scientific Committee (SC) is a charter organ of the Council. It derives its mandate from Article 26 of the charter. It is an advisory committee that counsels the Executive Committee (EC) and Executive Secretariat on scientific matters. It is also responsible for the scientific evaluation of CODESRIA's programmes and contributes to the development of the Council's scientific agenda. It is made up of 12 members appointed by the Executive Committee. In June 2024, the term of service of 6 members came to an end and the EC appointed 6 new members to replace them. We reproduce here the names of the incoming members of the SC.

Outgoing Members

1. **Cheryl Hendricks**
2. **Alice Karekezi**
3. **Nacer Djabi**
4. **Samuel Negash**
5. **Fatima Denton**
6. **Maitseo Bolaane**

Incoming Members of the Community

1. **Ismail Rashid**
2. **Chikouna Cissé**
3. **Mary Boatemaa Setrana**
4. **Keneilwe Sadie Mooketsane**
5. **Hlengiwe Portia Dlamini**
6. **Doyin Aguoro**

List of Current CODESRIA Scientific Committee Members and their Biographies



Adebayo Olukoshi
President

ADEBAYO OLUKOSHI is a Distinguished Professor at the Wits School of Governance, University of Witwatersrand in South Africa. In 2021, Professor Olukoshi was appointed to the board of the Goodluck Jonathan Foundation. He holds a PhD in Politics from the University of Leeds. He has more than 35 years of experience in areas of international relations, governance, and human rights, both in the academic sector and intergovernmental institutions. Professor Olukoshi was a member of the African Union Assessment Panel and Chair of the Board of several think tanks, including the European Centre for Development Policy Management and the West

African Civil Society Institute. He also previously served as the Director, Regional Office for Africa and West Asia of the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (Sweden); Director of the UN African Institute for Economic Development and Planning (IDEP); Executive Director of the Africa Governance Institute; Executive Secretary of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA); Director of Research at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs; Senior Research Fellow/Research Programme; Coordinator of the Nordic Africa Institute (NAI) in Uppsala; and Senior Programme Staff at the South Centre in Geneva. He has published extensively on the politics of economic relations, governance, and development, as well as on African higher education and development. Prof. Olukoshi's report 'The Elusive Prince of Denmark: Structural Adjustment and the Crisis of Governance in Africa' (NAI Research Report n° 104) is among his most impactful publications.



Maréma Touré
Vice-President

DR MARÉMA TOURÉ THIAM is a Senegalese sociologist. She is the former director of the Social and Human Sciences Sector at the West Africa Office of UNESCO. Gender is her field of interest. She defended one of the first African theses on gender in

1996 at University of Paris 1, Sorbonne, France. One of her most recent publications is titled 'Aspects épistémologiques, théoriques et culturels de la recherche sur le genre en Afrique' (Epistemological, theoretical and cultural aspects of gender research in Africa), in *Présence Africaine* (2018), vol. 197, n° 1, p. 313-336.

DRISS KSIKES is a Moroccan writer and researcher. He has been a professor at HEM since 1996. Since 2014 he has served as director of economy, HEM research center, and director of the HEM foundation. A professor of methodology and debate ideas, he leads several writing workshops and contributes to several literary journals and international critiques. A literary critic and former editor-in-chief of *TelQuel* magazine (2001–2006), he is currently in charge of media and culture research projects, in partnership with several laboratories in the Maghreb and the Mediterranean, and coordinator of the Fatéma Mernissi Chair. Increasing the number of projects with art, culture and debate in the heart of the city, he is co-founder of the Averroès Meetings in Rabat (2008–), *Dabateatr citoyen* (2009–2012), *Collectif du Vivre Ensemble* (2012–), *Divan public* (2014–), and the transnational cultural review and platform project, *In's*. He was literary curator of the Marrakech Art Biennale in 2014, Commissioner of the Night of the Philosophers in Rabat and Casablanca in 2017 and 2018, as he was referent playwright for the Arab world with Sundance Institute for the international

laboratory of Marrakech in 2018. His main theatrical publications are: *Pas de mémoire, mémoire de pas* (1998), *Le saint des incertains* (2000), *IL* (2011), *180 degrés* (2010), *Le match* (2011) et *N'enterrez pas trop vite Big Brother* (2013). This last piece was written as part of the Contemporary Arab Dramaturgy project, initiated by the Friche de la Belle de May, and for which he benefited from a scholarship and residence at la Chartreuse in Villeneuve-Lez-Avignon, France. He was selected in 2012 among the six best African playwrights by the National Studio Theatre in London. In 2017, he was nominated for the best francophone playwright award by the Theatre Commission of the Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs Dramatiques (SACD) for his *Chuchotements et révélations*.



Driss Ksikes
Member



Nansozi K. Muwanga
Member

DR NANSOZI K. MUWANGA is a native of Uganda. She holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Toronto, Canada. She also has a Post Graduate Diploma in International Relations and Development from the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in the Hague, the Netherlands. She is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science and Public

Administration, Makerere University and coordinator of the UNDP Rule of Law and Constitutional Democracy Project in the Department. Nansozi, a Fulbright New Century Scholar, has extensive multi-disciplinary research and consultancy experience in the areas of governance and education policy reform. Nansozi's other interests include: outreach and fundraising work, the mentoring of educationally disadvantaged girls and coordinating philanthropic education projects. But her real passion lies in education – the making of education policy as well as the delivery of quality education at different levels and in different national contexts and how this gives opportunities and a voice to those so often excluded.



Jean-Christophe B. Bazika
Member

PROFESSOR BAZIKA is a native of Congo-Brazzaville. He holds a PhD in Economic Sciences and is Associate Professor at the Department of Economic

Sciences, Université Marien Ngouabi, Congo-Brazzaville. He also serves as Director General at the Centre for Analysis and Political Economy Research (CERAPE). He has published extensively on issues related to development, regional integration, poverty and entrepreneurship.

PROFESSOR OLONISAKIN is a Vice-President, Vice-Principal (International) and Professor of Security, Leadership and Development at King's College London. She is also an Extraordinary Professor at the University of Pretoria. She is the founder and former Director of the African Leadership Centre, an institution founded on the principle of Pan-Africanism to build the next generation of leaders and scholars on the African continent with core transformational values. Olonisakin was an Andrew Mellon Foundation distinguished scholar and a distinguished fellow of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy. She also served as a member of the United Nations Security Council advisory group of

experts on the review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture. She was previously the Vice-Dean International, Faculty of Social Science and Public Policy, King's College London. She is the first black female professor and the first black woman to deliver an inaugural lecture at King's College London.



Funmi Olonisakin
Member



Ismail Rashid
Member

ISMAIL RASHID is the Marion Musser Lloyd '32 Chair of History and International Relations at Vassar College <https://www.vassar.edu/faculty/departments/history>. He received his PhD in African History from McGill University, Quebec, Canada. Professor Rashid's teaching interests are modern African history, African Diaspora, and International Relations.

His research interests include subaltern resistance against colonialism, public health, and conflicts and security in contemporary Africa. Among his works are *West Africa's Security Chal-*

lenges (2004 with Adekeye Adebajo), *The Paradox of History and Memory in Postcolonial Sierra Leone* (2013) (with Sylvia Ojukutu-Macauley), *Understanding West Africa's Ebola Epidemic: Towards a Political Economy* (2017) (with Ibrahim Abdullah) and *Researching Peacebuilding in Africa* (2020) (with Amy Niang). Rashid is a member of the Scientific Committee of the Council for the Development of Social Science in Africa (CODESRIA). He also mentors graduate African students and early career and rising faculty colleagues in various Africa universities through his voluntary service as an Adjunct Faculty for the African Leadership Center of King's College, London and the University of Nairobi; and the African Peacebuilding Network of Social Science Research Council (APN-SSRC). Professor Rashid is the Chair of the History Department at Vassar College.



Chikouna Cissé
Member

is a member of the international team in charge of writing the volume IX of the General History of

CHIKOUNA Cissé is a lecturer in African History at the University Félix Houphouët Boigny in Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire). He holds a Ph.D. on Colonial migration and the development of the Lower Côte d'Ivoire. His field of research also extends to the study of the Jula merchant diaspora in West Africa. Chikouna Cissé

Africa, on global Africanity. He is also a member of the Indo-European and African Network for the Study of Merchant Diasporas in the Modern Era. Chikouna Cissé is a former fellow of the Institute for Advanced Study (IEA) in Nantes where he has been from October 2012 to June 2013 and author of the book *Migrations et valorisation de la Basse-Côte d'Ivoire (1920-1960)* published by éditions L'Harmattan in 2013. Together with Ismail Rashid, Chikouna Cissé edited the journal *Afrika Zamani*, then based at CODESRIA. Since 2021, he has been called upon by the UNHCR as an expert as part of the UNHCR programme on the French-speaking statelessness and nationality course. He is in charge of the Historical Migrations and Formation of Identities in Africa from the Fifteenth to the Twentieth Centuries. He is also in charge of the Population Movement and Formation of Identities Axis within the SCALL doctoral school of the UFHB.

PROFESSOR MARY BOATEMAA SETRANA is an Associate Professor at the Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana. Since her appointment, she has been teaching both graduate and post-graduate courses as well as supervising MA (Regular thesis), MA (Sandwich), MPhil, and PhD dissertations. Prof. Mary Setrana applies her multidisciplinary background of sociology, political science, linguistics and migration in her teaching and research that uniquely distinguishes her output. Prof. Setrana participates (either as a PI or Co-I) in large research projects funded by EU, IOM, ILO and OECD, Worldwide Universities Network (WUN), Carnegie Corporation for New York (CCNY). She is currently the co-director for the fronting of belonging project funded by SSHRC and a member of the consortium working on the following projects: Migration Decisions and the COVID-19 Pandemic project funded by Swiss Government; GCRF South-South Migration, Inequality and Development Hub, funded by UKRI; Climate Change, Migration and Social Transformation project funded by EU; Culture for Sustainable and Inclusive Peace Project, funded by UKRI; and Crises as Opportunities project, funded by EU. Prof. Mary Setrana has contributed to migration policy development in Ghana and other African countries. Specifically, she was part of the team that drafted the Diaspora Engagement policy in Ghana. She is the lead consultant for the finalization of the national migration policy for Botswana. She was also one of the consultants for the devel-

opment of national migration policies in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe. She won the US Department of State Award to represent Ghana on the "National Security and Policymaking" programme in 2019. She has also been playing the role of an expert trainer on the AU's



Mary Boatemaa Setrana
Member

migration governance training programme for its member states. Prof. Setrana has developed a Ghana National Academic Diaspora Intervention Roadmap – a pilot document for some African Union member states. Prof. Setrana is a member of a number of migration governance advisory groups and networks. For instance, she is currently a technical advisor to the African Union Commission (AUC) on migration governance. She is also an Advisory Board member of the [African Research Universities Alliance \(ARUA\)](#) Centre of Excellence on Migration & Mobility and the Centre for Forced Migration in Boston University, USA. Additionally, Prof. Setrana is a member of the following migration research networks: Swiss Sub-Saharan Africa Migration (S-SAM), Migration Governance Lab, University of Witwatersrand, and Young Policy Net-

work on Migration (YPNM). Prof. Setrana has published the findings of past and current research projects in highly reputable journals. Prof. Setrana is also an associate editor for the journal of African Diaspora and the African Studies Review. She is currently the Program Affairs and Innovative Officer for International Association of Forced Migration

Conference Committee (IASFM). Her research interest include, Forced Displacement, Gender and Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding, Migration and Social Change, South-South Migration and Development, Migration Governance and Integration.



Keneilwe Sadie Mooketsane
Member

KENEILWE SADIE MOOKETSANE is a Senior Lecturer in the Political and Administrative Studies Department at the University of Botswana where she teaches public administration and public policy. She is a gender and governance expert with over ten years of experience in research, teaching and consultancy

work. She holds a Master of Philosophy in public policy and administration from the University of Cape Town and a PhD in public and development management from the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits School of Governance). Throughout her career, she has worked with different research teams and networks including, the Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis, The Democracy Research Project and the Afrobarometer. Her research interests span Feminist Research, Democratic Governance, State-Society relations among other areas. Her last engagement with CODESRIA was at the democratic governance convening in Lome in July 2023.

HLENGIWE PORTIA DLAMINI is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Eswatini. She received her PhD from the University of Pretoria in South Africa, her BA and MA degrees were obtained from the University of Swaziland. She is Eswatini topmost constitutional scholar with her pioneer landmark book on: *A Constitutional History of the Kingdom of Eswatini (Swaziland), 1960–1982* (Palgrave 2019). She has published in several offshore peer review journals including *Africa Development*. Her research concentration covers Constitutional History, the en-

gendered politics, and the enfranchisement/disfranchisement of women in Eswatini; the governance of public spaces; community policing; and Islamic minorities in Eswatini.



Hlengiwe Portia Dlamini
Member



Adedoyin Aguoru
Member

for Excellence in Teaching and Learning at the University of Ibadan. A graduate of International Relations, English Studies and Comparative Studies from Obafemi Awolowo University, University of Ibadan

ADEDYOIN AGUORU, is a Professor at the Department of English in the University of Ibadan. She is a founding member of the Management Team of the NIDCOM/TETFUND Centre of Excellence for Diaspora studies, founding President of The African Association for Japanese Studies and Director, Center

and University of Ilorin. She obtained a Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) with focus on Comparative Literature, National and Cultural Identity (in Japan and Nigeria) her research interests include Gender Studies, National Identities, Comparative Studies and also Biographical studies which she collaboratively engaged with the University of Witwatersrand and the University of Cape Town NEST Team. She is a widely published researcher, playwright and director, whose works include *Stolen Seeds*, *A Voyage Round W.S (Wole Soyinka)* and *Drama in Africa* and *Identity Re-creation in Global African Encounters* (co-edited with John Ayotunde Bewaji). Dr Adedoyin Aguoru is a nominee of the United States Diplomatic Mission Established Opinion Leadership Exchange Program and only recently completed an Academic Residency on the Study of the United States Institute of Contemporary American Literature at the University of Montana.

LES MEMBRES DU COMITÉ SCIENTIFIQUE DU CODESRIA

Le Comité scientifique (CS) est un organe de la charte du Conseil. Son mandat est défini dans l'article 26 de la Charte. C'est un comité consultatif qui conseille le Comité exécutif (CE) et le Secrétariat exécutif sur les questions scientifiques. Il est également responsable de l'évaluation scientifique des programmes du CODESRIA et contribue à l'élaboration de l'agenda scientifique du Conseil. Il est composé de 12 membres nommés par le Comité exécutif. En juin 2024, le mandat de 6 membres est arrivé à échéance et le CE a nommé 6 nouveaux membres pour les remplacer. Les noms des nouveaux membres du CS sont ici reproduits.

Membres sortants

1. Cheryl Hendricks
2. Alice Karekezi
3. Nacer Djabi
4. Samuel Negash
5. Fatima Denton
6. Maitseo Bolaane

Membres entrants de la communauté

1. Ismail Rashid
2. Chikouna Cissé
3. Mary Boatemaa Setrana
4. Keneilwe Sadie Mooketsane
5. Hlengiwe Portia Dlamini
6. Doyin Aguoro

Liste des membres actuels du Comité scientifique du CODESRIA et leurs biographies



Adebayo Olukoshi
President

Il a plus de 35 ans d'expérience dans les domaines des relations internationales, de la gouvernance et des droits de l'homme, tant dans le secteur universitaire que dans les institutions intergouvernementales. Le professeur Olukoshi a été membre du panel d'évaluation de l'Union africaine et président du conseil d'administration de plusieurs groupes de réflexion, notamment le Centre européen de gestion des politiques de développement et l'Institut de la

ADEBAYO OLUKOSHI est professeur émérite à la Wits School of Governance de l'Université de Witwatersrand en Afrique du Sud. En 2021, le professeur Olukoshi a été nommé au conseil d'administration de la Fondation Goodluck Jonathan. Il est titulaire d'un doctorat en politique de l'université de Leeds.

société civile d'Afrique de l'Ouest. Il a également été directeur du bureau régional pour l'Afrique et l'Asie de l'Ouest de l'Institut international pour la démocratie et l'assistance électorale (Suède), directeur de l'Institut africain de développement économique et de planification des Nations unies (IDEP), directeur exécutif de l'Institut africain de gouvernance, secrétaire exécutif du Conseil pour le développement de la recherche en sciences sociales en Afrique (CODESRIA), directeur de la recherche à l'Institut nigérian des affaires internationales, chargé de recherche principal/programme de recherche, coordinateur de l'Institut nordique d'Afrique (NAI) à Uppsala et membre du personnel de programme principal au Centre Sud à Genève. Il a publié de nombreux ouvrages sur la politique des relations économiques, la gouvernance et le développement, ainsi que sur l'enseignement supérieur africain et le développement. Le rapport du professeur Olukoshi intitulé « The Elusive Prince of Denmark : Structural Adjustment and the Crisis of Governance in Africa » (NAI Research Report n° 104) figure parmi ses publications les plus marquantes.



LE DR MAREMA TOURÉ-THIAM est une sociologue sénégalaise. Elle était directrice du département des sciences sociales et humaines (SHS) au Bureau de l'Unesco pour l'Afrique de l'Ouest. Le genre est son do-

Maréma Touré
Vice-President

maine d'intérêt. Elle a défendu l'une des premières thèses africaines sur le genre, en 1996, à l'Université Paris 1, Sorbonne. Une de ses récentes publications s'intitule « Aspects épistémologiques, théoriques et culturels de la recherche sur le genre en Afrique », *Présence Africaine* (2018), vol. 197, n° 1, p. 313-336.

DRISS KSIKES est un marocain écrivain et chercheur. Il est professeur à HEM depuis 1996. Il est actuellement directeur d'Economia, centre de recherche de HEM, et directeur de la fondation HEM, depuis 2014. Professeur de méthodologie et de débat d'idées, il anime plusieurs ateliers d'écriture et contribue à plusieurs revues littéraires et critiques internationales. Critique littéraire et ancien rédacteur en chef du magazine *TelQuel* (2001–2006), il est actuellement en charge de projets de recherche média et culture, en partenariat avec plusieurs laboratoires du Maghreb et de la Méditerranée, et coordinateur de la chaire Fatéma Mernissi. Multipliant les projets mettant l'art, la culture et le débat au cœur de la cité, il est co-fondateur des *Rencontres d'Averroès* à Rabat (2008–), de *Dabateatr citoyen* (2009–2012), du *Collectif du Vivre ensemble* (2012–), de *Divan public* (2014–), et du projet de plateforme et revue culturelle transnationale, *In's*. Il a été curateur littéraire de la Biennale d'art de Marrakech en 2014, commissaire de la *Nuit des Philosophes* à Rabat et Casablanca en 2017 et 2018, comme il a été dramaturge référent pour le monde arabe auprès du Sundance Institute pour le laboratoire international

de Marrakech en 2018. Ses principales publications théâtrales sont : *Pas de mémoire, mémoire de pas* (1998), *Le saint des incertains* (2000), *IL* (2011), *180 degrés* (2010), *Le match* (2011) et *N'enterrez pas trop vite Big Brother* (2013). Cette dernière pièce a été écrite dans le cadre du projet « Dramaturgie arabe contemporaine », entrepris par la Friche de la Belle de mai, et pour laquelle il a bénéficié d'une bourse et résidence à la Char treuse de Villeneuve-Lez-Avignon. Il a été sélectionné en 2012 parmi les six meilleurs dramaturges africains par le National Studio Théâtre de Londres. En 2017, il fut nommé pour le prix du meilleur dramaturge francophone pour sa pièce *Chuchotements et révélations* par la Commission Théâtre de la Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs Dramatiques (SACD).



Driss Ksikes
Member



Nansozi K. Muwanga
Member

Le **DR NANSOZI K. MUWANGA** est originaire d'Ouganda. Elle est titulaire d'un doctorat ès sciences politiques de l'Université de Toronto (Canada), d'un BA spécialisé en sciences politiques et d'une maîtrise en études régionales de la London University. Elle est également titulaire d'un diplôme post-troisième cycle en relations

internationales et développement obtenu à l'Institut d'études sociales (ISS) de La Haye (Pays-Bas). Elle est chargée de cours principale au Département de sciences politiques et d'administration publique de

l'Université de Makerere et coordinatrice du projet du PNUD sur l'État de droit et la démocratie constitutionnelle au sein du Département. Nansozi est boursière Fulbright New Century (NCS), possède une vaste expérience en matière de recherche et de conseil multidisciplinaire dans les domaines de la gouvernance et de la réforme des politiques éducatives. Les autres intérêts de Nansozi incluent la sensibilisation et la collecte de fonds, le mentorat des filles défavorisées sur le plan éducatif et la coordination de projets philanthropiques d'éducation. Mais sa véritable passion est l'éducation, l'élaboration de politiques éducatives ainsi que l'accès à une éducation de qualité à différents niveaux et dans différents contextes nationaux, ainsi que les opportunités et la voix que cela confère aux personnes si souvent exclues.



LE PROFESSEUR BAZIKA est originaire du Congo-Brazzaville. Il est titulaire d'un doctorat en sciences économiques et est professeur agrégé au Département des sciences éco-

nomiques de l'Université Marien Ngouabi, Congo Brazzaville. Il est également directeur général du Centre d'analyse et de recherche en économie politique (CERAPE). Il a publié de nombreux ouvrages sur des questions liées au développement, à l'intégration régionale, à la pauvreté et à l'entrepreneuriat.

Jean-Christophe B. Bazika
Member

La professeure Olonisakin est viceprésidente, vice-directrice (international), professeure de Sécurité, leadership et développement au King's College London et aussi professeure extraordinaire à l'Université de Pretoria. Elle est la fondatrice et ancienne directrice du African Leadership Centre (ALC), une institution fondée sur le principe du panafricanisme et de la formation de la prochaine génération de dirigeants et d'érudits africains dotés de valeurs fondamentales de transformation. Olonisakin a été chercheuse distinguée de la Fondation Andrew Mellon et un membre distingué du Centre de recherche sur la sécurité de Genève (GCSP). Elle a également été membre du groupe consultatif d'experts du Conseil de sécurité des Nations unies chargé de l'examen

de l'architecture de consolidation de la paix des Nations unies. Auparavant, elle était vice-doyenne internationale à la Faculté des sciences sociales et des politiques publiques du King's College de Londres. Elle est la première professeure noire et la première femme noire à donner une conférence inaugurale au King's College de Londres.



Funmi Olonisakin
Member



Ismail Rashid
Member

ISMAIL RASHID est titulaire de la chaire d'histoire et de relations internationales Marion Musser Lloyd '32 au Vassar College <https://www.vassar.edu/faculty/departments/history>. Il a obtenu son doctorat en histoire africaine à l'université McGill, Québec, Canada. Le professeur Rashid enseigne l'histoire de l'Afrique moderne, la diaspora africaine et les relations internationales. Ses recherches portent

sur la résistance subalterne au colonialisme, la santé publique, les conflits et la sécurité dans l'Afrique contemporaine. Parmi ses ouvrages figurent *West*

Africa's Security Challenges (2004 avec Adekeye Adebojo), *The Paradox of History and Memory in Postcolonial Sierra Leone* (2013) (avec Sylvia Ojukutu-Macauley), *Understanding West Africa's Ebola Epidemic : Towards a Political Economy* (2017) (avec Ibrahim Abdullah) et *Researching Peacebuilding in Africa* (2020) (avec Amy Niang). Rashid est membre du comité scientifique du Conseil pour le développement des sciences sociales en Afrique (CODESRIA). Il encadre également des étudiants africains diplômés, des collègues en début de carrière et des professeurs en devenir dans diverses universités africaines grâce à son service bénévole en tant que professeur adjoint pour l'African Leadership Center du King's College de Londres et de l'Université de Nairobi, ainsi que pour le Réseau africain pour la consolidation de la paix du Conseil de recherche en sciences sociales (APN-SSRC). Le professeur Rashid préside le département d'histoire du Vassar College.



Chikouna Cissé
Member

migrations en Côte d'Ivoire coloniale, les transformations sociales en Côte d'Ivoire contemporaine et

CHIKOUNA CISSÉ est professeur associé d'histoire africaine à l'Université Félix Houphouët Boigny d'Abidjan, en Côte d'Ivoire. Il est titulaire d'un doctorat en histoire portant sur les migrations coloniales et le développement de la Basse-Côte d'Ivoire. Il est l'auteur de plusieurs articles et ouvrages notables sur le monde Jula et sur les

l'impact des confréries islamiques sur la société ivoirienne. Il est membre de l'équipe internationale responsable de la rédaction du volume IX de l'Histoire générale de l'Afrique. Il est également ancien boursier de l'Institut d'études avancées (IEA) de Nantes d'octobre 2012 à juin 2013 et auteur de l'ouvrage *Migrations et valorisation de la Basse-Côte d'Ivoire (1920-1960)* paru aux éditions L'Harmattan en 2013. Avec Ismail Rashid, Chikouna Cissé a édité la revue *Afrika Zamani*, alors domicilié au CODESRIA. Depuis 2021, il est sollicité par le HCR en tant qu'expert dans le cadre du programme du HCR sur le parcours francophone de l'apatridie et de la nationalité. Il est en charge de l'axe Migrations historiques et formation des identités en Afrique du XVe au XXe siècle. Il est également responsable de l'axe Mouvements de population et formation des identités au sein de l'école doctorale SCALL de l'UFHB.

MARY BOATEMAA SETRANA est professeur associé au Centre d'études sur les migrations de l'Université du Ghana. Depuis sa nomination, elle dispense des cours de premier et de deuxième cycle et supervise des mémoires de maîtrise (thèse normale), de maîtrise (sandwich), de maîtrise et de doctorat. Mary Setrana applique sa formation pluridisciplinaire en sociologie, sciences politiques, linguistique et migration à son enseignement et à ses recherches, ce qui lui permet de se distinguer de manière unique. Mme Setrana participe (en tant que PI ou Co-I) à de grands projets de recherche financés par l'UE, l'OIM, l'OIT et l'OCDE, le Réseau mondial des universités (WUN) et la Carnegie Corporation de New York (CCNY). Elle est actuellement codirectrice du projet « Fronting of belonging » financé par le CRSH et membre du consortium travaillant sur les projets suivants : Décisions relatives à la migration, projet sur la pandémie de la COVID-19 financé par le gouvernement suisse ; GCRF Migration Sud-Sud, Pôle de développement et de lutte contre l'inégalité, financé par l'UKRI ; Changement climatique, projet sur la Migration et la transformation sociale financé par l'UE ; le projet (Culture pour une paix durable et inclusive), financé par l'UKRI ; et Projet « Crises et opportunités, financé par l'UE. Le professeur Mary Setrana a contribué à l'élaboration de politiques migratoires au Ghana et dans d'autres pays africains. Elle a notamment fait partie de l'équipe qui a rédigé la politique d'engagement de la diaspora

au Ghana. Elle est la consultante principale pour la finalisation de la politique nationale de migration au Botswana. Elle a également été l'une des consultantes pour l'élaboration des politiques nationales de migration au Malawi, en Zambie et au Zimbabwe. Elle a remporté le prix du Département



Mary Boatemaa Setrana
Member

d'État américain pour représenter le Ghana dans le cadre du programme « National Security and Policymaking » en 2019. Elle a également joué le rôle de formatrice experte dans le cadre du programme de formation à la gouvernance des migrations de l'UA pour ses États membres. Le professeur Setrana a élaboré une feuille de route pour l'intervention de la diaspora académique nationale du Ghana, un document pilote pour certains États membres de l'Union africaine. Le professeur Setrana est membre d'un certain nombre de groupes et de réseaux consultatifs sur la gouvernance des migrations. Par exemple, elle est actuellement conseillère technique auprès de la Commission de l'Union africaine (CUA) sur la gouvernance des migrations. Elle est

également membre du conseil consultatif de [African Research Universities Alliance](#) (ARUA) du Centre d'excellence sur la migration et la mobilité et du Centre pour les migrations forcées de l'université de Boston (États-Unis). En outre, le professeur Setrana est membre des réseaux de recherche sur les migrations suivants : Swiss Sub-Saharan Africa Migration (S-SAM), Migration Governance Lab, University of Witwatersrand, et Young Policy Network on Migration (YPNM). Le professeur Setrana a publié les résultats de ses projets de recherche passés et actuels dans des revues très réputées. Elle est

également rédactrice en chef adjointe du journal de la diaspora africaine et de la revue des études africaines. Elle est actuellement responsable des programmes et de l'innovation pour le comité de conférence de l'Association internationale des migrations forcées (IASFM). Ses recherches portent sur les déplacements forcés, le genre, la transformation des conflits et la consolidation de la paix, les migrations et le changement social, les migrations Sud-Sud et le développement, la gouvernance des migrations et l'intégration.



Keneilwe Sadie Mooketsane
Member
est maître de conférences au département d'études politiques et administratives de l'Université du Botswana, où elle enseigne l'administration publique et les politiques publiques. Elle est une experte en genre et en gouvernance avec plus de dix ans d'expérience dans la recherche, l'enseignement et le conseil. Elle est titu-

laire d'une maîtrise en politique publique et en administration de l'Université du Cap et d'un doctorat en gestion publique et du développement de l'Université du Witwatersrand (Wits School of Governance). Tout au long de sa carrière, elle a travaillé avec différentes équipes et réseaux de recherche, notamment l'Institut botswanais pour l'analyse des politiques de développement, le Projet de recherche sur la démocratie et l'Afro baromètre. Ses intérêts de recherche couvrent la recherche féministe, la gouvernance démocratique, les relations État-société, entre autres. Son dernier engagement avec le CODESRIA remonte à la réunion sur la gouvernance démocratique qui s'est tenue à Lomé en juillet 2023..

HLENGIWE PORTIA DLAMINI est maître de conférences à l'Université d'Eswatini. Elle a obtenu sa licence et sa maîtrise à l'Université du Swaziland et son doctorat à l'Université de Pretoria en 2016. Ses recherches portent sur l'histoire constitutionnelle et la gouvernance des espaces publics au Swaziland. Elle a également mené des recherches sur la constitutionnalité de la police de proximité au Swaziland ainsi que sur la constitutionnalité de l'émancipation et de la privation du droit de vote des femmes au Swaziland ainsi que sur les injonctions gastronomiques (Halaal) des minorités islamiques depuis l'indépendance.

Elle est l'auteure de « *A Constitutional History of the Kingdom of Eswatini* (Swaziland), 1960-1982 » publié en 2019 par Palgrave Macmillan Cham dans le cadre de la série « *African Histories and Modernities* ».



Hlengiwe Portia Dlamini
Member



Adedoyin Aguoru
Member

du Centre d'excellence en enseignement et apprentissage de l'Université d'Ibadan. Elle est titulaire d'un

ADEDYOIN AGUORU est professeur agrégé au département d'anglais de l'Université d'Ibadan. Elle est membre fondatrice du Centre d'excellence NIDCOM/TETFUND pour les études sur la diaspora, présidente fondatrice de l'Association africaine pour les études japonaises et directrice

doctorat avec une spécialisation en littérature comparée, identité nationale et culturelle (au Japon et au Nigeria) de l'Université d'Ibadan, ainsi que d'une maîtrise en littérature anglaise et en relations internationales de l'Université d'Ibadan et de l'Université Obafemi Awolowo, respectivement. Ses recherches portent sur les études sur le genre, les identités nationales, les études comparatives et les études biographiques. C'est une chercheuse largement publiée, une dramaturge et une bonne metteuse en scène, dont les œuvres comprennent *Stolen Seeds*, *A Voyage Round W.S* (Wole Soyinka) et *Drama in Africa* et *Identity Re-creation in Global African Encounters* (co-édité avec John Ayotunde Bewaji). Le Dr Aguoru participe actuellement au programme d'échange de leadership établi par la mission diplomatique des Etats-Unis.

JOB VACANCY ANNOUNCEMENT

Re-Advertisement Position of Executive Secretary



The graphic is a vertical rectangle with a red background on the left and a photograph of a large, leafless tree against a sunset sky on the right. The red section contains the CODESRIA logo, a '50' anniversary logo, and the text 'Re-Advertisement', 'Vacancy Announcement!', and 'Executive Secretary'. Below this is a paragraph of text about the position, followed by job location, submission portal, and application deadline. The bottom of the red section has a link to learn more. The photograph section has a caption at the bottom.

Re-Advertisement

Vacancy Announcement!

Executive Secretary

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) invites applications from suitably qualified senior African scholars for the position of Executive Secretary in its pan-African Secretariat located in Dakar, Senegal. This position, which will fall vacant in 2025, is the most senior management post in the Executive Secretariat and the successful candidate will be expected to function as the leader of a team of senior programme staff under the overall supervision of the Executive Committee of the Council.

Job Location: **Dakar, Senegal**
Submission Portal: <https://submission.codesria.org/executive-secretary-re-advertisement>
Application Deadline: **14th February 2025**

Visit <https://codesria.org> to learn more >>

Female candidates are especially encouraged to apply

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) invites applications from suitably qualified senior African scholars for the position of Executive Secretary in its pan-African Secretariat located in Dakar, Senegal. This position, which will fall vacant in 2025, is the most senior management post in the Executive Secretariat and the successful candidate will be expected to function as the leader of a team of senior programme staff under the overall supervision of the Executive Committee of the Council.

Established in 1973 as a pioneering, independent, pan-African and not-for-profit organisation for the development of social research in Africa, CODESRIA is today widely recognised as the premier centre on the continent for the generation and dissemination of multidisciplinary research knowledge in the social sciences and humanities. The position of Executive Secretary is a key one both in the development of the programme mandate of the Council and the realisation of the strategic institutional objectives set by the triennial General Assembly of its members. The successful candidate will be required to:

- Be responsible for the day-to-day management of the affairs of the Council to the highest professional standards on behalf of the Executive Committee;
- Lead the Secretariat in implementing the scientific programmes and intellectual agenda of the Council;
- Serve as the Secretary to the General Assembly, the Executive Committee, and the Scientific Committee;
- Be responsible for the development and implementation of the Council's fundraising strategy;
- Negotiate and sign all contracts on behalf of the Council;
- Undertake representational duties on behalf of the Council;
- Manage existing donor relations and expand the core donor base for the funding of the intellectual agenda and strategic plan of the Council;
- Coordinate the production of activity and financial reports for the funders of the Council;
- Enhance the membership base of the Council and structure a system of accountability to its members;
- Mobilise the members of the Council to participate fully in its programme of activities;
- Recruit and manage staff for the effective implementation of the Council's work programme;

- Take a lead role in the development of new programmes and activities, and in the mobilisation of researchers across Africa to participate in them in accordance with existing institutional rules and strategy;
- Manage relations with other organisations in the interest of the Council;
- Promote contacts with researchers, professional associations and regional organisations within Africa, across the global South and in the rest of the world; and
- Play a lead role in the realisation of the scientific mission and mandate of the Council.

Qualifications

Applicants must:

1. Have a sound university education and at least ten years of post-doctoral working experience in a reputable research and/or research training environment;
2. Have a good knowledge of CODESRIA, its institutional mandate and programme strategy;
3. Possess a demonstrable ability to mobilise and promote the work of African researchers;
4. Be familiar with the African social research environment and be recognised by the African social research community;
5. Have a first hand knowledge of the African higher education system in general and the African university context in particular;
6. Have a strong personal track-record of research;
7. Have a good grasp of trends in international social science research and programming;
8. Have proven experience of institution and programmemanagementin an academic environment;
9. Be experienced in fund-raising, resource management and the preparation of reports for funding partners;
10. Have a distinguished record of publications;
11. Have demonstrable skills in the leadership and management of personnel in a diversified, multi-cultural environment; and
12. Be fluent in English, French or Portuguese and have a good working knowledge of at least one of the other languages.

Working Conditions

The salary level that will be offered will depend on the successful applicant's experience and qualifications, and will be broadly comparable to those of similar posts in other international organisations.

Additional Information

More information about CODESRIA can be obtained from the Council's website: www.codesria.org. It is CODESRIA policy to reflect the disciplinary, gender, generational and linguistic diversity of the African social science community in its structures. In this connection, female candidates meeting the required qualifications are especially encouraged to send in their applications for consideration for this position.

How to Apply

All applicants wishing to be considered for this position are required to supply the following documents:

1. An application letter;
2. A detailed CV describing the candidate's professional experience;
3. Three reference letters, two of which must come from people living in African countries other than the applicant's country of residence; and
4. Four of the candidate's recent publications, three of which must be single-authored
5. Copies of relevant academic certificates

The application documents should be sent through the submission portal available at <https://submission.codesria.org/executive-secretary-re-advertisement>. **PLEASE NOTE THAT ONLY APPLICATIONS RECEIVED VIA THIS LINK WILL BE CONSIDERED.** The reference letters in support of the applicants **MUST** be sent separately by the referees to the official email: executive.secretary@codesria.org with the subject line **"Confidential Reference"**. Both the application letters and the reference letters should be addressed to:

**The President,
CODESRIA,
Av. Cheikh Anta Diop x Canal IV,
BP 3304, CP 18524,
Dakar / SENEGAL**

Closing Date

All applications, including reference letters, must be received by **Friday, 14th February 2025**. Any application received after this date will not be considered.

NOTE: Persons whose applications have already been submitted DO NOT need to apply again.

AVIS DE VACANCE DE POSTE

Rediffusion du Poste de Secrétaire Exécutif

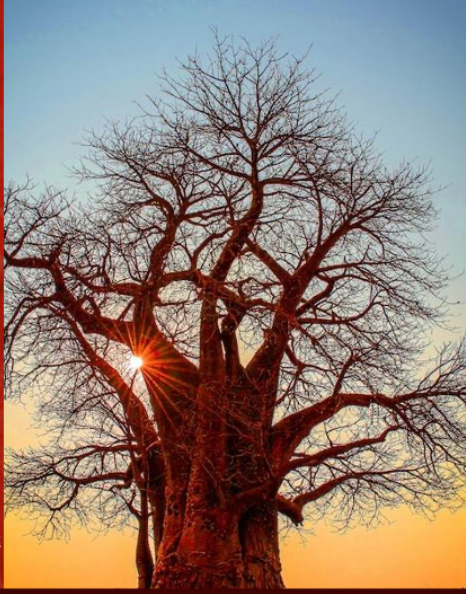
**Rediffusion**

Avis de vacance de poste
Secrétaire exécutif

Le Conseil pour le développement de la recherche en sciences sociales en Afrique (CODESRIA), sollicite les candidatures de chercheurs africains en sciences sociales afin de pourvoir au poste de Secrétaire exécutif au sein de son Secrétariat panafricain basé à Dakar, Sénégal. Ce poste, qui sera vacant en 2025, est le plus élevé du Secrétariat et le/la candidat(e) sélectionné(e) dirigera une équipe d'Administrateurs de programmes de haut niveau sous la supervision générale du Comité Exécutif du Conseil.

Lieu d'affectation: **Dakar, Senegal**
Portail de soumission: <https://submission.codesria.org/executive-secretary-re-advertisement>
Date limite pour postuler: **14 février 2025**

Visitez <https://codesria.org> pour en savoir plus >>



Les femmes sont particulièrement encouragées à postuler

Le Conseil pour le développement de la recherche en sciences sociales en Afrique (CODESRIA), sollicite les candidatures de chercheurs africains en sciences sociales afin de pourvoir au poste de Secrétaire exécutif au sein de son Secrétariat panafricain basé à Dakar, Sénégal. Ce poste, qui sera vacant en 2025, est le plus élevé du Secrétariat et le candidat sélectionné dirigera une équipe d'Administrateurs de programmes de haut niveau sous la supervision générale du Comité Exécutif du Conseil.

Établi en 1973, institution pionnière, indépendante et panafricaine à but non lucratif au service du développement des sciences sociales en Afrique, le CODESRIA est aujourd'hui reconnu comme le premier centre de production et de dissémination de connaissances scientifiques multidisciplinaires sur le continent. Le poste de secrétaire exécutif est un poste clé à la fois dans la mise en œuvre du mandat programmatique du Conseil et dans la réalisation des objectifs stratégiques institutionnels définis par l'Assemblée générale triennale des membres. Le candidat sélectionné devra :

- être responsable, au nom du Comité Exécutif, de la gestion quotidienne du Conseil en respectant un standard des plus élevés de professionnalisme ;
- diriger le Secrétariat dans la mise en œuvre du programme scientifique et de l'agenda intellectuel du Conseil ;
- assurer le secrétariat de l'Assemblée générale, du Comité Exécutif et du Comité Scientifique ;
- Être responsable du développement et de la mise en œuvre de la stratégie de collecte de fonds du Conseil ;
- négocier et signer tous les contrats au nom du Conseil ;
- représenter le CODESRIA ;
- gérer les relations existantes entre le CODESRIA et les partenaires financiers et en augmenter le nombre afin de financer l'agenda intellectuel et le plan stratégique du Conseil ;
- coordonner la production de rapports techniques et financiers destinés aux partenaires financiers du Conseil ;
- coordonner la mobilisation des membres du Conseil et développer un système de « comptes-rendus » aux membres ;
- Élargir la base institutionnelle des membres et mettre en place un système de compte rendu aux membres ;
- Mobiliser les membres du Conseil afin qu'ils participent à ses programmes d'activités ;
- recruter et gérer le personnel nécessaire à la mise en œuvre du programme d'activités du Conseil ;
- Jouer un rôle de premier plan dans le développement de nouveaux programmes et activités, ainsi

que dans la mobilisation de chercheurs à travers l'Afrique pour qu'ils participent conformément aux règles et à la stratégie institutionnelles existantes."

- mener le développement de nouveaux programmes et activités et mobiliser les chercheurs africains à y participer en accord avec les règles du Conseil ;
- gérer les relations avec d'autres organisations dans l'intérêt du CODESRIA ;
- promouvoir les contacts avec les chercheurs, les organisations professionnelles et régionales en Afrique, dans le Sud et dans le reste du monde ; et
- diriger la réalisation de la mission scientifique et le mandat du Conseil.

Qualifications

Les candidats doivent :

1. avoir une solide formation universitaire et une expérience postdoctorale d'au moins dix ans dans le milieu de la recherche et/ou de la recherche-formation ;
2. bien connaître le CODESRIA, son mandat et sa stratégie institutionnels ;
3. Avoir une capacité démontrable de mobilisation et de promotion des chercheurs africains ;
4. bien connaître la communauté scientifique africaine, et être connu(e) de celle-ci ;
5. avoir une bonne connaissance du système d'enseignement supérieur africain et du contexte universitaire africain en particulier ;
6. avoir un solide dossier de recherches personnelles ;
7. avoir de bonnes connaissances des tendances dans la recherche et les programmes de recherche en sciences sociales ;
8. avoir des capacités démontrables de gestion d'institutions et de programmes dans un environnement académique ;
9. avoir de l'expérience dans la collecte de fonds, la gestion des ressources et la préparation de rapports pour les partenaires financiers ;
10. avoir un dossier remarquable de publications ;
11. avoir des capacités démontrables de gestion de personnel dans un environnement multiculturel, diversifié ; et
12. parler couramment le français, l'anglais ou le portugais et avoir de bonnes connaissances suffisantes dans l'une des autres langues.

Conditions de travail

Le salaire offert pour ce poste sera fonction de l'expérience et des compétences du candidat élu, et sera comparable à ceux offerts pour des postes similaires dans d'autres institutions internationales.

Informations additionnelles

Plus d'informations sur le CODESRIA peuvent être obtenues sur le site web du Conseil : <http://www.codesria.org>. La politique du CODESRIA est de refléter la diversité disciplinaire, linguistique et de genre de la communauté africaine des sciences sociales dans ses structures. Par conséquent, les candidatures féminines qualifiées sont spécialement encouragées pour ce poste.

Comment postuler :

Les dossiers de candidatures comporteront les éléments suivants :

1. Une lettre de motivation
2. Un CV détaillé, décrivant l'expérience professionnelle du candidat ;
3. Trois lettres de référence, dont deux devant provenir de personnes vivant en Afrique, mais ailleurs que dans le pays de résidence du candidat ;
4. Quatre des dernières publications récentes du candidat dont trois doivent être d'un seul auteur.
5. Copies des diplômes universitaires

Les dossiers de candidatures doivent être soumis via le portail de soumission disponible sur le lien suivant : <https://submission.codesria.org/executive-secretary-re-advertisement>. **VEUILLEZ NOTER QUE SEULES LES CANDIDATURES SOUMISES A TRAVERS CE LIEN SERONT PRISES EN COMPTE.** Les lettres de référence en complément de dossier doivent être soumises séparément par les personnes de référence à l'adresse officielle suivante executive.secretary@codesria.org et devront comporter en objet les mots « Référence Confidentielle ». Les dossiers de candidatures ainsi que les lettres de référence devront être adressées à :

la Présidente

CODESRIA

Av. Cheikh Anta Diop x Canal IV

BP. : 3304, CP : 18524

Dakar, Sénégal

Date limite :

Toutes les candidatures, ainsi que les lettres de référence doivent être reçues au Conseil au plus tard le **vendredi 14 février 2025**. Toute candidature reçue après cette date ne sera pas considérée.

NOTE : Les candidats ayant déjà soumis leur dossier de candidatures n'ont pas besoin de postuler de nouveau.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN AFRICA

Revisiting the Kampala Declaration

CONFERENCE CALL FOR PAPERS

Venue: University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Date: 29 April – 2 May 2025

Concept Note

In November 1990, CODESRIA organised a landmark conference in Kampala, Uganda, where the [Kampala Declaration](#) on Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility was adopted. Coming just a few months after the [Dar es Salaam Declaration](#) on Academic Freedom and Social Responsibility of Academics, the Kampala Declaration provides a broad pan-African framework for the protection of intellectual and academic freedom on the continent. The Dar es Salaam and Kampala declarations were historic responses to new trends in society in general but specifically in the higher education sector.

The failure of ‘developmentalism’, the imposition of Structural Adjustment Programmes and the consequences thereof in the education sector in the 1980s, and the subsequent onset of neoliberal practices in higher education, promoted a deprofessionalisation of academic practices. This, in turn, catalysed the enactment of the declarations. Thirty-five years later, shifts have occurred in the intellectual realm globally. In Africa, these have been driven largely by a neoliberal agenda that most significantly has reorganised the conditions of academic labour and significantly reshaped how academic and intellectual freedoms are understood and monitored. This has consequently attenuated the role of higher education in anchoring popular struggles for public benefit.

Many have recently identified a discernible decline in the protection of academic and intellectual freedoms across the continent. We are witnessing once again an unprecedented proliferation of new threats and, in the space of higher education in particular, active subversion of academic freedom and institutional autonomy both by the state and by academics themselves.

Most of these new threats emanate from the deepening of neoliberal cultures in society and the institutions, driven, in part, by a worsening economic crisis that has eroded the material conditions of intellectuals, including university workers and students. Furthermore, recent evidence shows a decline in the protection of academic and intellectual freedom in regions once known for upholding these principles, highlighting the urgent need for a renewed drive to safeguard these freedoms on the continent as part of our contribution to their global preservation.

In addition, higher education in Africa has transformed immensely since the 1990s. New private institutions, with new intellectual and academic cultures, have been established and grown in number. There have been reconfigurations in university governance structures and their relation to the state and society; major curriculum reform, including shifts in the modes of delivery; evolving student and faculty demographics; an expanding influence of new technologies in university management; shifts in associational life that affect various issues in the university including, most importantly, student welfare and organising; expanding demands on university infrastructure that affect the learning environment while also intensifying gendered effects and affecting minority groups and persons living with disabilities; and the erosion of the resource base of the university in a neoliberal context that treats education as a private investment only valuable if it yields returns.

Equally significant is the trend towards internationalisation in the African university, marked by the growing influence of external players within the academy and the seductive participation in various rankings that confer different forms of visibility and legitimacy to university managers but without necessarily deepening the intellectual cultures.

These developments, including those associated with a Covid-19 dynamic, demand a fresh review of higher education dynamics in Africa and a reinforcement of the guardrails for intellectual and academic freedom. Revisiting existing instruments for the protection of intellectual freedom, such as the Kampala Declaration, assessing their efficacy and establishing new mechanisms to monitor the status of these freedoms in Africa is important.

A preliminary [review](#) of the Dar es Salaam and Kampala declarations, for instance, concluded that there is a need to 're-popularise the two declarations as instruments of relevance to the contemporary struggles over academic freedom that affect the African intelligentsia today'. In this review, specific attention was paid to gaps that have emerged from weaknesses in the original draft of the declarations as well as from more recent developments in the sector. These gaps call for a rethinking and revision of the declarations, not only regarding the higher education sector but also in relation to how the state and economy function to frame and reframe the question of academic and intellectual freedom today.

The Council plans to convene a conference on academic and intellectual freedom in Africa in 2025, with the review of the Kampala Declaration as an entry point. The conference will seek to reconceptualise the idea of academic and intellectual freedom as a human right underpinned by social justice imperatives. It will mobilise thinking that situates academic and intellectual freedom within the broad societal context, emphasising academia's key role in achieving a transformative and developmental mandate. This commitment to a transformative agenda will reaffirm the dual mandate of the declaration, which highlights both the rights and responsibilities of the intellectual.

It is anticipated that the conference, along with its outcome documents and commitments, will create a platform for a continental framework that provides a shared set of values, guidelines and priorities for achieving, securing and preserving academic and intellectual freedom. This common framing is particularly important within the African continent, which has significantly lagged in achieving individual freedoms and institutional autonomy amid a global context of declining freedoms.

It is not lost on the Council that the conference is convened at a time when, globally, there is growing demand for decolonising/decolonial knowledge; where

the persisting tension between divergent notions of knowledge and knowing has encouraged interest in indigenous and endogenous knowledge; and where a shrinking resource base does not prioritise the link of research to development.

Indeed, the knowledge production sector in Africa is grappling with issues of inclusivity and exclusion, significant questions about the place of indigenous science, of local knowledge workers and bearers whose interventions are excluded from the academy on technicalities, and who therefore cannot enjoy the intellectual freedom conferred to only those in the ivory tower. Are indigenous knowledge institutions spaces worthy of the protections of institutional autonomy? All these are important issues for the conference to reflect upon.

The conference aims bring to together key actors in the African higher education sector to reflect on a range of thematic issues linked to academic/intellectual freedom. It will also provide a platform for networking various actors and shape the Council's perspectives in this area. The key themes include, but are not restricted to, the following: -

1. Academic or Intellectual Freedom?
2. Rethinking Academic Freedom in Africa in the Context of Multipolarity
 - a) Academic freedom: then and now
 - b) Academic freedom and university governance
 - i. The role of students in university governance
 - ii. The role of academic staff in university governance
 - iii. The role of faculty in university governance
 - c) Academic freedom: a decade after the African Higher Education Summit
 - d) University autonomy and accountability
3. The State and Academic/Intellectual Freedoms
4. Higher Education and Academic Freedom
 - a) The transformation imperative?
 - b) Privatisation of higher education
 - c) Changing demographics and associational life in the university
 - d) A civil society agenda for African higher education
 - e) The student movement and academic freedom

5. The University in a Neoliberal Context
 - a) The question of intellectual labour and staff unionisation
 - b) The student as client / commodification of education / knowledge
 - c) The academy and neomanagerialism,
 - d) Institutional and academic integrity and the responsibility of the intellectual
 - e) The African government, STEM or SSH: a sterile debate?
6. Intellectual and Academic Freedom in a New Technological Context
 - a) AI and intellectual responsibility
 - b) ICT, curriculum reform and new modes of delivery
7. Academic Freedom: The Diversity and Inclusion Question
 - a) Breaking the glass ceiling
 - b) Gender and sexuality
 - c) University and the disability question
 - d) Sociocultural, religious and ethnic considerations in academia
8. Resourcing the African University
 - a) Internal dynamics of resource allocation
 - b) The donor / funder as a stakeholder?
 - c) The cost-sharing imperative
 - d) Intersecting interests in financing higher education
9. Intellectual Freedom: a Pan-African Agenda?
 - a) Mainstreaming African epistemologies, ontologies and methodologies
 - b) Dilemmas of publishing in Africa as issues of intellectual freedom
 - c) The academic, professional growth and publishing
 - d) Intellectual freedom and universal struggles for social justice
10. Indigenous Knowledge Systems in a Decolonial Moment

CODESRIA invites applicants to submit papers on any of the above themes for consideration in the conference programme. The conference will take place from **29 April to 2 May 2025 at the University of Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.**

Persons interested in submitting complete papers to be presented at the conference are invited to submit them not later than **10 January 2025**. Authors of accepted papers will be notified by **28 February 2025**. All submitted papers should be between 5,000 and 7,000 words in length (including the abstract and references), using CODESRIA's author's guide ([CODESRIA Guide for Authors – CODESRIA](#)).

Papers should be submitted through the CODESRIA website using the following link <https://submission.codesria.org>. **Papers submitted after the deadline or those that exceed the word limit will not be considered.** The Council will fully support authors of invited papers with a return economy class ticket, accommodation and a modest per diem. Further details on this will be provided to successful applicants.

Inquiries may be sent to the CODESRIA Secretariat at tgf@codesria.org

LA LIBERTÉ ACADÉMIQUE EN AFRIQUE

Réviser la Déclaration de Kampala

CONFÉRENCE : APPEL À COMMUNICATIONS

Lieu : Université de Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salam, Tanzanie

Date : 29 avril – 2 Mai 2025

Note conceptuelle

En novembre 1990 le Codesria organisa une conférence de référence à Kampala, en Ouganda, où la Déclaration de Kampala sur la liberté intellectuelle et la responsabilité sociale fut adoptée. Quelques mois seulement après la Déclaration de Dar es Salaam sur la liberté académique et la responsabilité sociale des universitaires, la Déclaration de Kampala apporta un large cadre panafricain pour la protection de la liberté intellectuelle et académique sur le continent. Les déclarations de Dar es Salaam et de Kampala furent des réponses historiques aux tendances nouvelles au sein de l'ensemble de la société, mais touchant spécifiquement le secteur de l'enseignement supérieur.

L'échec du «développementalisme», l'imposition de programmes d'ajustement structurel et les conséquences qui en découlèrent dans le secteur de l'éducation dans les années 1980, et le démarrage consécutif des pratiques néolibérales dans l'enseignement supérieur, promurent une déprofessionnalisation des pratiques académiques. Cela, à son tour, catalysa la promulgation des deux déclarations. Trente-cinq ans plus tard, des changements sont intervenus dans le domaine intellectuel à l'échelle mondiale. Ils ont été largement entraînés, en Afrique, par un agenda néolibéral qui a particulièrement réorganisé les conditions de travail des universitaires et remodelé significativement la façon dont les libertés académiques et intellectuelles sont comprises et observées. Cela a atténué en conséquence le rôle de l'enseignement supérieur dans l'ancrage des luttes populaires pour l'intérêt général.

Récemment, plusieurs observateurs ont signalé un déclin visible de la protection des libertés académiques et intellectuelles à travers le continent. Nous sommes

témoins une fois de plus d'une prolifération sans précédent de nouvelles menaces et, dans l'espace de l'enseignement supérieur en particulier, d'une subversion active de la liberté académique et de l'autonomie institutionnelle à la fois par l'État et par les universitaires eux-mêmes.

Ces nouvelles menaces émanent pour la plupart de l'approfondissement des cultures néolibérales dans la société et les institutions, sous l'effet, en partie d'une crise économique aggravée qui a érodé les conditions matérielles des intellectuels, y compris les travailleurs de l'université et les étudiants. En outre, de récentes preuves montrent un déclin de la protection de la liberté académique et intellectuelle dans des régions autrefois connues pour leur défense de ces principes, soulignant le besoin urgent d'un nouvel élan pour sauvegarder ces libertés sur le continent dans le cadre de notre contribution à leur préservation mondiale.

De plus, l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique s'est immensément transformé depuis les années 1990. De nouvelles institutions privées, dotées de nouvelles cultures intellectuelles et académiques, ont été créées et se sont multipliées. Il y a eu des reconfigurations des structures de gouvernance des universités et de leurs relations avec l'État et la société : une réforme majeure des programmes d'études, y compris au sein des modes de transmission ; une évolution de la démographie des étudiants et des enseignants ; une influence croissante des nouvelles technologies dans la gestion des universités ; des changements dans la vie associative qui affectent diverses questions au cœur de l'université, en particulier le bien-être et l'organisation des étudiants ; des exigences croissantes face à des infrastructures universitaires qui affectent l'environnement d'apprentissage, tout en intensifiant

les effets de genre et en affectant les groupes minoritaires et les personnes vivant avec un handicap ; et l'érosion de la base de ressources de l'université dans un contexte néolibéral qui traite l'éducation comme un investissement privé qui n'a de valeur que s'il produit des bénéfices.

Tout aussi significative est la tendance à l'internationalisation dans l'université africaine, marquée par la montée en puissance d'acteurs externes au sein de l'académie et la participation séduisante à divers classements qui confèrent différentes formes de visibilité et de légitimité aux gestionnaires d'universités, sans pour autant approfondir les cultures intellectuelles.

Ces évolutions, notamment celles associées à une dynamique de Covid-19, appellent un examen renouvelé de la dynamique de l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique et un renforcement des garde-fous de la liberté intellectuelle et académique. Il importe de revisiter les instruments existants de protection de la liberté intellectuelle, tels que la Déclaration de Kampala, en évaluant leur efficacité et en établissant de nouveaux mécanismes pour observer l'état de ces libertés en Afrique.

Une étude préliminaire sur les Déclarations de Dar es-Salaam et de Kampala, par exemple, a conclu à la nécessité de «repopulariser les deux déclarations en tant qu'instruments utiles aux luttes contemporaines pour la liberté académique qui agitent l'intelligentsia africaine aujourd'hui». Dans cette étude, une attention particulière a été portée aux carences qui ont émergé aussi bien des faiblesses du projet original des Déclarations que des évolutions plus récentes dans le secteur. Ces lacunes appellent à repenser et à réviser les Déclarations non seulement en ce qui a trait au secteur de l'enseignement supérieur, mais aussi par rapport au mode de fonctionnement de l'État et de l'économie, afin d'encadrer et de recadrer la question de la liberté académique et intellectuelle.

Le Conseil prévoit d'organiser une conférence sur les libertés académiques et intellectuelles en Afrique en 2025, avec comme point de départ la révision de la déclaration de Kampala. La conférence cherchera à reconceptualiser l'idée de la liberté académique et intellectuelle en tant que droit de l'homme sous-tendu par des impératifs de justice sociale. Elle mobilisera une réflexion qui situera la liberté académique et intellectuelle dans le contexte sociétal général, en soulignant le rôle clé de l'université dans la réalisation

d'un mandat de transformation et de développement. Cet engagement en faveur d'un programme de transformation réaffirmera le double mandat de la déclaration, qui souligne à la fois les droits de l'intellectuel et ses responsabilités.

Il est prévu que la conférence, ainsi que ses documents finaux et ses engagements, permettent la création d'une plateforme pour un cadre continental qui fournisse un ensemble commun de valeurs, de lignes directrices et de priorités pour atteindre, garantir et préserver la liberté académique et intellectuelle. Ce cadre commun est particulièrement important sur le continent africain, qui accuse un retard considérable dans la réalisation des libertés individuelles et de l'autonomie institutionnelle dans un contexte mondial de déclin des libertés.

Le Conseil ne perd pas de vue que la conférence est convoquée à un moment où, au niveau mondial, il existe une demande croissante de connaissances décolonisantes/décoloniales, où la tension persistante entre des notions divergentes du savoir et de la connaissance a encouragé l'intérêt pour les connaissances indigènes et endogènes ; et où des ressources en baisse ne donnent pas la priorité au lien de la recherche avec le développement.

En effet, le secteur de la production de connaissances en Afrique est aux prises avec des problèmes d'inclusivité et d'exclusion, avec des questions significatives sur la place de la science indigène, des travailleurs et des porteurs locaux de la connaissance, dont les interventions sont, pour des raisons techniques, exclues de l'académie et qui ne peuvent donc pas profiter de la liberté intellectuelle conférée uniquement à ceux qui vivent dans une tour d'ivoire. Les espaces des institutions locales de savoir sont-ils dignes de la protection de l'autonomie institutionnelle ? Autant de questions importantes sur lesquelles la conférence devra se pencher.

La conférence a pour but de réunir les principaux acteurs du secteur de l'enseignement supérieur africain pour une réflexion sur des questions thématiques liées à la liberté académique/intellectuelle. Elle offrira une plateforme de mise en réseau de divers acteurs et orientera les perspectives du Conseil dans ce domaine. Les thèmes clés sont principalement les suivants :

- 1) Liberté académique ou liberté intellectuelle ?
- 2) Repenser la liberté académique en Afrique dans le contexte de multipolarité
 - a) Liberté académique : hier et aujourd'hui.

- b) Liberté académique et gouvernance universitaire.
 - i. Rôle des étudiants dans la gouvernance universitaire.
 - ii. Rôle du personnel académique dans la gouvernance universitaire.
 - iii. Rôle du corps enseignant dans la gouvernance universitaire.
 - c) Liberté académique : une décennie après le Sommet sur l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique
 - d) Autonomie et responsabilité des universités
- 3) L'État et les libertés académiques/intellectuelles
- 4) Enseignement supérieur et liberté académique
- a) Impératif de transformation ?
 - b) Privatisation de l'enseignement supérieur
 - c) Évolution démographique et vie associative à l'université
 - d) Programme de la société civile pour l'enseignement supérieur africain
 - e) Mouvements estudiantins et liberté académique
- 5) L'université dans un contexte néolibéral
- a) La question du travail intellectuel et de la syndicalisation du personnel.
 - b) Les étudiants comme clients/marchandisation de l'éducation/du savoir
 - c) Académie et néo-managérialisme
 - d) Intégrité institutionnelle et académique et responsabilité de l'intellectuel
 - e) gouvernements africains, STEM ou SSH : un débat stérile ?
- 6) Liberté intellectuelle et académique dans un nouveau contexte technologique
- a) IA et responsabilité intellectuelle
 - b) TIC, réforme des programmes et nouveaux modes de fourniture
- 7) Liberté académique : la question de la diversité et de l'inclusion
- a) Briser le plafond de verre
 - b) Genre et sexualité
 - c) L'université et la question du handicap
 - d) Considérations socioculturelles, religieuses et ethniques dans le monde universitaire
- 8) Ressources pour l'université africaine
- a) Dynamique interne de l'allocation des ressources
 - b) Le donateur/bailleur de fonds partie prenante ?
 - c) L'impératif du partage des coûts
 - d) Rencontre d'intérêts dans le financement de l'enseignement supérieur
- 9) La liberté intellectuelle : un agenda panafricain ?
- a) Intégration des épistémologies, ontologies et méthodologies africaines.
 - b) Les dilemmes de l'édition en Afrique en tant que questions de liberté intellectuelle
 - c) Croissance académique, professionnelle et édition
 - d) Liberté intellectuelle et luttes universelles pour la justice sociale.
- 10) Les systèmes de connaissances autochtones à l'heure de la décolonisation

Le Codesria invite à la soumission d'articles sur l'un des thèmes ci-dessus. **La conférence aura lieu du 29 avril au 2 mai 2025 à l'université de Dar es Salaam, Dar es Salaam, Tanzanie.**

Les personnes intéressées sont invitées à soumettre des articles complets pour présentation à la conférence au plus tard le 10 janvier 2025. Les auteurs d'articles acceptés seront informés avant le 28 février 2025. Tous les articles soumis devront comporter entre 5 000 et 7 000 mots (résumé et références compris), et utiliser le *Guide de l'auteur du Codesria (CODESRIA Guide for Authors – CODESRIA)*.

Les articles seront soumis via le site Web du Codesria en utilisant le lien suivant <https://submission.codesria.org>

Les articles soumis après la date limite ou qui comporteront plus que le nombre de mots indiqué ne seront pas pris en compte. Le Conseil soutiendra les auteurs d'articles invités en leur offrant un billet aller-retour en classe économique, un hébergement et une modeste indemnité journalière. De plus amples détails à ce sujet seront communiqués aux candidats retenus.

Les demandes de renseignements peuvent être adressées au secrétariat du Codesria à l'adresse tgf@codesria.org

Tributes // Hommages

Tribute to Professor Lansana Keita

On June 5th 2024, the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) received the news of the passing on of Prof. Lansana Keita.

Prof. Keita's intellectual contributions were profound and far-reaching, leaving an indelible mark in the fields of philosophy and economic history. His work has been a cherished part of CODESRIA's programming and history, enriching our scholarly community in countless ways. His last publication with CODESRIA titled "Eurocentrism and the Contemporary Social Sciences" was published in *Africa Development*, Volume 45, No. 2, 2020 (<https://doi.org/10.57054/ad.v45i2.641>). The article is set to be republished in a forthcoming book edited by Wanjala S. Nasong'o and Eka Ikpe titled *Beyond Disciplines: African Perspectives on Theory and Method*. In total, Prof. Keita contributed at least 11 articles to CODESRIA's premier social science journal, *Africa Development*. He was also very creative in his engagement, including conducting interviews with well-known luminaries in his area of work. For instance, the ar-

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Dakar, Senegal

title "The Economic Situation in Contemporary Africa" by Patrick Bond and Demba Moussa Dembele published in *Africa Development* Vol. 37, No. 4, 2012 is a comment on questions he posed.

Prof. Keita's extensive record of writing extended to CODESRIA's Bulletin and book series. He was the editor of the book *Philosophy and African Development: Theory and Practice* (CODESRIA, 2011) a book that documents an unwavering dedication to advancing knowledge and scholarship in the social sciences. Is it any wonder then that his last article in *Africa Development* was Eurocentrism and the Contemporary Social Sciences.

Prof. Keita's earned his PhD in Economics and Philosophy from Columbia University. He subsequently taught at universities in Africa and the USA including Kwara State University where he was Professor of Economics and Phi-

losophy, University of the Gambia, University of Arizona, University of Ibadan, and Howard University, among many others.

Beyond his scholarly pursuits, Prof. Keita was celebrated for his mentorship and commitment to fostering intellectual exchange and scholarly collaboration. His contributions to CODESRIA and the broader academic community were characterized by a deep commitment to nurturing the next generation of scholars and promoting rigorous, interdisciplinary research. Indeed, he served as an editor to CODESRIA publications, and a resource person in the 2008 and 2009 Gender Institutes. During these Institutes, Professor Keita remained as instrumental as always in advancing critical research and dialogue. CODESRIA has memorialized his contribution by dedicating the book *Beyond Disciplines* to his memory.

To his family, friends, loved ones, and colleagues, we extend our deepest condolences during this time of grief. May you find solace in the memories of Prof. Keita's life and in the mark he leaves behind.

Hommage au Professor Lansana Keita

Le 5 juin 2024, le Conseil pour le développement de la recherche en sciences sociales en Afrique (CODESRIA) a reçu la nouvelle du décès du Professeur Lansana Keita.

Les contributions intellectuelles du Professeur Keita sont profondes et de grande portée. Elles laissent une marque indélébile dans les domaines de la philosophie et de l'histoire économique. Son travail a, de multiples manières, enrichi notre communauté scientifique et a été un précieux élément des programmes et de l'histoire du CODESRIA. Sa dernière publication avec le CODESRIA est intitulée « Eurocentrisme et sciences sociales contemporaines » et est parue dans *Afrique & Développement*, Volume 45, No. 2, 2020 (<https://doi.org/10.57054/ad.v45i2.641>). L'article devrait être publié à nouveau dans un prochain ouvrage édité par Wanjala S. Nasong'o et Eka Ikpe intitulé *Beyond Disciplines: African Perspectives on Theory and Method*. Le professeur Keita a contribué à près de 11 articles dans *Afrique & Développement*, la principale revue de sciences sociales du CODESRIA. Il a également fait preuve d'une grande créativité dans son engagement, notamment en menant des entretiens avec de grands noms de son domaine de

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Dakar, Sénégal

travail. Par exemple, l'article « La situation économique en Afrique contemporaine » de Patrick Bond et Demba Moussa Dembele publié dans *Afrique & Développement* Vol. 37, No. 4, 2012 est un commentaire sur les questions qu'il a soulevées.

Le professeur Keita est l'auteur de nombreuses publications, notamment d'articles dans le *Bulletin* et la Série de livres du CODESRIA. Il est l'éditeur du livre *Philosophy and African Development: Theory and Practice* (CODESRIA, 2011), un ouvrage qui témoigne d'un dévouement indéfectible à l'avancement des connaissances et des études en sciences sociales. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que l'article *Eurocentrism and the Contemporary Social Sciences* soit le dernier qu'il a publié dans *Afrique & Développement*.

Le professeur Keita a obtenu son doctorat en économie et en philosophie à l'université de Columbia. Il a ensuite enseigné dans des universités en Afrique et aux États-Unis, notamment l'Université d'État de Kwara, en

tant que professeur d'économie et de philosophie, l'Université de Gambie, l'Université d'Arizona, l'Université d'Ibadan et l'Université Howard, entre autres.

Au-delà de ses activités universitaires, le professeur Keita est reconnu pour son mentorat et son engagement en faveur des échanges intellectuels et de la collaboration scientifique. Ses contributions au CODESRIA et à la communauté universitaire en général sont caractérisées par une profonde implication dans l'émergence de la prochaine génération de chercheurs et la promotion d'une recherche rigoureuse et interdisciplinaire. Il a, en effet, édité des publications du CODESRIA, et a servi comme personne-ressource des Instituts sur le genre de 2008 et 2009. Au cours de ces Instituts, le professeur Keita est demeuré déterminant dans son engagement pour la promotion de la recherche critique et du dialogue. Le CODESRIA a commémoré sa contribution en lui dédiant l'ouvrage *Beyond Disciplines*.

À sa famille, à ses amis, à ses proches et à ses collègues, nous adressons nos plus sincères condoléances. Que les souvenirs de la vie du Professeur Keita et l'empreinte qu'il laisse vous apportent réconfort.

Philosophy and African Development Theory and Practice

Edited by
Lansana Keita



CODESRIA Book Series

Philosophy and African Development Theory and Practice

Edited by Lansana Keita

Philosophy and African Development: Theory and Practice appraises development in a holistic manner. It goes beyond the usual measurement in terms of economic achievement and widens the scope to include the impact that history of ideas, political theory, sociology, social and political philosophy, and political economy have had on development in Africa. It is a departure from the traditional treatment of development by economists who point towards the so-called time-tested assertions and recommendations for 'sustainable development', but which are yet bring about significant change in the economies of the so-called 'developing' societies. It is on account of the failures of the economic development theory, with its tepid prescriptions for 'sustainable development' and 'poverty reduction' that theories of development have now been expanded from mere economic analysis to include considerations of history, sociology, political economy and anthropology, as could be discovered in this book.

Most of the contributions in this book have been prepared by philosophers across Africa and the United States who implicitly practise their discipline as one whose most effective modern function would be to appraise the human experience in all its dimensions from the standpoints of modern social and natural sciences, all disciplinary offspring of philosophy itself. With chapters ranging from issues of modernity and religious interpretations, the human right to development, the idea of 'African time', the primacy of mental decolonisation, and the type of education we are offering in Africa today and as a tool for development, to development planning, science, technology and globalisation, as well as issues of post-coloniality among others, the tenor of the contributions is not only proportional, but also engaged in the meta-analysis of the theories on which the concept of development is founded and practised.

This book is strongly recommended as a useful text in the hands of scholars, researchers and students of development studies. It approaches the important issue of African development from the broad perspective of the social sciences in general, and buttresses this with the keen analytical approach of its contributors.

Lansana Keita is Associate Professor of Economics and Philosophy at the University of the Gambia. His publications include *Science, Rationality and Neoclassical Economics* (1992) and *Philosophy and Development* (2004).

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Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow: Humanist



Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow passed away at the age of 103, leaving behind a legacy defined by his desire for a just and equitable world. He will be remembered for his commitments to knowledge and multilateralism, and to diplomacy as both a condition of freedom and a necessary instrument of a better future. First as Minister of Education in Senegal and then as Director-General of UNESCO, M'Bow championed causes and laid agendas for the twentieth century. These included the necessity for human connection through access to the means of information and related technologies; the relatability of the universal to the collective human heritage; and the restitution to Africa of its history and its recognition as an essential component of the human trajectory. Underneath it all, M'Bow had an unwavering attachment to a humanistic ethos of solicitousness, engagement, inclusion and respect for the other.

Today, the term 'visionary leadership' is often overused. However, few twentieth-century figures em-

body it as fully as A-M M'Bow. His life followed an extraordinary trajectory, shaped by an early understanding that he was part of something far greater than himself. He came of age in an era when idealism was not the object of

scorn it often is today. The world had emerged from two successive world wars, instigated by those who professed to possess the

Amy Niang

Head of Research Programme
CODESRIA

means for human salvation. These so-called saviors were subjugating vast colonial populations, all while proclaiming themselves champions of freedom. The two world wars revealed the irony of the pretence that the world contained knowing masters and unknowing subjects. To extricate themselves from the associated dilemmas, individuals, peoples, and both established and emerging states – especially those who had long wielded power pledged themselves to a new world order: one that aspired to universality, justice, and equity.

For some former 'masters of the world', this professed commitment was often an exercise in cynicism,

designed to maintain their ascendancy over others in new guises. But for the likes of M'Bow, the new world offered new possibilities to be defended, protected and nurtured. His lifelong mission became to ensure that the voices, knowledge and contributions of marginalised and developing nations were recognised, preserved and allowed to flourish on the global stage. This was grounded in the belief that human potential and creativity are universally distributed and no single nation or group holds a monopoly on knowledge. His ethos was deeply humanistic.

A Prolific Career

Many wonder how a figure like M'Bow could emerge in the context of colonial and postcolonial Africa. What informed his encyclopedic knowledge, his worldliness and his incisive understanding of historical stakes? M'Bow was not only a scholar and teacher but also a civil servant, a war veteran and a trainee pilot. He fought in World War II in France and North Africa and served in the French air force, where he was involved with the Free French Forces.

M'Bow was a political actor who was active in anticolonial movements and in the postcolonial history of Senegal. He held several positions in Senegal, including serving twice as minister of education. He also served as President of the Pan-African Archaeological

Association from 1967 to 1971. M'bow was the founder of the famous Federation of African Students in France, which was very active in the anticolonial struggle. M'Bow was the last standing pillar of the triumvirate that co-founded the PRA (Parti du regroupement africain), which included his lifelong companions Abdoulaye Ly and Assane Seck. He resisted political intoxication and cooptation and he did not succumb to the allure of power.

M'Bow's last public engagement was to chair the Assises nationales du Sénégal – Senegal's national dialogue – as well as the Commission on the reform of Senegal's institutions. In 2008, at the age of eighty-seven, he agreed to preside over the initiative led by the Siggil Senegal Front, which for nearly a year brought together the main parties in opposition to President Abdoulaye Wade's government and dozens of various organisations across the whole country. M'Bow commanded the moral authority and the wisdom to mediate a strained process that was meant to generate propositions for an alternative and inclusive model of governance. He did not live to see the fulfillment of the Consensus Charter he managed to spearhead by bringing together politicians, civil society and people of good will from all walks of life.

The UNESCO Years (1953–1987): Challenging the Global Order

M'Bow's tenure as Director-General of UNESCO (1974–1987) stands out as one of the most transformative in the organisation's history. He was the first Black and African person to lead a United Nations agency, and during his time M'Bow shook the established

order by challenging Eurocentric dominance in knowledge and cultural exchange on behalf of the Global South. His advocacy for the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) aimed to counter the dominance of Western media and communication systems and ensure a more equitable global flow of information. This initiative exemplified his broader effort to redefine global knowledge production, emphasising cultural diversity and inclusivity.¹

M'Bow advocated for reform in educational systems worldwide, ensuring that curricula reflected the global diversity of human experience. He spearheaded efforts to reconstruct and systematise African histories and cultural contributions and to free them from the colonial library, the anthropological account and racist gaze. The General History of Africa (GHA) project is a testament to this mission – comprising eight volumes that reflect Africa's rich and complex history. In the 1960s, 90 per cent of the history that was taught in Western universities was disproportionately centred on five countries – Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the United States. African history was reduced to accounts about European activities in Africa, the trials and triumphs of explorers, missionaries and colonial administrators in the 'civilising mission'. The General History of Africa project helped uncover masterpieces and artifacts of creative genius that reflect millennia of rich history across significant polities such as Kush, Aksum, Mali, Songhai, Great Zimbabwe and the Kingdom of Kongo, as well as lesser-known political formations. M'Bow recognised a fundamental truth: knowledge is a means to emancipation.

His last will included the establishment of a Foundation of Endogenous Knowledges. Throughout his life, he tirelessly advocated for Africans and people of the Global South to reclaim and rely on their history and their own narratives. M'Bow's insights and vision remain foundational principles guiding the work of institutions like CODESRIA, shaping both their methodology and ethical framework.

The Fight for Equity

Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow's vision extended beyond cultural representation to a broader fight for equitable access to technology and knowledge. His stance on the transfer of technology was clear: it was not about aid or assistance but about *equitable access* to the tools that shape and transform societies. He recognised early on that whoever controlled technology controlled the future and he sought to ensure that the Global South was not left behind in this race:

Technology is not the privilege of a few nations, nor should it be a tool of domination. It must be shared equitably, so that all peoples can partake in the shaping of their futures.²

It is important to note that the 1970s was a time when Henry Kissinger was busy commissioning reports aimed at reducing African populations and controlling the continent's resources. M'Bow identified the deeper risks posed by unchecked technological expansion – its potential to undermine the spiritual and cultural values that form the bedrock of societies. He was wary of Western monopoly over technology and its use as a tool to reinforce existing power structures. His advocacy was about

not just technical knowledge but ensuring that technology could be used to enhance human dignity, rather than erode it.

M'Bow believed that the histories and contributions of non-Western nations, particularly Africa, had been systematically suppressed. His call for the repatriation of cultural artifacts looted during colonialism was groundbreaking. In a historic speech in 1978,³ he argued that these objects were not just art but essential elements of identity and historical consciousness for the nations from which they were taken:

The restitution of cultural property to the countries from which it was taken is not simply a matter of restoring material objects; it is about returning history and identity to peoples who have been deprived of their past.

M'Bow's Political Thought

How did M'Bow perceive the challenges that Africa faced in the wake of colonisation? What he shared in common with other prominent figures of the time, such as Cheikh Anta Diop and Kwame Nkrumah, was the belief that there was something fundamental that connected all of us in our diversity.

The intellectual traditions of Africa are rich and diverse, deeply rooted in the philosophies of interconnectedness, humanism and balance. These are not simply ideas from the past but powerful frameworks for addressing today's challenges of development, governance and peace.⁴

These intellectuals understood that the postcolonial era necessitated a re-evaluation of African identity, that they emphasised the continent's rich history and cultural her-

itage while rejecting the lingering stereotypes imposed by colonial narratives. Their vision for Africa encompassed the idea of unity amidst diversity, advocating for a collective identity that celebrated the myriad cultures and traditions of the continent. Both M'Bow and Diop critiqued the neocolonial structures that continued to impede Africa's progress; they insisted on the need for autonomy, economic self-sufficiency and educational empowerment. They envisioned an Africa that could reclaim its agency, fostering a sense of solidarity and collaboration among its nations to build a prosperous future free from external domination.

M'Bow broke a significant taboo at a time when Africans still operated within a configuration of time that was devolved, despite having been 'admitted' into institutions and spaces of multilateral governance following independence. Across the imperial space, the utterance of an African could only be seen as subversive, as the very assumption of reciprocity itself was suspended. M'Bow's critique was profound; he illuminated the ongoing continuities in the extraction of cultural and physical resources from Africa and the Global South. He argued that colonialism not only facilitated the extraction of labour but also enabled the appropriation of cultural and immaterial resources, thereby perpetuating narratives of European and Western civilisational superiority. This extraction is evident in the archives, artifacts and cultural heritage that remain withheld in European knowledge and cultural institutions.

Few have lived a life as long, as exhilarating and as impactful as M'bow's, encompassing significant historical events. He possessed an insatiable thirst for knowledge,

heightened by his early exposure to Sufi intellectual traditions and the belief that African history was a treasure trove waiting to be explored. M'Bow's commitment to uncovering and sharing this wealth of knowledge shaped his profound contributions to the world, making him a pivotal figure in the discourse surrounding African multi-dimensional heritage.

According to his son-in-law, Amadou Kane, one of M'Bow's last wishes was for his mortuary prayer to be held at the Umarian Mosque in Dakar, where he was baptised in 1921. If this was not possible, he wanted his body at least to be taken past it. M'Bow's connection to Sufi traditions ran deep, rooted in his family history. He was the intellectual heir to a rich tapestry of thought, spanning centuries and continents, linking Africa to the Arab world, Europe, Asia and the Americas, with influences ranging from Cheikh Ahmed Tidjani to Umar Tal, from Ibn Rushd to Montesquieu. His upbringing instilled in him deeply held values, shaped by education and culture.

M'Bow's stance was unequivocal: culture was neither a luxury nor mere entertainment and Africans had never existed outside of the world or in a 'world-outside' (*Außenwelt*, in the Schmittian sense). His critique of the imbalanced framework of access to information and technology – and thus to knowledge – raised deeper questions about a universalism predicated on a hierarchy of cultures and civilisations. He believed that the human ability to create and think is evenly distributed, hence the importance of equitable access for all. For M'Bow, the realisation of the universal ideal required cultural exchange, which could be

achieved only by rebalancing access to knowledge and information. Yet Africa was being denied its rightful contribution to this endeavour. Consequently, African actors keenly understood the nature of the impetus driving them to challenge their social conditions by reshaping the terms of engagement with the West.

M'Bow engaged with the global discourse on technology, notably in UN debates on technology transfer. He was in support of strengthening the work and mission of UN Trade and Development (UNCTAD), an intergovernmental organisation dedicated to defending the trade interests of the developing world. He was critical of a system that concentrated technological control in the hands of a few and allowed them to engineer life and shape meaning for everybody. His concerns centred on questions that remain relevant today: Who controls technology? What would the world order look like if Africa were excluded?

The idea that the contribution of African intellectuals like M'Bow have been marginalised or invisibilised stems largely from how we have often thought about the nature of knowledge coming out of Africa. The lack of engagement with such contributions speaks to a broader issue of limiting perspectives on African thought. M'Bow grew up and was educated at the intersection of diverse cultures and intellectual traditions at the dawn of the world that was coming out of the colonial script. His intellectual breadth demonstrates the creativity and adaptability with which Africans have always responded to the challenges of their time. In short, M'Bow was an intellectual in the fullest sense of the word.

With the passing of M'Bow, we have lost one of the most influential thinkers and political actors of the twentieth century. His immense intellectual curiosity, aspirational spirit and deep humanism are reflected in his [prolific body of work](#).⁵

By intervening in global debates at a time when African voices were often excluded, thinkers like M'Bow asserted a principle of intellectual parity. For the very presence of African thought in the public domain was seen as inherently disruptive. M'Bow's unwavering commitment and integrity allowed him to challenge and reverse entrenched structures of oppression, revealing possibilities that had long been obscured.

In summary, M'Bow's intellectual contributions were profoundly shaped by his multilayered identity – as a Senegalese, an African, a Muslim and a global citizen. His insatiable curiosity and moral resilience guided his involvement in global governance and African politics. He stood firm in his principles, unyielding in the face of challenges. M'Bow was, indeed, the bow that was never bent.

A-M M'Bow was a living legend. We have lost a reassuring figure who bridged the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Yet, as he transitions to the realm of ancestorhood, we are enriched by his legacy of wisdom, courage and moral fortitude. At a time when Africa seems to have lost sovereign initiative and geopolitical vision, when every major actor but Africa itself seems to have a vision for the continent, may his memory guide us back to self-determination, unity and a renewed sense of purpose.

Notes

1. See the MacBride Report, a popular name for 'Many Voices, One World: Towards a New More Just and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order', commissioned by UNESCO. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000372754>
2. Speech on Technology and Global Development, 1982.
3. A-M M'Bow, 1978, 'A Plea For The Return Of An Irreplaceable Cultural Heritage To Those Who Created It: An Appeal by Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, Director-General of UNESCO', in [The UNESCO Courier: a window open on the world, XXXI, 7, p. 4-5, illus.](#)
4. UNESCO General Conference, 1974.
5. A sample of his writings:
 - 1974, 'Enquête préliminaire sur le village de Gaya, et les villages de Sénoudébou et Demba-kane, 1955–1956', L'UNESCO et l'avenir. Paris : UNESCO.
 - 1976, *Le monde en devenir (réflexions sur le nouvel ordre économique international)*, Paris : UNESCO.
 - 1977, *L'UNESCO et la solidarité des nations—L'esprit de Nairobi*. Paris : UNESCO.
 - 1979, *L'UNESCO et la solidarité des nations—De la concertation au consensus*. Paris : UNESCO.
 - 1981, *L'UNESCO et la solidarité des nations—Entreprendre l'avenir*. Paris : UNESCO.
 - 1982, *Le Temps des Peuples*, Paris : Editions Laffont Paris.
 - 1982, *Aux Sources du Futur*. Paris : UNESCO.
 - 1984, *Choisir L'Espoir*, Paris : UNESCO.
 - 1986, *L'UNESCO: universalité et coopération internationale*. Paris : UNESCO.

Reports // Rapports

Selection Report 2023–2024 CODESRIA Meaning-Making Research Initiatives (MRI)

Following the resumption of programme activities at the Council in the latter half of 2023, the Research Programme successfully launched the third edition of the Meaning-making Research Initiative (MRI) grants.

The first edition was held in 2017, followed by a double edition for 2018–2019. Both editions were concluded by 2022 and the final set of papers and books that were judged publishable have now been published. The last of these set of articles are contained in *Africa Development*, Volume 48, No. 3, 2023 at <https://doi.org/10.57054/ad.v48i3>.

The Meaning-making Research Initiative (MRI), launched in July 2017, serves as the Council's primary vehicle for advancing research in the social sciences and humanities. In November 2023, three categories of calls (General, Special Call for Female Scholars, Advanced Senior Scholars) were advertised in English, French and Portuguese. The calls were specifically designed to align with the objectives of CODESRIA's 2023–2027 Strategic Plan. This report provides information on the selection process, in the process also highlighting important lessons that applicants might find beneficial. It is divided into five sections:

- 1) Analysis of Applications;
- 2) Selection Process;
- 3) Selected Proposals;
- 4) Selection of Resource Persons; and
- 5) Evaluators' Insights.

Compiled by

Research Programme
CODESRIA Secretariat

Analysis of Applications Applications Received

Out of the total 391 applications received, 267 were in the category of MRI General, with 153 being group projects and 114 individual applications. Furthermore, there were 116 applications for the Special Call for Female Scholars and 9 for the Advanced Senior Research Fellowship.

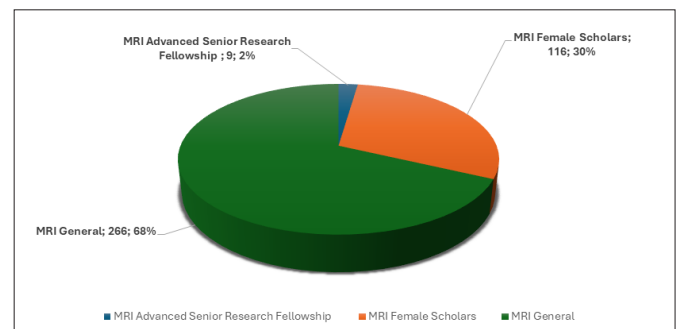


Figure 1: Breakdown of applications received

The Special Call for Female Scholars led to a significant representation of women among the applicants. Of the applicants, 61% were women and 39% were men, as depicted in Figure 2.

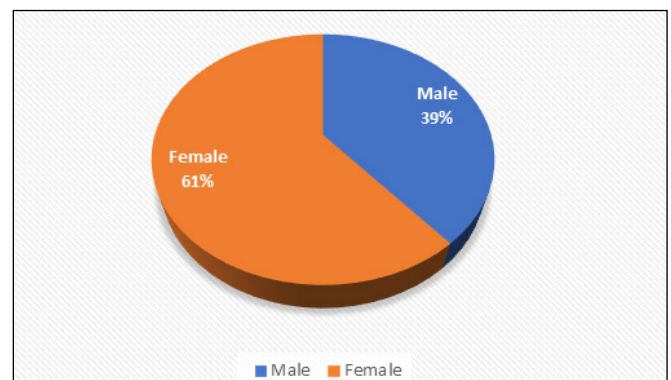


Figure 2: Gender representation of applicants

Out of the 267 proposals submitted for the MRI General, 71 were coordinated by women and 196 by men. For the Special Call for Female Scholars, all 116 proposals were coordinated by women. For the 9 Advanced Senior Research Fellowship proposals 2 were coordinated by women and 7 by men.

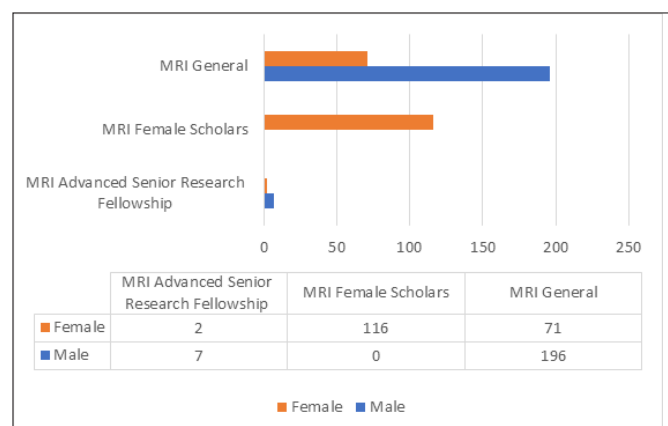


Figure 3: Gender representation of coordinators

Figure 4 illustrates the breakdown of proposals by language. Out of a total of 391 proposals, 263 were in English, 93 in French and 35 in Portuguese.

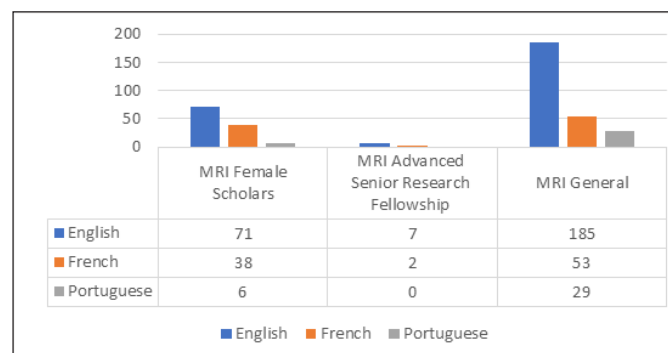


Figure 4: Breakdown of proposals by language

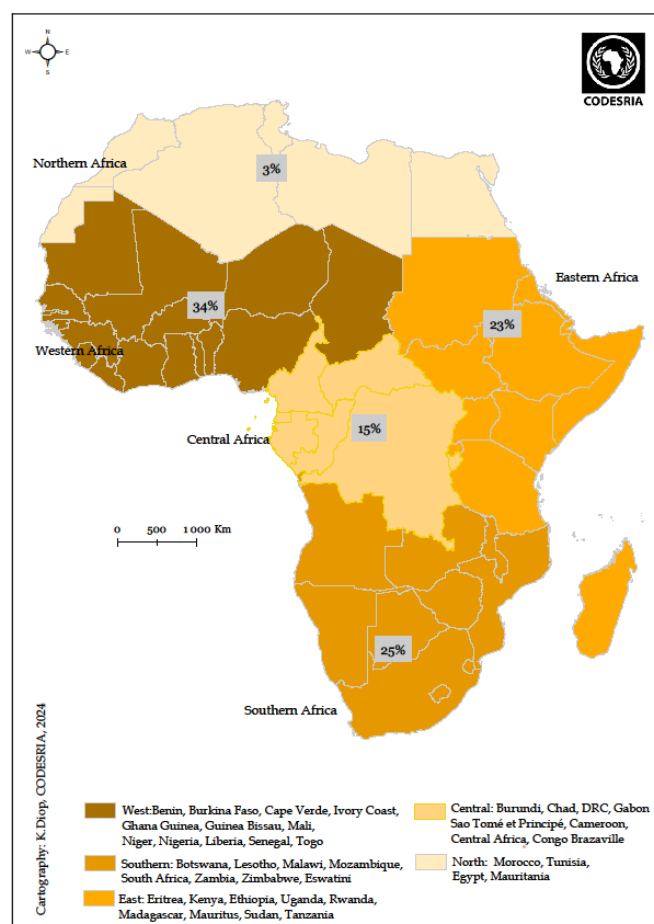
Regional Representation of Applicants

As illustrated on the map below, the geographical distribution of candidates shows a significant concentration of scholars from the West African region, representing 34% of all applications. Southern Africa is in second position, followed by East Africa. Central Africa and North Africa occupy the fourth and fifth positions, respectively.

In response to the historic underrepresentation of some countries in CODESRIA programming, the Research Programme launched a targeted campaign from November to December 2023, reaching out to 117 research administrators and scholars at universities and research centres across Africa. Administrators were requested to share the calls and announce them within their academic and local research communities. Despite these efforts, regional disparities remain, highlighting

the ongoing need for more targeted programming to enhance the participation of researchers from underrepresented regions and countries.

It is important to note that the underrepresentation of certain regions in CODESRIA activities is a longstanding and persistent issue. The Council has implemented various initiatives aimed at addressing this disparity, particularly focusing on scholars from conflict-affected countries and those with significant underinvestment in research and higher education. For instance, CODESRIA has launched special initiatives in the Great Lakes region, the Sudan zone, Portuguese-speaking countries, and through the Island Initiative. Although these efforts have yielded mixed results, CODESRIA has persisted in working to address the issue including a recent initiative to also establish a partnership with the Arab Council for the Social Sciences called the Afro-Arab Initiative to further this mission. Despite these endeavours, the challenge of underrepresentation persists, necessitating further targeted initiatives to effectively promote greater inclusion, ensure more comprehensive coverage of the continent, and ultimately contribute to richer and more relevant scholarship.



Map 1: Geographical distribution of MRI 2023-2024 applicants
Source: Khady Diop, CODESRIA (2024)

Selection Process

The Research Programme received just over 400 proposals across the three categories. After an initial screening for completeness, adequacy and duplicate submissions, the total was reduced to 391 proposals, distributed as follows:

- *MRI General*: 265 applications
- *MRI Female Scholars*: 115 applications
- *MRI Senior Advanced Research Fellowship*: 9 applications.

A notable aspect of the 2024 applications was that all submissions for the Special Call for Female Scholars were collaborative, multi-country projects. Additionally, the General MRI call featured a significant number of collaborative projects.

The selection process was carried out in three phases. First, CODESRIA's evaluators' databases were thoroughly reviewed and updated to include persons with proficiency in English, French and Portuguese. The Research Programme paid careful attention to manuscript themes and areas of expertise as they related to gaps in reviewers'/evaluators' profiles. The final cohort of evaluators retained for the task of reviewing applications were selected based on their academic rigour, professional experience and geographic and linguistic representation. It is important to emphasise that academic rigour was a standard consideration.

Second, applications for the General and Special Female Scholar categories were distributed to 49 evaluators, while the Advanced Senior Fellowship proposals were reviewed by members of the CODESRIA Scientific Committee. Reviewers were responsible for evaluating various aspects of the projects, including their strengths and weaknesses, theoretical and methodological clarity, originality and innovation. This involved assessing whether the project had been previously published, its intellectual contribution, methodological creativity, relevance to the Strategic Plan's thematic priorities and its potential to contribute new knowledge. To ensure consistency, reviewers received a detailed memo outlining the Council's expectations. Each proposal underwent a double-blind peer-review process.

Reviewers were also requested to provide not only written feedback on each proposal but also a general report summarising the collection of applications they reviewed. An abbreviated version is the consolidated report provided in the last section of this report. The report is expected to assist the Council in refining its overall strategy to better support African researchers.

It is important to note that the evaluation process extended beyond the anticipated timeframe as a result of the lack of responsiveness of some evaluators and their failure to reply to repeated reminders, despite their initial commitment to providing timely feedback.

Third, a committee comprising members from the Research Programme and the Training, Grants and Fellowships (TGF) programme was formed to evaluate the review reports and make the necessary arbitrations where review reports needed such moderation. The selection process took into account several key factors, including the quality of the proposals (based on scores and written feedback from peer reviewers), gender inclusion, regional and linguistic balance, thematic focus and diversity needed for a pan-African Council like CODESRIA.

A notable observation was the large number of applications focused on higher education themes. Since the TGF Programme runs special projects related to higher education, it was deemed necessary to balance the number of accepted proposals in this area. As a result, higher education applications were placed in competition with each other, with only three ultimately being selected for this edition of MRI. The TGF currently has many other projects in the area, which range in focus, including Higher Education Governance, Curriculum Reform, Graduate Employability, Research Capacity in African Universities, Decolonisation and Africanisation of Higher Education, Higher Education and Economic Development, Internationalisation and Global Competitiveness, Digital Transformation and E-Learning, Higher Education Funding and Financing, and the Future of Higher Education in Africa, among other themes. Indeed, the Council has just concluded a major pilot project on academic freedom and will launch a multi-year programme of research, monitoring and publications on how academic freedom concerns intersect with dynamics in higher education.

The team also noted a significant number of proposals centred on Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS). In light of upcoming calls for the Mastercard-funded IKS project, these proposals have been earmarked for further consideration. The Council will shortly communicate to the applicants informing them of this forthcoming initiative.

The team spent considerable time reviewing evaluators' feedback on proposals from the Advanced Senior Research Fellowship. It was noted that some peer reviewers provided only limited insights. Ultimately, because of the lack of outstanding propos-

als that met the expectations outlined in the call and the constraints of limited funding, the Secretariat decided not to award any Advanced Senior Research Fellowships this time around.

Selected Proposals

After thorough deliberations, the committee preselected what it deemed to be the strongest proposals based on the criteria discussed above. Additionally, a list of alternative proposals was prepared to be considered for support in case any of the initially selected proposals failed to take up the offer.

MRI General

Out of the 267 proposals received, 185 were written in English, 53 in French and 29 in Portuguese. The committee recommended 11 proposals among those written in English, 5 in French and 2 in Portuguese. Additionally, one of the proposals written in French combines 2 individual candidates and a separate group of 3 members, which the committee suggested grouping together because of the relative proximity of their topic of research.

MRI Special Call For Female Scholars

Out of the 116 submissions received, 72 were written in English, 38 in French and 6 in Portuguese. The committee shortlisted 14 proposals in this category: 6 in English, 7 in French and 1 in Portuguese. The limited number of English proposals chosen, despite the high volume of submissions, reflects the lower than expected quality of the proposals and the relatively large number of projects centred on higher education.

MRI Senior Advanced Fellowship

Out of the 9 proposals received, 7 were written in English by male scholars and 2 in French by female scholars. The committee shortlisted 4 proposals: 3 in English and 1 in French.

MRI 2023-2024 List of Winners

From the shortlist, the following 13 projects were selected in the end, including 2 individual and 11 group projects.

Table 1: Winning proposals, MRI General, MRI 2023–2024

N°	NAMES	GEN- DER	PROPOSAL TITLE
1.	Choolwe Muzyamba	M	Rethinking resilience in gender and sexual based violence in South Africa and Zambia
2.	Wangui Kimari	F	Urbanisation trajectories in African port cities: History, mega-infrastructure and livelihoods
	Razaz Basheir	F	
	Zhengli Huang	F	
	Afra Foli	F	
	Mariam Genes Shirima	F	
3.	Ester Botta Sompore	F	Inégalités environnementales et santé à Conakry
	Abdoulaye Wotem Sompore	M	
	Amadou Tidiane Barry	M	
4.	Marie-Thérèse Mengue	F	Convergences de luttes : Travail, enjeux écologiques et luttes sociales dans les secteurs de la pêche et du transport au Cameroun
	Yvan Hyannick Obah	M	
	Calvin Minfegue	M	
	Christine Makia Masong	F	
5.	Adilson Filomeno Carvalho Semedo	M	O Femicídio Íntimo/ Suicídio Como Uma Situação Limite Na Política De Gênero Em Cabo Verde.
6.	Nélida do Rosário da Luz	F	Formação do capital social das mulheres da Cadeia Curta dos Sistemas Agro-Alimentares de Cabo Verde, Moçambique e São Tomé e Príncipe
	João Paulino	M	
	Maria das Neves Ceita Batista de Sousa	F	
	Miclay Carvalho	M	

Table 2: Winning proposals, MRI Special Call for Female Scholars, MRI 2023–2024

N°	NAMES	GEN- DER	PROPOSAL TITLE
1.	Judith I Ani	F	Climate change-induced flooding and food security of female smallholder farmers in Nigeria
	Loveth C. Ode-Omenka	F	
	Oluwayemisi Kadijat Adeleke	F	
	Ngwengeh Brendaline Beloke	F	
2.	Nyamagere Gladys Sospeter	F	Ecological paradigms in housing development and its impacts on women's livelihoods in peri-urban areas
	Sarah Phoya	F	
	Nyangi Chacha	F	
	Geraldine John Kikwasi	F	
	Grace Khumalo	F	
3.	Felishana Jepkosgei Cherop	F	Using human-centred designs to develop didactic learning approaches for remote learning in institutions of higher learning in Africa
	Naomi Koske	F	
	Diane Korir-Uyoga	F	
	Violet Naanyu	F	
	Gloria Agyapong	F	
4.	Awa Yombé Yade	F	Leadership des femmes en milieu universitaire : études de cas à l'Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD), Université Félix Houphouët Boigny (UFHB) et the University of the Gambia (UTG)
	Aminata Aidara	F	
	Bangerezako Haydée	F	
	Astou Fall	F	
	Gninin Aïcha Touré	F	
5.	Corinne Bangami Darate	F	Interactions complexes entre extraction du bois, production de charbon de bois, environnement, santé et sécurité alimentaire au Bénin : Une analyse de l'offre et de la demande
	Myriam Tigri Dayori	F	
	Doriane Nicole Nomo Alinga	F	
	Nassibou Bassongui	M	

6.	Frida Ngo Wengui	F	Impact des stratégies d'adaptation au changement climatique sur la production du riz au Sénégal
	Bénédicte Atchade	F	
	Audrey Jennie Djijo Tiakou	F	
	Mongbo Kayode Majorie Jennifer	F	
7.	Djalita Fialho	F	Agendas de cooperação internacional e seus impactos nas políticas nacionais: Tendências, mudanças e implicações uma análise para Cabo Verde
	Iolanda Évora	F	
	Jandira Barros	F	

Profile of Selected Applicants

Researchers

A total of 48 researchers are involved in these projects.

Gender of project leaders

- Male: 2
- Female: 11

Gender of all project participants:

- Male: 13
- Female: 35

Geographical spread

The researchers are drawn from 16 countries with the following distribution:

- West Africa: 23
- Southern Africa: 3
- Central Africa: 13
- East Africa: 8

Selection of Resource Persons for the 2023–2024 MRI Projects

The list of resource persons was compiled from the evaluators' list and then refined to ensure balanced representation. This process included considerations such as research specialisation, publication record, experience in methodology training, geographical and linguistic diversity and gender inclusion. The selected resource persons will oversee the projects through to completion and provide pastoral guidance to scholars in their respective groups. The MRI Methodology and Scholarly Workshop, scheduled for 16–20 September 2024, will offer an opportunity for the scholars to meet resource persons for the first time.

Evaluators' Insights

As explained above, 49 evaluators were engaged to assess the proposals. They analysed applications using a set of criteria that included theoretical robustness and clarity, methodological rigour, conceptual creativity, innovative thinking and mastery of relevant literature. Additionally, evaluators were required to provide a template with specific assessment of individual proposals and an overall report summarising their overall assessment over the quality and general orientation of applications.

On average, evaluators reviewed 17 proposals each, allowing them to observe recurring patterns across a wide range of projects. Their reports mainly highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of the applications, offering valuable insights into the overall quality of submissions.

While most proposals aligned with CODESRIA's priority themes and cross-cutting issues, many exhibited significant limitations that, to a large extent, affected their possibility of being selected. These limitations varied, but were based on individual writing skills and research backgrounds. Most proposals addressed themes related to higher education, economics and developmental issues, while fewer focused on historical or anthropological questions.

Proposals submitted for the General call primarily focused on economic and developmental issues, with fewer addressing politics and democratisation. Notably, a significant number of proposals on higher education topics were submitted, particularly by English-speaking scholars. Overall, some proposals had marked deficiencies in the quality of writing and showed significant limitations in articulating a research problem and constructing clear research objectives.

Proposals submitted for the Special Call for Female Scholars predominantly focused on sociological topics, as well as migration, climate change, gender and reproductive health, disability, resource conservation and governance issues.

In general, the reports indicated that while the proposals were on familiar and well-researched areas, many exhibited several additional weaknesses. These included a lack of relevance and alignment with thematic priorities, originality and depth. Social problems were often transformed into scientific problems without sufficient theoretical reflection, and there was inadequate engagement with existing literature. There was generally a lack of familiarity with

the knowledge produced by CODESRIA. Theoretical and conceptual weaknesses were detected, such as difficulties in defining core concepts and formulating a problem statement, as well as theoretical discussions that did not operationalise concepts.

Methodologically, many proposals demonstrated a lack of requisite knowledge of research methods for the social sciences and humanities and failed to present sound empirical methodologies to properly address the core questions.

These limitations heavily impacted the overall structure of a significant number of proposals, along with writing deficiencies. According to the majority of evaluators, a prevalent issue in the proposals – regardless of language – was the difficulty in formulating a clear research question and defining the problem to be investigated. Additionally, there was a general limitation in constructing a coherent and clear proposal, where all parts – such as the general context of the theme, problem statement, objectives, hypothesis and study methodology – were effectively integrated and in conversation with one another. As one evaluator pointed out:

A research gap is a question or a problem that has not been answered by any of the existing studies or research in a given field. A well-defined and structured research problem is the heart of the research project. Most of the proposals examined lacked this important component of research. Some presented a vague research problem, while others did not have one at all. Some were not convincing enough, which is why the proposals were considered weak (...).

On the other hand, while fewer in number compared to the overall submissions, the accepted proposals were characterised as insightful and innovative, with sound methodologies and well-grounded theories that effectively addressed the research problems. Similar to the Special Call For Female Scholars, many accepted proposals adopted a gendered lens to investigate diverse societal issues. Evaluators noted that these proposals demonstrated methodological robustness through clearly articulated methods and processes. As stated by one evaluator:

Applicants clearly articulated the various methods and processes to be adopted for their projects, demonstrating methodological robustness. Given the project's focus on meaning-making research, the originality and innovativeness in the proposals are particularly encouraging. All the proposals were well-positioned within the existing literature, and some also had practical relevance.

Regarding the General calls, another evaluator mentioned:

The proposals were very insightful and largely comprehensive, demonstrating the commitment of Africa's researchers to breaking theoretical and conceptual grounds. These proposals have the potential to address gaps in academic literature and in practice.

Overall, feedback from the reviewers highlights a significant disparity between the high expectations regarding quality, innovativeness and originality of thought inherent in the MRI scheme and the considerable number of poorly constructed proposals. Although CODESRIA has consistently conducted a variety of methodological seminars across its Research and Training programmes, there is a pressing need to provide support for proposal writing for early- and mid-career scholars. This intervention should be seen as complementing the work that universities on the continent do at graduate level, but for CODESRIA the pivot will be in sharpening the skills for advanced research for the cohort of proposals identified. This further raises the need for clearer communication around the strategic objectives of the MRI scheme, namely to support the development of cutting-edge ideas and innovative research within Africa.

Similarly, evaluators noted that weaknesses identified in projects submitted under the Special Call for Female Scholars mirrored those in the General category. In comparative terms, French-speaking and Portuguese-speaking countries show lower levels of readiness in research skills. Many evaluators pointed out disparities in research development among these countries, which was evident in the submitted applications.

Suggestions for Future MRI Calls

A common suggestion from nearly all evaluators was to organise proposal-writing workshops for prospective applicants in various countries and regions. These workshops would provide researchers with the opportunity to improve their writing skills for their projects. The overall recommendations include:

Organize pre-proposal methodology workshops:

Focus on research methodologies, research design and proposal writing to improve the quality of submissions. Expand methodological training seminars to include a focus on integrating all parts of a research proposal, such as the context, problem statement, objectives,

hypothesis and methodology. MRI is setting a high bar, but the pool of scholars it targets is not adequately prepared and/or available.

Host virtual informational sessions:

Provide orientation and guidance for potential MRI candidates on important aspects to consider when submitting MRI proposals.

Work with borderline submissions:

Support scholars to rework proposals that present original and fresh ideas but may be weak in presentation, to prepare them for future funding support.

Encourage collaborative research:

Highlight the importance of collaborative rather than individual projects, and devise ways to bring researchers together around innovative projects.

Promote in-depth understanding of the MRI scheme:

Ensure that projects are better aligned with the objectives outlined in the MRI and the CODESRIA Strategic Plan. Offer guidance on aligning proposals with CODESRIA's thematic priorities and cross-cutting issues, ensuring relevance and impact.

Increase awareness about MRI grants:

Create greater awareness about the kinds of proposals that would qualify for MRI grants. Innovation and originality need to be emphasised and demonstrated, even for senior scholars.

Require familiarity with CODESRIA's corpus of knowledge:

Make it a requirement for proposals to demonstrate familiarity with the existing body of knowledge produced by CODESRIA on the proposed research topic. The use of CODICE should accordingly be encouraged.

Extend evaluation time:

Address concerns from evaluators about the need for more time to conduct thorough evaluations in future calls.

Collaborate with African universities:

Despite CODESRIA's long investment in methodological seminars, there is a need to reinvest in methodological training and writing seminars by partnering with African universities.

Address disparities among academics:

Pay special attention to the comparatively weak proposals from African academics and researchers, particularly from Lusophone and Francophone countries.



The poster features a background image of an open book with orange flower petals scattered on its pages. The title 'Meaning-making Research Initiatives (MRI) 2023 - 2024' is prominently displayed in the center. The CODESRIA logo is in the top left, and a '50th Anniversary' logo is in the top right. A 'Submit an Application' button is in the bottom right. Contact information for CODESRIA is in the bottom left.

**Meaning-making
Research Initiatives
(MRI) 2023 - 2024**

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50th Anniversary
CODESRIA 1973-2023

Submit an Application
MRI 2023-2024 application codesria.org

Rapport sur la sélection des Initiatives de recherche pour la construction du sens (MRI) du CODESRIA 2023–2024

Suite à la reprise des activités programmatiques du Conseil au cours du second semestre de 2023, le programme Recherche a, avec succès, lancé la troisième édition des subventions des Initiatives de recherche pour la construction du sens (MRI). La session inaugurale a eu lieu en 2017 et a été suivie d'une double édition (2018-2019). Celles-ci sont arrivées à leur terme en 2022 et la dernière série d'articles et de livres jugés publiables a maintenant été publiée. Le dernier de ces articles figure dans *Afrique et Développement*, Volume 48, No. 3, 2023 à l'adresse <https://doi.org/10.57054/ad.v48i3>.

Lancée en juillet 2017, les Initiatives de recherche pour la construction du sens (MRI), constituent le principal outil du Conseil pour faire avancer la recherche en sciences sociales et humaines. En novembre 2023, trois catégories d'appels à candidatures (appel général, appel spécial chercheuses, et un appel pour des bourses de recherche avancée de niveau senior) ont été lancés en anglais, en français et en portugais. Les appels à candidatures ont spécifiquement été conçus en adéquation avec les objectifs du plan stratégique 2023-2027 du CODESRIA. Le présent rapport décrit le processus de sélection, et met en lumière les enseignements importants pour les candidats. Il est divisé en cinq sections :

- 1) Analyse des candidatures ;
- 2) Processus de sélection ;
- 3) Propositions sélectionnées ;
- 4) Sélection des personnes-ressources ; et
- 5) Eclairages des évaluateurs.

Compilation

Programme recherche
Secretariat du CODESRIA

Analyse des candidatures Candidatures reçues

Sur un total de 391 candidatures reçues, 267 concernaient la catégorie générale MRI, 153 étaient des projets de groupe et 114 des candidatures individuelles. En outre, 116 candidatures répondaient à l'appel spécial chercheuses, et 9 à celui de bourses de recherche avancée de niveau senior.

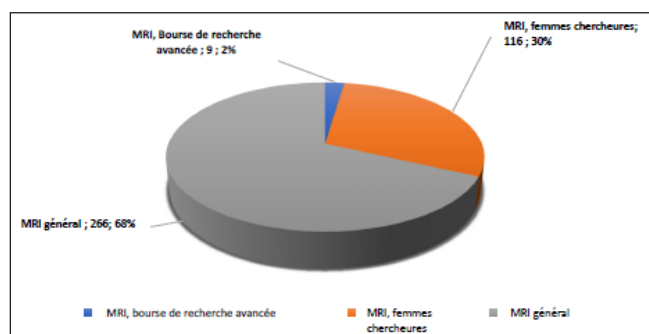


Schéma 1 : Répartition des candidatures reçues

L'appel à candidatures spécial chercheuses a mené à une représentation plus significative des femmes. Comme le montre le schéma 2, 61 % des candidats étaient des femmes et 39 % des hommes.

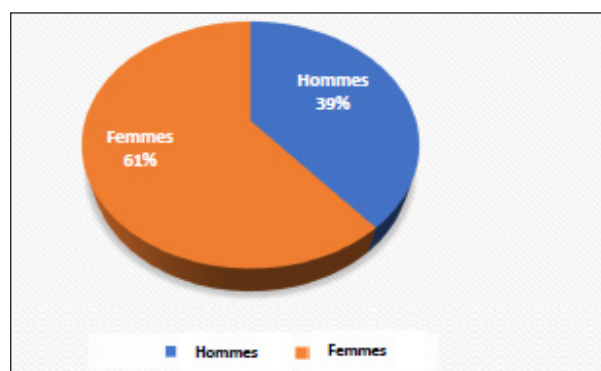


Schéma 2 : Répartition par sexe des candidats

Des 267 propositions reçues pour l'appel général à candidatures MRI, 71 étaient coordonnées par des femmes et 196 par des hommes. Pour l'appel à candidatures spécial chercheuses, les 116 propositions étaient coordonnées par des femmes. Pour les 9 propositions de bourses de recherche avancées seniors, 2 sont coordonnées par des femmes et 7 par des hommes.

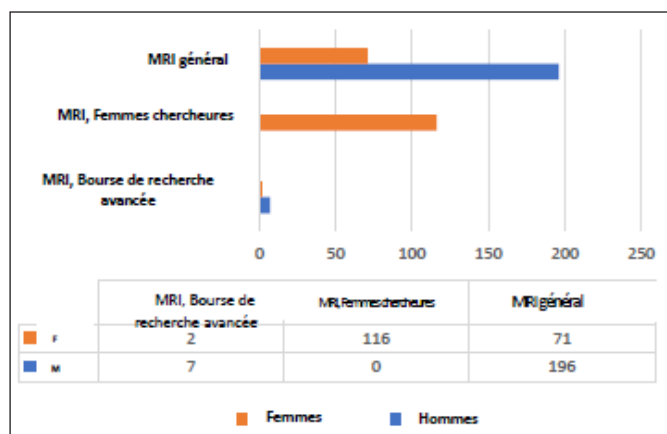


Schéma 3 : Répartition des coordinateurs par sexe

Le schéma 4 illustre la répartition des propositions reçues par langue. Sur un total de 391 propositions, 263 étaient en anglais, 93 en français et 35 en portugais.

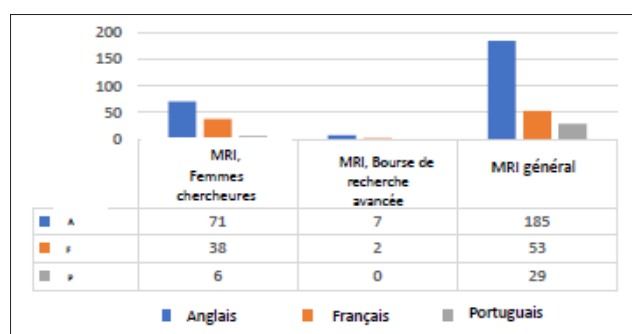


Schéma 4 : Répartition des propositions de recherche par langue

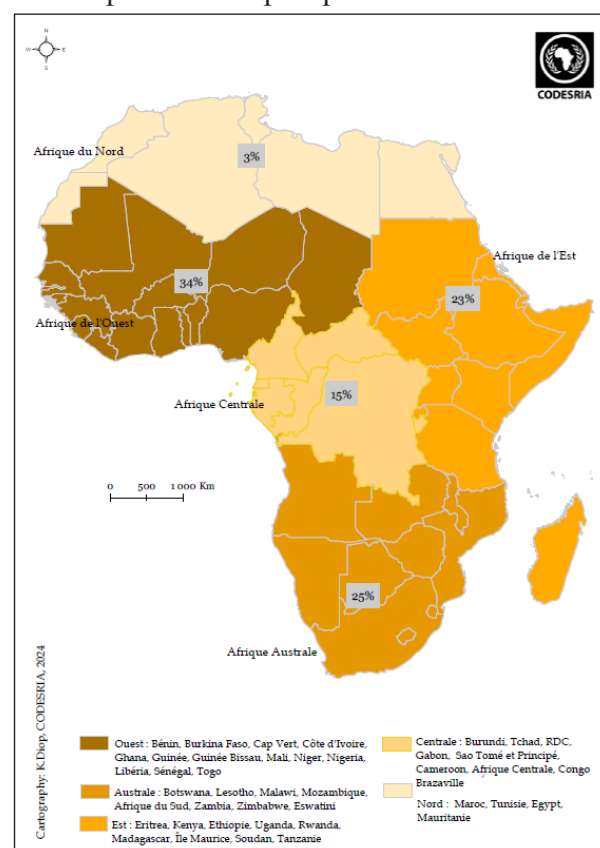
Représentation régionale des candidats

Comme l'illustre la carte ci-dessous, la répartition géographique des candidats montre une concentration de boursiers dans la région Afrique de l'Ouest, avec 34% de toutes les candidatures. L'Afrique australe occupe la deuxième position, suivie de l'Afrique de l'Est, l'Afrique centrale et l'Afrique du Nord occupant respectivement les quatrième et cinquième positions.

En réponse à la sous-représentation historique de certains pays dans les programmes du CODESRIA, le programme Recherche a, de novembre à décembre 2023, lancé une campagne ciblée auprès de 117 administrateurs de recherche et chercheurs dans les universités et centres de recherche à travers l'Afrique. Les administrateurs ont été invités à partager les

appels à candidatures et à les diffuser au sein de leurs communautés universitaires et de recherche. Malgré ces efforts, des disparités régionales subsistent. Elles soulignent la nécessité encore actuelle de programmes plus ciblés afin d'améliorer la participation de chercheurs de régions et pays sous-représentés.

Il est important de noter que la sous-représentation de certaines régions dans les activités du CODESRIA est un problème persistant et de longue date. Le Conseil a mis en œuvre diverses initiatives visant à remédier à cette disparité, en mettant l'accent, en particulier, sur les chercheurs de pays touchés par des conflits et ceux où subsiste un important déficit d'investissement dans la recherche et l'enseignement supérieur. Par exemple, le CODESRIA a lancé des initiatives spéciales dans la région des Grands Lacs, la zone soudanaise, les pays lusophones, et dans les pays insulaires. Malgré des résultats mitigés, le CODESRIA a poursuivi son travail pour la résolution de ce problème, notamment à travers une récente initiative de partenariat avec le Conseil arabe des sciences sociales, appelée l'Initiative afro-arabe. En dépit de ces efforts, le défi de la sous-représentation persiste et nécessite de nouvelles initiatives ciblées pour la promotion efficace d'une plus grande inclusion, une couverture plus complète du continent et, en fin de compte, une contribution à une recherche plus riche et plus pertinente.



Carte 1 : Répartition géographique des candidats MRI 2023-2024
Source : Khady Diop, CODESRIA (2024)

Processus de sélection

Le programme Recherche a reçu un peu plus de 400 propositions réparties dans les trois catégories. Après une première vérification de l'exhaustivité, de la pertinence et d'élimination de doublons, ce total est passé à 391 propositions, réparties comme suit :

- *Appel à candidatures général MRI* : 265 candidatures
- *Appel de candidatures chercheuses MRI* : 115 candidatures
- *Appel à candidatures de bourses recherche avancée sénior MRI* : 9 candidatures.

Une caractéristique notable des candidatures de 2024 était que toutes les candidatures pour l'appel spécial aux chercheuses étaient des projets collaboratifs multinationaux. En outre, l'appel à candidatures général a attiré un nombre important de projets collaboratifs.

Le processus de sélection s'est déroulé en trois étapes. La bases de données des évaluateurs du CODESRIA a, d'abord, été soigneusement examinée et mise à jour de manière à couvrir les tris langues de travail, l'anglais, le français et le portugais. Le programme Recherche a accordé une attention particulière aux thèmes et aux domaines d'expertise des manuscrits, en fonction des besoins en termes de profils des évaluateurs/examineurs. Le groupe final d'évaluateurs retenus pour l'examen des candidatures a été sélectionné en fonction de leur rigueur académique, de leur expérience professionnelle ainsi que de leur représentativité géographique et linguistique. Il est important de souligner que la rigueur académique est une norme standard.

Deuxièmement, les candidatures pour les catégories général et spécial chercheuses ont été distribuées à 49 évaluateurs, tandis que les propositions de bourses de recherche avancée ont été examinées par les membres du Comité scientifique du CODESRIA. Les évaluateurs étaient chargés d'évaluer divers aspects des projets, notamment leurs points forts et leurs points faibles, leur clarté théorique et méthodologique, leur originalité et leur innovation. Il s'agissait notamment d'évaluer si le projet avait déjà été publié, sa contribution intellectuelle, sa créativité méthodologique, sa pertinence par rapport aux priorités thématiques du Plan stratégique, et son potentiel à apporter de nouvelles connaissances. Pour veiller à une plus grande cohérence d'ensemble, les évaluateurs ont reçu une note détaillée décrivant les attentes du Conseil. Chaque proposition a été soumise à un processus d'évaluation par les pairs en double aveugle.

Les évaluateurs ont également été invités à fournir des commentaires écrits sur chaque proposition, et un rapport général résumant l'ensemble des candidatures qu'ils ont examinées. Le rapport consolidé fourni dans la dernière section du présent document est une version abrégée de ces contributions. Le rapport devrait aider le Conseil à affiner sa stratégie globale pour un meilleur soutien aux chercheurs africains.

Il est important de noter que le processus d'évaluation s'est prolongé au-delà du délai prévu en raison du manque de réactivité de certains évaluateurs et de leur absence de réponse aux rappels répétés, malgré leur engagement initial à fournir des retours dans les délais.

Troisièmement, un comité composé de membres du programme Recherche et du programme Bourses et formation (TGF) a été formé pour évaluer les rapports d'évaluation et procéder aux arbitrages nécessaires lorsque les rapports d'évaluation nécessitaient une telle modération. Le processus de sélection a pris en compte plusieurs facteurs clés, notamment la qualité des propositions (sur la base des notes et des appréciations des pairs évaluateurs), l'inclusion de genre, l'équilibre régional et linguistique, l'orientation thématique et la diversité nécessaires pour un Conseil panafricain comme le CODESRIA.

Une observation notable a été le grand nombre de candidatures axées sur des thèmes liés à l'enseignement supérieur. Puisque le programme TGF administre des projets spéciaux sur l'enseignement supérieur, il a été jugé nécessaire d'équilibrer le nombre de propositions acceptées dans ce domaine. En conséquence, les candidatures portant sur l'enseignement supérieur ont été mises en concurrence les unes avec les autres, et seulement trois ont finalement été sélectionnées pour cette édition du MRI. Le TGF met, actuellement, en œuvre de nombreux autres projets dans ce domaine, qui portent notamment sur la gouvernance de l'enseignement supérieur, la réforme des curricula, l'employabilité des diplômés, le renforcement des capacités de recherche dans les universités africaines, la décolonisation et l'africanisation de l'enseignement supérieur, l'enseignement supérieur et le développement économique, l'internationalisation et la compétitivité mondiale, la transformation numérique et l'apprentissage en ligne, le financement de l'enseignement supérieur et l'avenir de l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique, entre autres thèmes. Par ailleurs, le Conseil vient de conclure un important projet pilote sur la liberté académique et lancera un programme pluriannuel de recherche, de suivi et de

publications sur la manière dont les préoccupations en matière de liberté académique s'entrecroisent avec les dynamiques de l'enseignement supérieur.

L'équipe a également noté un nombre important de propositions portant sur les systèmes de connaissances endogènes (SCE). À la lumière des prochains appels à propositions du projet SCE financé par Mastercard, ces propositions ont été retenues pour un examen plus approfondi. Le Conseil communiquera prochainement sur cette initiative.

L'équipe a consacré beaucoup de temps aux commentaires des évaluateurs sur les propositions de bourses de recherche avancée pour chercheurs senior. Il a été constaté que certains évaluateurs n'avaient fourni que des informations limitées. En fin de compte, faute de propositions exceptionnelles répondant aux attentes décrites dans l'appel à propositions et des contraintes liées au financement, le Secrétariat a décidé de ne pas attribuer de bourses de recherche avancée.

Propositions sélectionnées

Après des délibérations approfondies, le comité a présélectionné les propositions qu'il considérait comme étant les plus solides sur la base des critères évoqués ci-dessus. En outre, une liste de propositions alternatives a été préparée pour considération en cas de désistement d'une des propositions initialement sélectionnées.

MRI général

Sur les 267 propositions reçues, 185 sont rédigées en anglais, 53 en français et 29 en portugais. Le comité a recommandé 11 propositions parmi celles rédigées en anglais, 5 en français et 2 en portugais. De plus, une des propositions rédigées en français regroupe 2 candidats individuels et un groupe distinct de 3 membres, que le comité a suggéré de réunir en raison de la relative proximité de leurs sujets de recherche.

Appel MRI spécial chercheuses

Sur les 116 propositions reçues, 72 sont rédigées en anglais, 38 en français et 6 en portugais. Le comité a retenu 14 propositions dans cette catégorie : 6 en anglais, 7 en français et 1 en portugais. Le nombre limité de propositions en anglais retenues, malgré le volume élevé de propositions reçues dans cette langue, reflète la qualité inférieure aux attentes des propositions, et le nombre relativement important de projets centrés sur l'enseignement supérieur.

Bourses MRI de recherche avancée pour chercheurs seniors

Sur les 9 propositions reçues, 7 sont rédigées en anglais par des hommes et 2 en français par des chercheuses. Le comité a retenu 4 propositions : 3 en anglais et 1 en français.

Liste des lauréats MRI 2023-2024

Dans la liste restreinte, les 13 projets suivants ont finalement été sélectionnés, avec 2 projets individuels et 11 projets de groupe.

Tableau 1 : Propositions retenues, MRI Général, MRI 2023-2024

N°	NOMS	SEXE	TITRE DE LA PROPOSITION
1.	Choolwe Muzyamba	M	Rethinking resilience in gender and sexual based violence in South Africa and Zambia
2.	Wangui Kimari	F	Urbanisation trajectories in African port cities: History, mega-infrastructures and livelihoods
	Razaz Basheir	F	
	Zhengli Huang	F	
	Afra Foli	F	
	Mariam Genes Shirima	F	
3.	Ester Botta Sompore	F	Inégalités environnementales et santé à Conakry
	Abdoulaye Wotem Sompore	M	
	Amadou Tidiane Barry	M	
4.	Marie-Thérèse Mengue	F	Convergences de luttes : Travail, enjeux écologiques et luttes sociales dans les secteurs de la pêche et du transport au Cameroun
	Yvan Hyannick Obah	M	
	Calvin Minfegue	M	
	Christine Makia Masong	F	
5.	Adilson Filomeno Carvalho Semedo	M	O Femicídio Íntimo/ Suicídio Como Uma Situação Limite Na Política De Gênero Em Cabo Verde
6.	Nélida do Rosário da Luz	F	Formação do capital social das mulheres da Cadeia Curta dos Sistemas Agro-Alimentares de Cabo Verde, Moçambique e São Tomé e Príncipe
	João Paulino	M	
	Maria das Neves Ceita Batista de Sousa	F	
	Miclay Carvalho	M	

Tableau 2 : Propositions retenues, appel MRI spécial chercheures, MRI 2023-2024

N°	NOMS	SEXE	TITRE DE LA PROPOSITION
1.	Judith I Ani	F	Climate change-induced flooding and food security of female smallholder farmers in Nigeria
	Loveth C. Ode-Omenka	F	
	Oluwayemisi Kadijat Adeleke	F	
	Ngwengeh Brendaline Beloke	F	
2.	Nyamagere Gladys Sospeter	F	Ecological paradigms in housing development and its impacts on women's livelihoods in peri-urban areas
	Sarah Phoya	F	
	Nyangi Chacha	F	
	Geraldine John Kikwasi	F	
	Grace Khumalo	F	
3.	Felishana Jepkosgei Cherop	F	Using human-centred designs to develop didactic learning approaches for remote learning in institutions of higher learning in Africa
	Naomi Koske	F	
	Diane Korir-Uyoga	F	
	Violet Naanyu	F	
	Gloria Agyapong	F	
4.	Awa Yombé Yade	F	Leadership des femmes en milieu universitaire : études de cas à l'Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD), Université Félix Houphouët Boigny (UFHB) et the University of the Gambia (UTG)
	Aminata Aidara	F	
	Bangerezako Haydée	F	
	Astou Fall	F	
	Gninin Aïcha Touré	F	
5.	Corinne Bangami Darate	F	Interactions complexes entre extraction du bois, production de charbon de bois, environnement, santé et sécurité alimentaire au Bénin : Une analyse de l'offre et de la demande
	Myriam Tigri Dayori	F	
	Doriane Nicole Nomo Alinga	F	
	Nassibou Bassongui	M	

6.	Frida Ngo Wengui	F	Impact des stratégies d'adaptation au changement climatique sur la production du riz au Sénégal
	Bénédicte Atchade	F	
	Audrey Jennie Djijo Tiakou	F	
	Mongbo Kayode Majorie Jennifer	F	
7.	Djalita Fialho	F	Agendas de cooperação internacional e seus impactos nas políticas nacionais: Tendências, mudanças e implicações uma análise para Cabo Verde
	Iolanda Évora	F	
	Jandira Barros	F	

Profil des candidats sélectionnés

Chercheurs :

Au total, 48 chercheurs travaillent sur ces projets.

Sexe des porteurs de projets :

- Hommes : 2
- Femmes : 11

Sexe de tous les participants au projet :

- Hommes : 13
- Femmes : 35

Répartition géographique :

Les chercheurs sont issus de 16 pays avec la répartition suivante :

- Afrique de l'Ouest : 23
- Afrique australe : 3
- Afrique centrale : 13
- Afrique de l'Est : 8

Sélection des personnes ressources pour les projets MRI 2023-2024

La liste des personnes ressources a été établie à partir de la liste des évaluateurs, puis affinée pour une représentation équilibrée. Ce processus comprenait des considérations telles que les domaines de spécialisation de recherche, les publications, l'expérience en matière de formation méthodologique, la diversité géographique et linguistique et l'inclusion de genre. Les personnes ressources sélectionnées superviseront les projets jusqu'à leur achèvement et assureront l'accompagnement des chercheurs qui sont dans leurs groupes respectifs. L'atelier méthodologique et

scientifique du MRI, prévu du 16 au 20 septembre 2024, permettra aux chercheurs de rencontrer, pour la première fois, les personnes ressources.

Aperçu des évaluateurs

Comme expliqué ci-dessus, 49 évaluateurs ont été engagés pour évaluer les propositions. Ils ont analysé les candidatures sur la base d'un ensemble de critères comprenant la solidité et la clarté théoriques, la rigueur méthodologique, la créativité conceptuelle, la pensée innovante et la maîtrise de la littérature pertinente. En outre, les évaluateurs devaient fournir un modèle d'évaluation avec une appréciation spécifique des propositions individuelles et un rapport général résumant leur évaluation globale de la qualité et de l'orientation générale des candidatures.

En moyenne, les évaluateurs ont, chacun, examiné 17 propositions, ce qui leur a permis d'observer des schémas récurrents dans un large éventail de projets. Leurs rapports ont principalement mis en évidence les points forts et les points faibles des candidatures, offrant ainsi de précieuses indications sur la qualité globale des soumissions. Si la majeure partie des propositions portaient sur les thèmes prioritaires et les questions transversales du CODESRIA, nombre d'entre elles présentaient d'importantes lacunes qui, dans une large mesure, affectaient leurs chances de sélection. Ces lacunes variaient, mais portaient sur les compétences rédactionnelles et les antécédents de recherche de chacun. La plupart des propositions abordaient des thèmes liés à l'enseignement supérieur, à l'économie et aux questions de développement, tandis qu'un nombre moins important portait sur des questions historiques ou anthropologiques.

Les propositions soumises dans le cadre de l'appel à candidatures général portaient principalement sur des questions économiques et de développement, tandis qu'un petit nombre portait sur la politique et la démocratisation. Il convient de noter qu'un nombre important de propositions abordaient des sujets liés à l'enseignement supérieur, en particulier, ceux soumis par des chercheurs anglophones. Dans l'ensemble, certaines propositions présentaient des lacunes notables en ce qui concerne la qualité de l'écriture et montraient des limites importantes dans la formulation d'un problème de recherche et la définition d'objectifs de recherche clairs.

Les propositions soumises à l'appel spécial chercheurs portaient principalement sur des sujets sociologiques, comme la migration, le changement climatique, le genre

et la santé reproductive, le handicap, la conservation des ressources et les questions de gouvernance.

En général, les rapports indiquent que si les propositions portaient sur des domaines connus et bien étudiés, nombre d'entre elles présentaient des faiblesses supplémentaires, notamment un manque de pertinence et d'adéquation avec les priorités thématiques, d'originalité et de profondeur. Les problèmes sociaux étaient souvent transformés en questions scientifiques sans réflexion théorique suffisante et sans prise en compte correcte de la littérature existante. Il a généralement été constaté un manque de connaissance des savoirs produits par le CODESRIA. Des faiblesses théoriques et conceptuelles ont été détectées, telles que des difficultés à définir les concepts de base et à formuler un énoncé de problème, ainsi que des discussions théoriques qui n'opérationnalisent pas les concepts.

Sur le plan méthodologique, de nombreuses propositions de recherche ont démontré un manque des connaissances requises en matière de méthodes de recherche en sciences sociales et humaines, et n'ont pas présenté de méthodologies empiriques solides pour répondre correctement aux questions fondamentales.

Ces lacunes, et d'autres liées à la qualité de rédaction, ont un impact considérable sur la structure globale d'un nombre important de propositions. Selon la majorité des évaluateurs, un problème récurrent dans les propositions – quelle que soit la langue – était la difficulté à formuler une question de recherche claire et à définir le problème à étudier. En outre, il est noté une insuffisance généralisée dans la construction d'une proposition cohérente et claire, où toutes les parties – telles que le contexte général du thème, l'énoncé du problème, les objectifs, l'hypothèse et la méthodologie de l'étude – étaient efficacement intégrées et en dialogue les unes avec les autres. Comme l'a souligné un évaluateur :

Une lacune de recherche est une question ou un problème qui n'a pas été abordé par les études ou recherches existantes dans un domaine donné. Un problème de recherche bien défini et structuré est le cœur du projet de recherche. La plupart des propositions examinées manquaient de ce composant crucial de la recherche. Certaines présentaient un problème de recherche vague, tandis que d'autres n'en avaient pas du tout. Certaines étaient insuffisamment convaincantes, ce qui explique pourquoi les propositions étaient jugées faibles (...).

D'un autre côté, bien que moins nombreuses que l'ensemble des propositions soumises, les propositions acceptées ont été qualifiées de perspicaces et innovantes, avec des méthodologies solides et des théories bien fondées qui abordaient efficacement les questions de recherche. Comme avec l'appel MRI spécial chercheuses, de nombreuses propositions acceptées ont adopté une perspective sexospécifique pour étudier diverses questions sociétales. Les évaluateurs ont noté que ces propositions démontraient une robustesse méthodologique grâce à des méthodes et des processus clairement articulés. Comme l'a déclaré un évaluateur :

Les candidats ont clairement présenté les différentes méthodes et processus à adopter pour leurs projets, démontrant ainsi leur robustesse méthodologique. Avec l'accent mis par ce projet de la recherche sur la construction du sens, l'originalité et le caractère innovant des propositions sont particulièrement encourageants. Toutes les propositions étaient bien positionnées dans la littérature existante et certaines présentaient également une pertinence pratique.

Concernant l'appel à candidatures général, un autre évaluateur a mentionné :

Les propositions étaient très instructives et largement exhaustives, démontrant l'engagement des chercheurs africains à innover sur le plan théorique et conceptuel. Ces propositions ont le potentiel de combler les lacunes de la littérature académique et de la pratique.

Dans l'ensemble, les commentaires des évaluateurs mettent en évidence une disparité significative entre les attentes élevées en matière de qualité, d'innovation et d'originalité de pensée inhérentes au programme MRI et le nombre considérable de propositions mal rédigées. Bien que le CODESRIA ait régulièrement organisé divers types de séminaires méthodologiques dans le cadre de ses programmes de recherche et de formation, il est urgent de fournir aux chercheurs en début et milieu de carrière un soutien à l'écriture de propositions. Cette intervention doit être considérée comme un complément au travail effectué par les universités du continent au niveau du troisième cycle, mais pour le CODESRIA, il s'agira d'affiner les compétences en recherche avancée en faveur d'un groupe de propositions ciblées. D'où la nécessité d'une communication plus claire autour des objectifs stratégiques du programme MRI, à savoir le soutien au développement d'idées de pointe et de recherches innovantes en Afrique.

De même, les évaluateurs ont noté que les faiblesses identifiées dans les projets soumis dans le cadre de l'appel à candidatures spécial chercheuses reflétaient celles observées dans la catégorie générale. En termes comparatifs, les pays francophones et lusophones affichent de plus faibles niveaux de préparation en matière de compétences de recherche. De nombreux évaluateurs ont souligné les disparités dans le développement de la recherche dans ces pays, évidentes dans les candidatures soumises.

Suggestions pour les futurs appels MRI

La plupart des évaluateurs ont recommandé d'organiser, dans divers pays et régions, des ateliers d'écriture de propositions de recherche pour les candidats potentiels. Ces ateliers permettraient aux chercheurs d'améliorer leurs compétences en écriture dans le cadre de leurs projets. Les recommandations générales sont les suivantes :

Organiser des ateliers méthodologiques de pré-proposition :

Se concentrer sur les méthodologies de recherche, la conception de la recherche et l'écriture de propositions afin d'améliorer la qualité des soumissions. Élargir les séminaires de formation méthodologique à toutes les parties d'une proposition de recherche, telles que le contexte, l'énoncé du problème, les objectifs, l'hypothèse et la méthodologie. MRI place la barre très haut, mais le groupe de chercheurs ciblé n'est pas suffisamment préparé et/ou disponible.

Organiser des séances d'information virtuelles :

Orienter et conseiller les candidats potentiels au MRI sur les aspects importants à prendre en compte lors de la soumission de propositions.

Travailler avec les propositions borderline :

Aider les chercheurs à retravailler des propositions qui présentent des idées originales et novatrices mais faibles dans leur présentation, afin de les préparer à un futur soutien financier.

Encourager la recherche collaborative :

Souligner l'importance des projets collaboratifs plutôt qu'individuels et proposer des moyens de rassembler les chercheurs autour de projets innovants.

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Veiller à ce que les projets soient en adéquation avec les objectifs décrits dans le MRI et le plan stratégique du CODESRIA. Proposer des conseils sur le cadrage des propositions sur les priorités thématiques et les questions transversales du CODESRIA, en garantissant leur pertinence et leur impact.

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Mieux faire connaître les types de propositions éligibles aux subventions MRI. L'innovation et l'originalité doivent être soulignées et démontrées, même pour les chercheurs confirmés.

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The Petty Bourgeoisie in the Thought of Amilcar Cabral and Walter Rodney

*Paper presented to the International Symposium entitled:
'Amilcar Cabral: A national and universal heritage',
in commemoration of the centenary of Cabral's birth held at
Cabo Verde and Guinea-Bissau from 9 to 12 September, 2024*

On Petty Bourgeoisie

One of the most debated ideas of Amilcar Cabral is that of the suicide of the petty bourgeoisie. Much has been written on this idea, a few in context but much out of context, thinking of it as a dictum or an edict. In revisiting this statement, I want to locate it in its historical and political context: why it was said, in what context and with what political purpose in mind. Cabral and Walter Rodney always emphasised the specificity of discourse—to be concrete and contextual and discuss concepts and ideas emanating from our own specific conditions and political practices. Before I do this, it is relevant to discuss the social category of petty bourgeoisie, which both Cabral and Rodney used freely in their writings. This is important because their meaning of 'petty bourgeoisie', particularly in the political context, is slightly different from that of the Marxist classics.

In the *Communist Manifesto* ([1850] 1973: 62–98), Marx and Engels seemed to imply that in Europe there were two types of

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petty bourgeoisie: the 'old' petty bourgeoisie (artisans, shopkeepers, etc.), who were remnants from the precapitalist formations (feudalism, in the case of Europe), and the 'new' petty bourgeoisie, formed in developed capitalism and ensconced between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, 'fluctuating between proletariat and bourgeoisie and ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of the bourgeois society' (ibid.: 89).

The idea of the fickle nature of the petty bourgeoisie oscillating between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat was formulated more graphically by Marx in his polemical text against Proudhon. He described Proudhon as a petty bourgeois who was 'continually tossed back and forth between capital and labour ...' (Marx and Engels [1847] 1976: 178). The fickle or unreliable nature of petty bour-

geoisie has remained with us and is often deployed in polemical writings. However, we do not find this in Cabral or Rodney, who took the role of the petty bourgeoisie seriously, notwithstanding its fickle nature. Once again, Cabral and Rodney cautioned that we should desist from generalisations and be context-specific.

There is another important point to add in reference to Marx's writings on the petty bourgeoisie. From his historical conception of it as an intermediary class without independent material interests,¹ Marx could not envisage the petty bourgeoisie getting into political power on its own and becoming a ruling class serving its own interests. Even where it did get into state power, it was objectively serving the interests of the bourgeoisie (see, for instance, Marx [1852] 1973). This is important, because in some of Rodney's writings we come across the idea of the petty bourgeoisie as the ruling class (Rodney [1975] 1990: 54–55). More on this later.

Matters stand differently when it comes to colonial and neocolonial formations, which were the domi-

nant framework for Cabral and Rodney. On the place and political role of the petty bourgeoisie, there are certain commonalities and significant differences between their writings.

Firstly, the most significant difference between the European situation and struggles that Marx was writing on, and the African situation, was the central factor of imperialism. Whereas in the European case the formations and transitions from one to another were largely autonomous, dependent on internal social and political contradictions that were ultimately decisive, in the colonial and neocolonial contexts, internal contradictions were muted under colonialism. The internal contradictions between classes and social groups surfaced after independence under neocolonialism. In the anticolonial struggle, almost all colonised people were fighting against the colonial power. As soon as independence was achieved, social classes and groups began to assert their own interests, albeit under the overall hegemony of imperialism (Cabral [1966] 1969: 57 et seq.).

Secondly, in the colonial and neocolonial situation the petty bourgeoisie was more than an intermediary. Tethered to the metropolitan bourgeoisie under colonialism and tied to the international bourgeoisie in many ways under neocolonialism, the petty bourgeoisie, or at least large sectors of it, was a transmission belt. Its privileged position and perks were best served by playing second fiddle to the international bourgeoisie.

Thirdly, national liberation in Africa, whether through armed struggle or peaceful means, was a kind of alliance between classes led by the petty bourgeoisie, or some sectors of it. On this Cabral and Rodney

agreed. They saw the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie as almost inevitable. The petty bourgeoisie under colonialism was the class nearest to the colonial state apparatus, or in it; had a broader view of the world than the working people; had some education to articulate the demands of the people; knew the colonial ways of the Europeans; and had a personal interest in fighting for independence given that it subjectively felt the racial discrimination and the humiliation of petty European officials, their bosses, in spite of the latter being less qualified. This was the point made by Cabral, giving his own example.

Cabral was a highly qualified agronomist in the colonial civil service but earned far less than his Portuguese boss, to whom he could have ‘taught his job with my eyes shut’ (Cabral [1966] 1969: 52). Cabral added that such discrimination and affront suffered by the African petty bourgeoisie mattered ‘when considering where the initial idea of the struggle came from’ (ibid.). This ought not to be generalised because there are instances in many African countries where the initial ideas for freedom and independence came from some sectors of the working people, even though in such cases too, eventually, the leadership landed in the hands of the more educated petty bourgeoisie.

Fourthly, although Cabral and Rodney drew their classification of the petty bourgeoisie from Marxism, their application was not slavish. In Cabral’s astute analysis of what he called ‘the social structure in Guinea’ (Cabral [1964] 1969: 46–61), he separately considered towns and the rural areas, Fulas and Balantes. In towns, he identified several groups, including workers (for example, dockwork-

ers), European bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, African petty bourgeoisie of different social gradations, African shop workers employed by European merchants and commercial houses, prostitutes, thieves and other *déclassé* elements. He characterised Fulas as semi-feudal, having two main classes: chiefs and peasants. Between these two classes are intermediate social groups, like artisans and Dyulas (itinerant traders), who could be classified as petty bourgeois. Balantes hardly had much stratification, land was communally owned, instruments of production were privately owned and the product went to the one who laboured.

In his synthesis of the social stratification of Africans, Cabral saw higher and middle officials and liberal professionals as a group, followed by petty officials, commercial employees and small farm owners as the petty bourgeoisie (ibid.: 48). He was somewhat hesitant to place higher officials and liberal professionals in the petty bourgeoisie but made a rather tantalising observation: ‘... if we were to make a thorough analysis the higher African officials as well as the middle officials and members of the liberal professions should also be included in the petty bourgeoisie’ (ibid.). I venture to say that Cabral was inclined to include this group in the African petty bourgeoisie. (In our East African debates of the 1970s, such a group was unambiguously included in the petty bourgeoisie—see Shivji 1975, *passim*.)

What is perhaps most interesting in Cabral’s essay is not so much the analysis of the social structure, which is somewhat schematic, but his *political* analysis of the attitude of each class and social group to national liberation and social revo-

lution. This was rooted in the current social conditions of Guinea-Bissau, though in its methodology Cabral seems to have leaned heavily on classic Marx. He refused to call workers ‘working class’ or the ‘proletariat’. His argument was that there could not be a proletariat in the absence of a national bourgeoisie. By the same token, he refused to call *déclassé* elements the lumpen proletariat since there cannot be a lumpen proletariat in the absence of a proletariat.

It is difficult to agree wholly with this *logical* argument. But then one must keep in mind that Cabral was writing this in 1964 based on the actually existing conditions in Guinea-Bissau. He did not have behind him the experience of independent African countries, since most had become independent only a couple of years earlier. He could not be expected to predict outcomes in independent African countries that eventually did experience the development of the proletariat and some bourgeoisie—albeit dependent bourgeoisie, mostly compradorial classes in both public and private sectors.

Another interesting point in Cabral’s analysis is that he did not consider the peasantry as a revolutionary force. Although the peasantry is most exploited, that does not in itself make the peasantry a revolutionary agency (ibid.: 51). And he certainly did not see revolutionary potential in the *déclassé* elements of what traditionally is called the lumpen proletariat. In both these respects, Cabral departed from Frantz Fanon, who considered the working class as some kind of labour aristocracy and the peasantry as the revolutionary force (Fanon 1967; see also Macey 2000: 390 et seq.). In fact, Fanon disagreed with the Angolan People’s Move-

ment for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which based its struggle in urban areas and neglected the peasantry (Macey ibid.).²

Whereas Cabral’s conception was based on the experience of Guinea-Bissau (and he always emphasised this and refused to generalise), Rodney’s arose from his experience of the Caribbean, and of East Africa where he participated in the vigorous debates of the 1960s and 70s at the University of Dar es Salaam. At the time, the term petty bourgeoisie was in vogue to the extent that many of us involved in those debates took it for granted that it was the petty bourgeoisie that was in power, albeit as a dependent class. Rodney, writing in 1974 (Rodney 1975a, 1975b) and in 1975 (Rodney [1975] 1990), continued to adhere to the concept of the petty bourgeoisie, sometimes even calling African states petty bourgeois states. In hindsight, we can legitimately ask whether it was correct not to recognise the differentiation of the petty bourgeoisie in state power after independence.

As a participant in those debates, I tried to develop the concept of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, particularly after the 1967 nationalisations in Tanzania. My argument then was that the petty bourgeoisie, having lacked an economic base when it came to power, had sought to create such a base through nationalisation. My position was that the state had become the site of accumulation for the collective interest of the whole bureaucratic bourgeoisie, though consumption remained individual. Yet I continued to include the bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the petty bourgeoisie. I did not fully develop the argument that, in fact, the petty bourgeoisie had morphed into a bourgeoisie, a bureaucratic bourgeoisie. One commentator on

the earlier version³ of my *Class Struggles in Tanzania* (1973) observed that I always bracketed the term ‘bureaucratic bourgeoisie’ in inverted commas, implying perhaps a tentative formulation or that the class was not yet fully developed (Foster-Carter 1973: 12–24). I later changed my position, recognising the bureaucratic bourgeoisie as a class (see, for instance, Shivji et al. 2020: book 3: passim). It is not clear if Rodney, too, changed his position.

In his Hamburg lectures in 1978, Rodney had come a long way from his hopes for Tanzania’s Ujamaa and his tentative formulations on class and class struggle. According to his biographer, while giving some credit to the nationalism of the Tanzanian petty bourgeoisie, Rodney showed surprise at how the bureaucratic bourgeoisie had abandoned the Ujamaa project and embedded itself in the international capitalist system (Zeilig 2022: 268–283). I cannot conclusively say that Rodney had by then come to accept that the bureaucratic bourgeoisie had developed into a class in itself because I have not heard or read the original lectures. However, the biographer quotes one statement from the lectures which I find pregnant, as if Rodney were moving towards identifying the bureaucratic bourgeoisie as a class in itself. ‘The idea of class struggle does not suit a bureaucratic bourgeoisie or any sector of the petit-bourgeoisie, because it’s an idea that speaks about the negation of their own existence over time’ (ibid.: 284). Be that as it may, what is important for the purpose of this paper is to underline that in Rodney we do not find a fully fledged analysis that the petty bourgeoisie in power had transformed into some other kind of bourgeoisie.

There is another piece of analytical observation by Rodney that I find both refreshing and illustrative of his refusal to slavishly apply theories developed elsewhere. In his conversation with the comrades of the Institute of the Black World, over a period of two days on 30 April and 1 May 1975, he said:

We still have a large peasantry. Do we treat them as petty commodity producers and as a consequence as members of the petit bourgeoisie, or do we see them as part of the working people, the producers in our country? What do we do with the large number of unemployed? Thirty-three per cent of our population is unemployed. Do we call them 'lumpen proletariat' and with all that that implies—that they're outside the working class, that they are even in some ways antisocial—or should we understand that this is a fundamental part of the thrust of capitalism to keep our working people from having the right to work. (Rodney 1990: 107)

In this observation, Rodney was hinting at an extremely useful concept, the concept of the working people. Inspired by Rodney, I have developed the concept of the working people further (Shivji 2017). I consider Rodney's concept of the working people as his most important contribution to the theory of class and class struggle in Africa and the Caribbean.

Let us return to Cabral. Did Cabral think that the petty bourgeoisie in power would change into some kind of a bourgeoisie either through the state or in alliance with the comprador bourgeoisie outside the state? Remember, Cabral did not have the experience of neocolonialism behind him. He was in a sense extrapolating, yet his observations are very sharp and reveal-

ing. In his 1966 essay, 'The weapon of theory', Cabral began talking about the possible class structure and class struggles under neocolonialism. He argued that 'imperialist action takes the form of creating a local bourgeoisie or pseudobourgeoisie, controlled by the ruling class of the dominating country' (Cabral [1966] 1969: 82). He used 'pseudo' because, in his main thesis, this class is incapable of releasing the free development of productive forces or, in the language of class, is incapable of becoming a true national bourgeoisie.⁴ Fanon described well the characteristics of the 'national middle class' ('pseudobourgeoisie' in the words of Cabral, or 'compradorial class' in the language of East African debates) in his celebrated passage:

in underdeveloped countries no true bourgeoisie exists; there is only a sort of little greedy caste, avid and voracious, with the mind of the huckster, only too glad to accept the dividends that the former colonial power hands out to it. This get-rich-quick middle class shows itself incapable of great ideas or of inventiveness.⁵ (Fanon 1967: 141)

Elsewhere, Cabral described succinctly the differentiation of the petty bourgeoisie once in power:

the creation of a native pseudobourgeoisie which generally develops out of a petty bourgeoisie of bureaucrats and accentuates the differentiation between social strata and intermediaries in the commercial system (compradorial), by strengthening the economic activity of local elements, opens up new perspectives in the social dynamic, mainly by the development of the urban working class, the introduction of the private agricultural property

and the progressive appearance of an agricultural proletariat. (Cabral 1969: 82)

This comes close to my analysis of Tanzania in *Class Struggles*, but unlike Cabral, both Rodney and I (I now believe wrongly) continued to talk about the bureaucratic bourgeoisie as a part of the petty bourgeoisie. That, writing as early as 1966, Cabral could almost foresee the morphing of the petty bourgeoisie into another bourgeoisie after independence is not only prescient but the result of his deep theoretical insights and powerful belief in the socialist revolution as the most viable option for progress in a neocolony. Contemplating a socialist path, Cabral had already begun to think of the possible class enemies that the working people would have to face. I return to this subject again in the next two sections.

On the Petty Bourgeoisie Committing Suicide

There are two instances in which Cabral deploys the idea of the petty bourgeoisie committing suicide. In both, the context was his political discussion on the possible trajectory of the petty bourgeoisie that led the national liberation movement as it was poised to take over state power on the morrow of independence. The first instance is in his essay 'Brief analysis', where Cabral says that the petty bourgeoisie has only two options: either 'ally itself with imperialism and reactionary strata in its own country' or 'ally itself with the workers and peasants', in which case 'Are we asking the petty bourgeoisie to commit suicide?' 'Because if there is a revolution, then the petty bourgeoisie will have to abandon power to the workers and the peasants and cease to exist qua petty bourgeoisie'⁶ (Cabral [1964] 1969: 57).

The second instance is in his 1966 theoretical essay 'The weapon of theory'.

Before dealing with this, let me make one thing clear. Unlike Rodney, Cabral stated very clearly that the petty bourgeoisie was not capable of retaining political power and becoming a ruling class, even if it came to power, because it lacked an economic base. It was essentially a service class not involved in the process of production (ibid.: 89). This is very much in line with the classic Marxist view of the petty bourgeoisie discussed above.

Cabral argued that for the petty bourgeoisie to retain the power that national liberation had put in its hands, it had two options. The first option, which meant allying itself with imperialism and reinforcing neocolonialism, was 'to give free rein to its natural tendencies to become more bourgeois, to permit the development of a bureaucratic and intermediate bourgeoisie, in the commercial cycle, in order to transform itself into a pseudo-bourgeoisie' (emphasis mine).

The second option was not to betray the objectives of national liberation, which meant:

strengthen its revolutionary consciousness, ... reject the temptation of becoming more bourgeois and the natural concerns of its class mentality, ... identify itself with the working classes This means that in order to truly fulfil the role of the national liberation struggle, the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie must be capable of committing suicide as a class in order to be reborn as revolutionary workers, completely identified with the aspirations of the people to which they belong. (emphasis mine) (Cabral [1966] 1969: 89)

There is no concept in Rodney of the petty bourgeoisie committing suicide, although he too urged the people of middle classes, in the words of Eusi Kwayana et al., 'to a commitment to service of the masses of the working people' (Kwayana et al. 2009: 130). Rodney also talked about certain sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, like intellectuals, 'grounding' with the people to be able to play a revolutionary role (Rodney 2013: 300). Fanon, on the other hand, came very close to the formulation of Cabral in his formulations. The 'authentic national middle class in an underdeveloped country is to repudiate its own nature in so far as it is bourgeois' and 'make itself the willing slave of that revolutionary capital which is the people' (emphasis mine) (Fanon 1967: 120). In other words, like Cabral, Fanon was urging the 'national middle class' 'to betray the calling fate has marked out for it, and to put itself to school with the people ...' (ibid.).

I conclude this discussion on the idea of the petty bourgeoisie committing suicide by underscoring four principal issues of methodology and perspective that are embedded in Cabral's approach.

Firstly, Cabral's approach was political, based on class and not some reified or metaphysical perspective, although he used words like 'reincarnate', 'reborn' and such like. Secondly, in this context, Cabral was not talking about going back to the roots, to 'return to the source', or identifying with the masses or returning to culture/tradition. Rather he was calling on the petty bourgeoisie to repudiate its class nature (see Fanon above) and 'acquire ... a working-class mentality'⁷ (Cabral 1969: 55).

Thirdly, Cabral's formulation in 'The weapon of theory', that the

petty bourgeoisie should commit suicide 'as a class', has often troubled me. Did he mean the whole of the petty bourgeoisie committing suicide, which would be absurd, or some individuals from the petty bourgeoisie? After carefully re-reading the essay and its context, I come to the conclusion that the phrase 'as a class' is not a reference to the petty bourgeoisie as a social category. Cabral was rather implying that the petty bourgeoisie betrays, so to speak, its petty bourgeois class nature to become more bourgeois. Thus, Cabral was talking about the nature or aspiration of the petty bourgeoisie to become bourgeois, which it is called upon to repudiate so as to become revolutionary and join the working people in their historical role to transcend the system of capitalist imperialism.

Finally, let me re-emphasise that the context of this idea was the transition from anticolonial national liberation to postcolonial revolution. Cabral was already thinking and agonising over what would happen after the victory of national liberation, that is, whether the country would fall into neocolonialism and therefore under the hegemony of imperialism, or advance to a social revolution. This marks out Cabral from many of his contemporary African leaders of national liberation, including those of Marxist orientation, and takes me to the final section of this paper.

National Liberation and Social Revolution

Rodney stated: 'Our predicament at the present time throws up new questions. Neo-colonial man is asking a different set of questions than the old colonial man' (Rodney 1990: 69). And he went on to urge his audience not to get trapped in the colonial moment where the

struggle is of the whole people, Africans, against the dominant Europeans. Under neocolonialism, the new question is whether Africans are a homogenous mass or differentiated into classes. And if they are differentiated, then against which class or classes are the working people struggling?

Rodney was raising these questions almost fifteen years after the independence of most African countries and therefore had the benefit of the experience of neocolonialism and internal class struggles. Cabral did not have that benefit. He was writing only a couple of years after the independence of some African countries and before his Guinea-Bissau became independent. Therefore, in Rodney's formulation, Cabral was the 'old colonial man' raising and grappling with the new questions of the 'neocolonial man'. Cabral combined both. In this respect, he was ahead of his time. He was raising questions of social revolution beyond national liberation and positing a possibility of national liberation seamlessly flowing into anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist social revolution. This is contrary to the widely held belief in many national liberation movements then, of two stages—first the national democratic stage and then the socialist stage.⁸ This position also suggests that Cabral appreciated the limits of nationalism spawned by anticolonial struggles while at the same time seeing in them a potential to advance to social revolution. Presumably, he would have called this a 'national liberation revolution' rather than simply 'national liberation' with an ultimate goal of independence and state sovereignty.

In the context of training cadres for national liberation, in his 1964 essay Cabral observed: 'we realized that we needed to have people with

a mentality which could transcend the context of the national liberation struggle ...' (Cabral [1964] 1969: 55). Cabral was already thinking in terms of transcending the anticolonial struggle. Referring to the historical situation where imperialism was dominant and socialism was consolidating itself in a large part of the world, Cabral reiterated the necessity of eliminating imperialism. Thus, there were only 'two possible paths for an independent nation: to return to imperialist domination (neocolonialism, capitalism, state capitalism), or to take the way of socialism' (ibid.: 87). Needless to say, then, for Cabral social revolution meant a revolution against imperialism and capitalism and going 'the way of socialism'.

Almost sixty years down the line, virtually all African countries have taken the path of neocolonialism entangled woefully in the imperialist web. Cabral's hope and wish for national liberation to transform into a social revolution was dashed, even in his own two countries (Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde), for whose liberation he sacrificed his life.

The neocolonial and neoliberal reality of the African world has been so pervasive that some scholars, even radical ones, are damning the national liberation struggles for which thousands of people sacrificed their lives. Cabral indeed showed some reservations about the national liberation struggles but with a different motivation and without repudiating the anti-imperialist struggle against colonialism. His major concern was that the national liberation struggle for independence and self-determination should become a national liberation revolution which would seamlessly flow into a socialist revolution.

Cabral asked whether national liberation could be taken simply as a revolutionary trend or required a deeper analysis. '[I]n fact I would even go so far as to ask whether, given the advance of socialism in the world, the national liberation movement is not an imperialist initiative' (Cabral [1966] 1969: 58). He continued with a series of rhetorical questions:

Is the judicial institution which serves as the reference for the rights of peoples to struggle to free themselves a product of the peoples who are trying to liberate themselves? Was it created by the socialist countries who are our historical associates? It is signed by the imperialist countries, it is the imperialist countries who have recognised the right of all peoples to national independence, so I ask myself whether we may not be considering as an initiative of our people what is in fact an initiative of the enemy? (ibid.)

Cabral then proceeded to answer his own questions explaining why he was raising them in the first place.

This is where we think there is something wrong with the simple interpretation of the national liberation movement as a revolutionary trend. The objective of the imperialist countries was to prevent the enlargement of the socialist camp, to liberate the reactionary forces in our countries which were being stifled by colonialism and to enable these forces to ally themselves with the international bourgeoisie. The fundamental objective was to create a bourgeoisie where one did not exist, in order specifically to strengthen the imperialist and the capitalist camp. ... We are therefore faced with the problem of deciding whether to en-

gage in an out and out struggle against the bourgeoisie right from the start or whether to try and make an alliance with the national bourgeoisie, to try to deepen the absolutely necessary contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and the international bourgeoisie which has promoted the national bourgeoisie to the position it holds'. (ibid.: 58–59)

The international situation has changed enormously since Cabral raised these questions. The socialist camp does not exist anymore—but the imperialist capitalist camp does. It has become even more ferocious than ever before. The comprador classes that wield state power in our countries are hand in glove with the international bourgeoisie. Within the process of classes and class struggles, the revolutionary forces of the working people have to continuously face the question of building broad alliances so as to isolate the reactionary forces. In this context, if there are enduring lessons to learn from Cabral, then they are these.

- One, the absolute importance of doing a concrete analysis of our concrete conditions, in particular that of the class structure.
- Two, to try and understand politically the attitude of each class and social stratum towards the revolution as opposed to imposing revolutionary agency doctrinally.
- Three, build an ideological hegemony of the working people in civil society by engaging in intellectual and ideological struggles with the dominant hegemony both to dent the credibility of the ruling ideology but, even more important, to develop a 'pedagogy of the oppressed', to use Paulo Freire's revolutionary concept (Freire [1970] 1993).

- Four, to be cautious of populist regimes which may mouth nationalist or anti-imperialist slogans.
- Five, radical scholars need to be cautious of some ruling classes deploying anti-imperialist slogans or even struggling for state sovereignty while at the same time using the repressive state apparatus against their own people. This does not necessarily mean that radical intellectuals may not lend critical support to such struggles depending on each concrete situation.
- Six, and finally, to identify non-dogmatically the classes and forces with which revolutionary forces of the working people can ally at each conjuncture. All this involves organisation, on which Cabral also had some very profound observations to make. A discussion on revolutionary organisation/s will have to wait for another occasion.

The youth of Africa, or Generation Z⁹ as the Kenyan youth call themselves, have a lot to learn from Cabral.

Cabral's legacy endures. It teaches, inspires and mobilises, all at the same time.

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Notes

1. In Marxist political economy, 'material interests' refers to those interests that arise from the specific role a class plays in the process of production. This is distinguished from 'privileges' that a class or sector of it may enjoy arising from its social status or role in the sectors servicing, directly or indirectly, production or related processes.

2. The veteran Pan-Africanist revolutionary, C. L. R. James, also considered the peasantry in Africa a revolutionary force (James 2012: 60). Robin Kelly, in his introduction to the book, points out that 'Insisting that the peasantry—in this case ex-slaves—could be a revolutionary force in and of itself was not entirely new. Indian Communist M. N. Roy had made a similar point in his 1920 debate with Lenin over the national-colonial question' (ibid.:18).
3. The earlier version was called 'Tanzania: The Class Struggle Continues', which I had shared with a group of comrades, including Rodney, before it was first published in 1973 in a mimeographed form by the Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar es Salaam.
4. In the language of Samir Amin, this class is incapable of developing an autonomous economy based on its own internal, rather than external, logic (Amin 1990: xii).
5. Fanon used the term 'national middle class' and 'national bourgeoisie' interchangeably. This is probably a carry-over from the historical French discourse in which the rising bourgeoisie was considered a middle class, between the aristocracy and the peasantry, in the transition from feudalism to capitalism. In the situation of Africa, Fanon could have been referring to some kind of a compradorial class or a petty bourgeoisie, which is doubtful. Fanon never used the terms 'comprador' or 'petty bourgeoisie'.
6. In 'Brief Analysis', he again talked about the petty bourgeoisie having to commit suicide if it wanted to identify its interests with those of workers and peasants. However, by doing this it would not lose 'by sacrificing itself [because] it can incarnate itself, but in the condition of workers and peasants' (Cabral 1969: 59).

7. Cabral was using this phrase in the context of training cadres who were from different social categories, but it is equally applicable to the petty bourgeoisie.
8. For a more nuanced stageist argument, see Slovo 1988. Joe Slovo was then the General Secretary of the South African Communist Party, which was closely allied with the African National Congress (ANC), then the leading national liberation movement of South Africa.
9. For some snippets of the struggle of Gen-Z in Kenya, see Durrani 2024: 14 et seq.

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Thandika Mkandawire and the African Intellectual Decolonisation Movement

Keynote Address,

New Directions in African Political Economy,

Scholarly Conference, The Africa Institute, Global Studies University, Sharjah, United Arab Emirates,

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It is a profound honour to deliver the keynote address at this landmark conference on New Directions in African Political Economy, hosted by The Africa Institute at Global Studies University, Sharjah, in celebration of the life and legacy of the incomparable Professor Thandika Mkandawire. When the invitation arrived, I accepted without hesitation—not only because of my position on the institute’s Advisory Board but also for the rare privilege of gathering with those who knew and loved Thandika best: his friends, colleagues, mentees and students. Above all, this moment allows me to pay tribute to a man I revered as both a friend and mentor, a luminous intellect whose work reshaped our understanding of Africa’s place in the world. Thandika was more than a scholar: he was a visionary, a humanist and one of the continent’s most profound voices. To honour him today is to affirm the enduring power of his ideas and the deep well of inspiration he left us, urging us always towards a more just and equitable future.

Thandika Mkandawire (1940–2020) was a towering intellectual giant, whose work embodied the

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historic and humanistic mission of African nationalism: to liberate African societies and academic communities from the enduring chains of colonial and neocolonial economic and epistemic dependency. His illustrious career spanned continents, disciplines and institutions, leaving an indelible imprint on African and global academic landscapes. As an economist, social theorist and visionary institution-builder, Mkandawire devoted his life to decolonising knowledge, reimagining development and championing democracy. Yet, beyond his formidable scholarship, he was a mentor, a leader and a profoundly humane presence whose warmth and generosity illuminated countless lives. Having had the privilege of knowing him personally and marvelling at his extraordinary intellect, I am convinced that Mkandawire’s scholarly legacy is an intellectual treasure trove—an enduring wellspring of insight and inspiration for current

and future generations of African thinkers on the continent and in the diaspora. This presentation examines seven pivotal dimensions of his life and work, enriched by reflections from his peers, mentees and admirers, as so powerfully captured in the special issue of *CODESRIA Bulletin* (Nos 2 & 3, 2020) and other heartfelt tributes published since his passing.

Influences: Shaping an Intellectual Giant

Mkandawire’s intellectual journey was profoundly shaped by a confluence of personal experiences, historical events and academic encounters. Born in 1940 in colonial Zimbabwe to a Malawian father and Zimbabwean mother, Mkandawire’s early life exposed him to the stark realities of colonialism and systemic racial inequalities. His childhood in Zambia, where his father worked as a migrant labourer, further deepened his understanding of structural injustice. The colonial labour system, with its exclusion of Africans from skilled and well-paying jobs, marked him and fostered a lifelong commitment to challenging inequitable structures.

Mkandawire's secondary education in Malawi was a pivotal period in his intellectual formation. Unlike the entrenched racial hierarchies he had seen in Zambia, in Malawi he met an exceptionally underdeveloped colony that served as a regional labour reserve. This exposure to the variability of colonial experiences sparked his curiosity about the broader sociopolitical dynamics shaping African societies. His burgeoning political consciousness found an outlet in journalism, where he began criticising colonial rule and its injustices. Writing for Malawian newspapers, he voiced opposition to the authoritarian tendencies of the emerging postcolonial dictatorship under Hastings Kamuzu Banda, which led to his imprisonment and subsequent exile.

His time in exile was transformative. Mkandawire pursued higher education in the United States during the Civil Rights Movement, a period marked by intense political activism and intellectual ferment. The racial struggles and anticolonial discourses of the time resonated deeply with him. He was particularly influenced by radical political economists such as Gunnar Myrdal and Arthur Lewis, whose works challenged orthodox economic theories and emphasised the importance of state-led development. The nationalist writings of Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere further solidified his commitment to African liberation and development.

Another formative period was his time in Sweden, where he was granted asylum after his passport was revoked by the Banda regime. There, Mkandawire was introduced to the Nordic model of social democracy, which heavily influenced his thinking on developmental states and social policy.

The Nordic experience showed the possibility of combining economic growth with social equity, a lesson he believed held immense relevance for Africa. Sweden also gave him an academic home, where he taught economics and began developing his ideas on development and governance.

Mkandawire's intellectual influences were not confined to economics and political science. He had a voracious appetite for knowledge, drawing insights from history, sociology, cultural studies and the arts, including music and literature. This interdisciplinary approach enriched his scholarship, allowing him to engage with complex issues from multiple perspectives. His broad intellectual foundation, combined with his lived experiences, shaped him into a thinker who could bridge theory and practice, local realities and global discourses.

Nationalism and Pan-Africanism: Foundations of Intellectual and Political Commitment

Nationalism and Pan-Africanism were central to Mkandawire's intellectual and political commitments. His early engagement with nationalist movements in Malawi reflected his belief in the transformative power of self-determination. Even as a young journalist, he was deeply involved in the anti-colonial struggle, condemning the colonial authorities and advocating for African liberation. This commitment to nationalism, however, was not uncritical. Mkandawire was acutely aware of the tensions between nationalist ideals and the realities of post-independence governance, where authoritarianism and elite capture often undermined the broader goals of liberation.

In exile, Mkandawire's commitment to Pan-Africanism deepened as he immersed himself in the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. He came to view the struggles for independence not as isolated national events but as part of a broader continental movement for liberation and unity and for the liberation of global Africa. His Pan-Africanist vision found institutional expression in his leadership at the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). Under his stewardship, CODESRIA became a vibrant platform for intellectual collaboration across linguistic and regional divides, fostering a sense of unity among African scholars.

Mkandawire's Pan-Africanism was also evident in his scholarship. He wrote extensively on the role of nationalism in state-building and identity formation. In his influential essay 'African Intellectuals and Nationalism', he explored the complex relationship between intellectuals and nationalist movements. He argued that although intellectuals played a crucial role in articulating nationalist visions, they often found themselves in conflict with post-independence regimes that prioritised political loyalty over critical engagement. Mkandawire disagreed with Marxist scholarship's dismissal of nationalism as a regressive force, asserting that nationalism had been a vital unifying mechanism in the face of colonial fragmentation.

Throughout his career, Mkandawire remained a staunch advocate for African unity and cooperation. He believed that the continent's challenges—economic underdevelopment, political instability and social inequality—could be effectively addressed only through collective action. His Pan-Africanist ideals extended beyond

the political realm to encompass intellectual and cultural dimensions, advocating for the decolonisation of knowledge and the promotion of African perspectives in global discourses. His views also resonated with the broader project of reconnecting African intellectuals with the Pan-African ideals of earlier generations, demonstrating that these aspirations remained critical in addressing contemporary issues of underdevelopment and disempowerment.

Career Trajectory: From Journalism to Global Leadership

Mkandawire's career trajectory was marked by a seamless integration of intellectual rigour, institutional leadership and a deep commitment to social justice. As a journalist in Malawi, his sharp criticism of colonial rule and post-independence authoritarianism earned him both acclaim and persecution. His exile marked a turning point, as he transitioned from journalism to academia, eventually becoming a leading figure in the field of development economics.

In the United States, Mkandawire studied economics, gaining insights into the interplay between politics and development. His academic journey continued in Sweden, where he became a lecturer in economics at the University of Stockholm. This period was crucial for the development of his ideas on state-led development and social policy, which would later become central themes in his work.

Mkandawire's return to Africa in the 1980s marked a new phase in his career. He took on a leadership role at the Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies, where he helped shape the institute's research agenda during Zimbabwe's

early post-independence years. This experience underscored his belief in the importance of building strong, autonomous research institutions capable of producing context-specific knowledge.

His most significant contributions, however, came during his tenure as Executive Secretary of CODESRIA, from 1986 to 1996. Mkandawire transformed CODESRIA into a leading Pan-African research organisation, providing a critical platform for scholars grappling with the socioeconomic challenges of the time. Under his leadership, CODESRIA expanded its programmes, marked by the establishment of national and multinational working groups that fostered collaborative, cross-disciplinary research. Recognising the importance of intellectual continuity in the face of underfunded universities and restrictive political environments, he prioritised nurturing future scholars by providing research grants and mentorship for Master's students, thus ensuring a sustainable pipeline of African intellectual leadership. Other initiatives included the launch of Democratic Governance and Gender Institutes.

In 1998, Mkandawire was appointed Director of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), where he oversaw pioneering research on social policy and governance in developing countries. His tenure at UNRISD, where he used the platform to advocate for policies that prioritised social equity and sustainable development, further cemented his reputation as a global thought leader. There, Mkandawire reinforced his earlier insights, showing how international financial structures often marginalised the specific developmental needs of African states.

Notably, he invited me to join a team of nine feminist scholars, as one of two men, to produce a landmark report marking the tenth anniversary of the 1995 UN Beijing Women's Conference. The resulting publication, *Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World*, reflected his commitment to gender equity as a cornerstone of social justice and development.

Mkandawire's final academic role was as the inaugural Chair in African Development at the London School of Economics (LSE), from 2009 until his passing in 2020. At LSE, he continued to mentor a new generation of scholars while also engaging in public debates on development and governance. His work at LSE was characterised by a continued focus on the structural transformation of African economies and the role of social policy in promoting inclusive growth.

Throughout his career, Mkandawire remained committed to the principles of intellectual autonomy and academic freedom. He was a staunch defender of the independence of the institutions he led, often standing up to powerful external actors to ensure that African scholars could pursue their research free from undue influence. His career trajectory, marked by a combination of scholarly excellence and visionary leadership, is a powerful testament to his enduring commitment to development economics and Pan-African scholarship.

Decolonising Knowledge: Asserting African Intellectual Sovereignty

Thandika Mkandawire's advocacy for the decolonisation of knowledge was both a critique of entrenched academic hierarchies and a clarion call for the intellectual sovereignty of African scholars. He believed that the subordination

of African knowledge systems to Western epistemic hegemony was one of the most significant barriers to genuine development on the continent. His life's work was deeply rooted in the conviction that African scholars must play a central role in shaping the narratives and policies that affect their societies. For Mkandawire, decolonising knowledge was not merely an academic exercise but a vital step in reclaiming agency over Africa's development trajectory.

Mkandawire consistently condemned the global academic system for its marginalisation of African voices. He highlighted the structural biases inherent in scholarly publishing, including the dominance of Euro-American journals and the exclusion of African perspectives from mainstream discourses. In his view, this exclusion perpetuated a distorted and incomplete understanding of African realities. He pointed to the widespread practice of 'intellectual appropriation', which often analysed African data and experiences through frameworks that disregarded the continent's unique historical and cultural contexts.

A central theme in Mkandawire's work was the critique of 'institutional monocropping', a term he used to describe the imposition of uniform institutional models on African states by international financial institutions. These models, derived from Western experiences, often failed to account for the diverse sociopolitical and economic realities of African societies. Mkandawire argued that structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) epitomised this approach, undermining state capacity and development strategies tailored to local needs. He likened these programmes to a form of intellectual colonisation, because they com-

pelled African states to adopt externally prescribed solutions that often deepened their dependency.

Mkandawire's principled stance on intellectual autonomy was made vividly clear in an encounter with a World Bank delegation in 1992. The delegation proposed a research project, with a predefined design and methodology. Mkandawire firmly rejected this approach, insisting that CODESRIA would accept funding and a broad thematic focus, but the design, execution and management of the project had to remain under African control. He emphasised that while the Bank could audit financial records, it would have no say in the intellectual process. This insistence on sovereignty in knowledge production led the World Bank to withdraw, and underscores Mkandawire's unwavering dedication to preserving the independence and integrity of African scholarship.

Mkandawire also highlighted the exploitative dynamics of North-South research collaborations. He rejected the 'data extraction' model, which often relegated African researchers to secondary roles as 'academic maids' in projects led by scholars from the global North. He emphasised that African scholars must not only collect data but also be at the forefront of theorising and interpreting their findings to shape knowledge production. Mkandawire called for equitable partnerships that recognised and valued the intellectual contributions of African researchers, insisting on the importance of ethical research practices that empowered African institutions. His vision extended beyond mere reform: it sought to reimagine scholarly collaboration as a space for mutual respect and genuine exchange, where African scholars could assert their intellectual sovereignty.

For Mkandawire, decolonisation was not merely about challenging Eurocentric paradigms, it also required African scholars to actively reference and engage with the work of their peers on the continent. He believed that building a robust and interconnected African intellectual community was essential for producing knowledge rooted in local realities. Additionally, Mkandawire advocated for serious engagement with scholarship from Asia and Latin America, recognising the shared histories of colonialism and underdevelopment across the global South. By drawing from these diverse knowledge systems, African scholars could develop more nuanced and comparative frameworks that enriched global academic discourses and advanced the collective struggle for epistemic sovereignty.

Through his leadership and scholarship, Mkandawire laid the groundwork for a decolonised intellectual landscape by championing initiatives that sought to dismantle the structural and epistemic hierarchies entrenched in the global academy. His tenure at institutions like CODESRIA and UNRISD was marked by efforts to empower African scholars to define their research agendas, theorise from their own historical and social contexts and publish on platforms that amplified their voices. He understood that decolonising knowledge required a dual approach: challenging the external dominance of Western epistemologies while fostering a vibrant, self-sustaining intellectual community within Africa.

This manifested in several concrete ways. At CODESRIA, Mkandawire instituted programmes such as the national and multinational working groups noted earlier, which provided funding and

networks for African researchers to collaborate on projects of national and regional relevance. He also emphasised the importance of publishing in African journals to counter the exclusion of African perspectives from mainstream academic outlets. Moreover, Mkandawire was a staunch critic of the academic gatekeeping practices that marginalised African scholars, such as the privileging of Western theoretical frameworks and methodologies over Indigenous ones.

Mkandawire's vision differed in some ways from the contemporary decoloniality movement. While both aimed to dismantle epistemic hierarchies, Mkandawire focused on empowering African institutions and scholars to produce knowledge that could reshape global discourses. He saw value in selectively engaging with Western theories, not to mimic them but to adapt and critique them in ways that served African realities. In contrast, many contemporary decoloniality scholars emphasise a more radical epistemic disobedience, advocating for the complete rejection of Western paradigms in favour of Indigenous knowledge systems. Mkandawire's approach also extended beyond the African continent. He advocated for horizontal solidarity with scholars from Asia and Latin America, recognising that the challenges of epistemic domination were not unique to Africa. He believed in building a South–South intellectual alliance that could produce comparative frameworks, offering alternative global perspectives rooted in shared experiences of colonialism and underdevelopment.

At the same time, Mkandawire maintained a pragmatic approach to decolonisation, focusing on practical steps to build intellectual

capacity and autonomy in African institutions. Under his leadership, CODESRIA expanded its publications programme. It collaborated with other academic publishers on the continent to establish the African Books Collective (ABC) in 1989, an African-owned, world-wide marketing and distribution outlet for books from Africa, and the African Publishers Network (APNET), founded in 1992 to strengthen Indigenous publishing. Mkandawire's approach contrasts with that of some contemporary decoloniality scholars, who emphasise the symbolic and cultural dimensions of decolonisation, such as rethinking curricula and revisiting the canon. For Mkandawire, the ultimate goal was to ensure that African scholars were not just participants but leaders in the global production of knowledge, shaping policies and theories that resonated far beyond the continent.

His vision for intellectual sovereignty continues to light the way, offering a nuanced framework for addressing the epistemic injustices that persist in the global knowledge economy. By advocating for a decolonised yet globally engaged intellectual landscape, Mkandawire set a precedent for how African scholarship can thrive in a world still grappling with the legacies of colonialism.

Reconceptualising Development: From Dependency to Transformation

One of Mkandawire's most significant contributions was his redefinition of development as a holistic and multidimensional process, not merely a matter of economic growth but of structural transformation and social progress. He argued that development must be

context-specific, tailored to the unique historical, social and cultural realities of each country. It was not just about increasing GDP or implementing market reforms, it was also about fostering human wellbeing, reducing inequalities and building resilient institutions. He emphasised the centrality of the state in orchestrating development, rejecting the neoliberal assertion that markets alone could deliver growth and equity. He rejected the reductionist approach of international financial institutions, which often treated development as a technocratic exercise, divorced from its political and social underpinnings.

Mkandawire's conceptualisation of the 'developmental state' was a cornerstone of his scholarship. He argued that a developmental state was not merely one that pursued economic growth but one that actively sought to transform its economic structure through industrialisation, technological innovation and human capital development. Mkandawire identified the capacity for strategic state intervention as the defining characteristic of developmental states. This required not only competent bureaucracies but also a social contract between the state and its citizens, where the benefits of development were widely shared, fostering legitimacy and trust.

He debunked the myth that African states were inherently incapable of being developmental—what he called the 'impossibility arguments'—pointing to examples from the immediate post-independence period, when many countries demonstrated remarkable developmental ambitions. During this period, states invested heavily in education, healthcare and infrastructure, achieving impres-

sive growth rates. However, the imposition of SAPs in the 1980s and 1990s undermined these efforts. These programmes stripped states of their capacity to manage their economies, prioritising fiscal austerity and market liberalisation over long-term development goals. Mkandawire highlighted how these externally imposed policies eroded the foundations of developmental states, leaving them vulnerable to economic shocks and perpetuating dependency.

CODESRIA, together with the UN Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) under Adebayo Adedeji, waged fierce policy and intellectual attacks against SAPs, highlighting their devastating social and economic impacts, which dismantled public services, decimated local industries and exacerbated poverty and inequality. Through rigorous research and advocacy, these institutions provided a counter-narrative to the dominant neoliberal orthodoxy, emphasising the need for development strategies that preserved state autonomy and prioritised the wellbeing of African populations.

Mkandawire underscored the importance of learning from the developmental successes of East Asia and Scandinavia, emphasising that developmental states are made through deliberate policy choices and institutional reforms. As key lessons, he highlighted East Asia's rapid industrialisation and Scandinavia's integration of social policies with economic strategies. However, he cautioned against wholesale imitation, advocating for African states to adapt these lessons to their unique contexts. By doing so, they could forge development paths that balanced economic growth with social equity.

In his vision, social policy was an integral part of the developmental state. Mkandawire rejected the narrow view that social policies were merely safety nets for the poor. Instead, he championed 'transformative social policy', which aimed to address the root causes of poverty and inequality. He argued that investments in education, healthcare and social infrastructure were not just morally imperative but economically strategic, because they enhanced productivity, fostered social cohesion and laid the groundwork for sustained growth.

Mkandawire's critique of the development industry extended to the valorisation of the informal sector and microfinance as panaceas for poverty. While acknowledging the importance of the informal sector, he cautioned against romanticising it as a substitute for formal employment and industrialisation. He argued that microfinance, often hailed as a revolutionary tool for poverty alleviation, did little to address structural inequalities and could sometimes exacerbate them by burdening the poor with debt. Instead, he called for bold, state-led interventions that could drive systemic change and create pathways to formal employment and sustainable livelihoods.

Through his scholarship, Mkandawire offered a visionary framework for reimagining development in Africa. He urged policymakers and scholars to move beyond superficial metrics and adopt a holistic, people-centred approach that prioritised equity, sustainability and self-determination. His ideas resonated with several African leaders, including those of Ethiopia, Rwanda and Botswana, who sought to implement state-led development strategies and transformative social policies. These lead-

ers drew on Mkandawire's insights to craft policies aimed at fostering economic growth, reducing poverty and building resilient institutions. His ideas remain influential, providing a critical lens through which to analyse and address the complex challenges of development in the global South.

Democracy and Development: A Symbiotic Relationship

Mkandawire was a steadfast advocate for the symbiotic relationship between democracy and development. He rejected the authoritarian developmental state model of East Asia, which argued that economic growth required suppressing democratic freedoms. Instead, he championed the concept of the 'democratic developmental state', which integrates the developmental ambitions of state-led policies with the principles of democratic governance.

Mkandawire argued that democracy and development were mutually reinforcing. Democratic institutions, he believed, offered essential mechanisms for accountability, transparency and inclusivity. By fostering public participation and ensuring that citizens had a voice in policymaking, democratic governance enhanced the legitimacy and effectiveness of development policies. Mkandawire contended that inclusive governance structures were better equipped to manage social conflicts, build consensus around development priorities and ensure that growth benefited all segments of society.

A significant focus of Mkandawire's critique was the concept of 'choiceless democracies'. This term referred to African democracies constrained by structural adjustment programmes, which

limited their policy options and undermined their developmental goals. He argued that these programmes eroded the social contract between governments and their citizens, because they often imposed austerity measures that worsened inequality and poverty. Mkandawire called for policy frameworks that allowed democratically elected governments to pursue development strategies aligned with their citizens' aspirations.

Mkandawire also emphasised the intrinsic value of democracy. Whereas some scholars viewed democracy primarily as a means to achieve better development outcomes, Mkandawire insisted that democracy was worth pursuing for its own sake. He saw it as a fundamental expression of human dignity and a critical safeguard against tyranny and oppression. His work highlighted the importance of protecting democratic institutions and practices, even in contexts where the developmental benefits might not be immediately apparent.

Through his advocacy for democratic developmental states, Mkandawire offered a compelling vision for governance in Africa. He demonstrated that economic and political freedoms could coexist and mutually reinforce each other, providing a foundation for sustainable and inclusive development. His insights continue to inform debates on governance and development, challenging the false dichotomy between political freedom and economic progress.

The Man and His Legacy: A Mentor, Leader and Visionary

Thandika Mkandawire's intellectual contributions were matched by his exceptional personal qualities. He was widely regarded as a men-

tor, a leader and a visionary whose warmth, humility and generosity left a deep impression on those who knew him. His colleagues and students often spoke of his ability to inspire and challenge them, providing guidance and encouragement while fostering a spirit of intellectual curiosity and critical thinking.

Mkandawire's leadership at CODESRIA and UNRISD was transformative. At CODESRIA, he nurtured a culture of intellectual rigour and collaboration, creating a platform for African scholars to engage in critical debates and produce impactful research. He was committed to ensuring that CODESRIA remained an autonomous and inclusive institution, open to scholars from diverse disciplinary and regional backgrounds. His insistence on maintaining the organisation's intellectual and financial independence was a testament to his unwavering belief in the importance of African agency in knowledge production.

As a mentor, Mkandawire was deeply invested in the success of his students and colleagues. He took the time to provide detailed feedback on their work, often sparking new perspectives through his incisive critiques. His mentorship was characterised by an exceptional ability to balance constructive criticism with encouragement, enabling young scholars to refine their intellectual pursuits without losing confidence. Many of his mentees, now leading scholars and practitioners, credit him with shaping their careers and intellectual trajectories.

Mkandawire's personal warmth and humility made him an approachable figure despite his towering intellect and global stature. He believed in the power of community and collaboration, often

creating informal spaces for intellectual exchange. Whether in conference corridors, over meals, or in late-night discussions, he engaged deeply with others, always listening attentively and offering thoughtful insights. His laughter, humour and ability to find joy in even the most challenging circumstances are fondly remembered by all who interacted with him.

Beyond his immediate circles, Mkandawire's influence extended to the global academic and policy communities. His work resonated across disciplines, challenging scholars and policymakers to rethink conventional approaches to development, governance and social policy. His advocacy for intellectual autonomy and his critiques of external interventions in African development provided a critical framework for understanding the continent's challenges and opportunities.

Mkandawire's legacy is enshrined not only in his scholarly contributions but also in the institutions he helped build and the countless lives he touched. His tenure at CODESRIA, UNRISD and the London School of Economics exemplified his commitment to creating spaces where African scholars could thrive and contribute meaningfully to global discourses. His work at these institutions reflected his deep-seated belief in the transformative power of collective intellectual endeavour. By fostering environments where critical thinking and rigorous scholarship could flourish, Mkandawire helped to shape the intellectual trajectories of a generation of African scholars and policymakers.

Mkandawire's legacy extends beyond his immediate contributions to institutional development and academic discourse. He was a tire-

less advocate for the integration of African voices into global debates on development and governance. His vision of an intellectually sovereign Africa was not confined to academic institutions but extended to policymaking and international cooperation. He consistently argued that Africa's development challenges could be effectively addressed only if its unique perspectives and experiences were central to the global development agenda.

In his personal and professional life, Mkandawire embodied the values he espoused. He was a mentor who invested deeply in his relationships with students and colleagues, offering not only intellectual guidance but also personal support and encouragement. His leadership style was characterised by inclusivity and collaboration, reflecting his belief that the most significant breakthroughs in knowledge and policy emerge from collective effort.

A Vision for the Future

Thandika Mkandawire's work is still a vital resource for addressing the complex challenges of our time. His insights into the interplay between democracy, development and social policy offer a framework for reimagining governance and economic transformation in Africa and beyond. His call for the decolonisation of knowledge production continues to inspire efforts to democratise academic and policy spaces, ensuring that diverse perspectives inform global debates.

As Africa navigates the twenty-first century, Mkandawire's vision for a just, equitable and prosperous continent is a guiding light. His emphasis on intellectual sovereignty, social policy as a tool for trans-

formation and the symbiotic relationship between democracy and development offers a roadmap for achieving sustainable and inclusive growth. His legacy challenges current and future generations to continue the work of dismantling epistemic and structural barriers, fostering innovation and promoting justice.

In remembering Thandika Mkandawire, we honour a life dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge, justice and human dignity. His contributions to academia, policy, institution-building and leadership have left an indelible mark on the continent and the world, and show the way for those committed to creating a more equitable and inclusive global society. His ideas and values will undoubtedly endure, shaping the work of scholars, policymakers and activists for generations to come.

Conclusion

Thandika Mkandawire was one of the most brilliant and inspiring individuals I have ever known. His prodigious intellect, sharp critiques of conventional development paradigms and unwavering commitment to Pan-Africanism deeply impressed me and countless others. Beyond his scholarly contributions, Thandika was a model public intellectual—principled, rigorous and deeply humane. He had a unique ability to distil complex ideas into clear, accessible insights, sparking intellectual curiosity and challenging lazy thinking.

My encounters with him, whether in formal academic settings or in casual conversations, were always enriching. His infectious humour, boundless joy for life and unshakeable faith

in Africa's potential were a source of inspiration. Thandika's mentorship played a crucial role in shaping my intellectual journey. Like many African scholars of my generation, I am deeply indebted to his leadership at CODESRIA, which provided critical support during the difficult decades of structural adjustment. My academic career was literally saved and turbocharged by CODESRIA's Reflections on Development Fellowship funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, which I received in 1989. The fellowship enabled me to write *A Modern Economic History of Africa, Volume 1: The Nineteenth Century*, which was published by the CODESRIA Book Series in 1993. The book proceeded to win the Noma Award in 1994. Thandika proudly displayed the publisher's plaque of the award in his office. Since then, I have published my most significant books with CODESRIA, including the latest book we will be launching after this address, *Re-Envisioning the African and American Academies*.

Mkandawire's legacy transcends his individual achievements; it lies in the vibrant intellectual communities he nurtured and the transformative ideas he championed. His life's work remains a guiding light for those committed to the ongoing struggle for epistemic, economic and existential emancipation. Thank you, Thandika, for your extraordinary mind and enduring vision. THANK YOU!

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