Journal of Higher Education in Africa

Revue de l'Enseignement Supérieur en Afrique

Special Issue on

Scholars on the Move: Reclaiming the African Diaspora to Support African Higher Education

Numéro spécial sur

Chercheurs en mouvement : réclamation du soutien de l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique à la Diaspora africaine

Guest Editors/Rédacteurs invités
Patrício V. Langa
Samuel Fongwa

An Interdisciplinary International Journal of Research and Policy

Volume 16, Nos 1&2, 2018

Journal of Higher Education in Africa
Revue de l'Enseignement Supérieur en Afrique
Volume 16, Nos 1&2, 2018

CODESRIA

Journal of Higher Education in Africa

Revue de l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique

Special Issue on

Scholars on the Move: Reclaiming the African Diaspora to Support African Higher Education

Numéro spécial sur

Chercheurs en mouvement : réclamer à la Diaspora africaine de soutenir l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique

Guest Editors/Rédacteurs invités
Patrício V. Langa
Samuel Fongwa

Vol. 16, Nos 1&2, 2018

The *Journal of Higher Education in Africa (JHEA)* is published by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Senegal. The Journal publishes analysis, information, and critique on contemporary issues of higher education in the continent with special emphasis on research and policy matters. The journal accepts contributions in English and French from researchers, practitioners, and policymakers.

La Revue de l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique (RESA) est publiée par le Conseil pour le devéloppement de la recherche en sciences sociales en Afrique (CODESRIA), Sénégal. La revue publie des analyses, de l'information et des approches critiques des défis actuels auxquels l'enseignement supérieur reste confronté à travers le continent tout en mettant un accent particulier sur la recherche et les politiques d'orientation en cours. La revue publie des contributions de chercheurs, de professionnels et de décideurs politiques, en anglais et en français.

Editorial correspondence and manuscripts should be sent to:

Les manuscrits et autres correspondances à caractère éditorial doivent être adressés au:

Editors, *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop, Angle Canal IV, P.O. Box 3304, Dakar, SENEGAL; Tel.: (221) 33825 98 22/23; fax: (221) 33824 12 89; e-mail: publications@codesria.org

Subscriptions/Abonnements

(a) African Institutes/Institutions africaines	$100 US
(b) Non African Institutes/Institutions non africaines	$200 US
(c) Individual/Particuliers	$ 60 US

CODESRIA would like to express its gratitude to the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY), the Rockefeller Foundation, the Open Society Foundations (OSFs), Andrew Mellon Foundation, Oumou Dilly Foundation and the Government of Senegal for supporting its research, training and publication programmes.

Le CODESRIA exprime sa profonde gratitude à la Swedish International Development Corporation Agency (SIDA), à la Carnegie Corporation de New York (CCNY), à la Fondation Rockefeller, à l'Open Society Foundations (OSFs), à la fondation Andrew Mellon, à la fondation Oumou Dilly ainsi qu'au Gouvernement du Sénégal pour le soutien apporté aux programmes de recherche, de formation et de publication du Conseil.

ISSN: 0851-7762

Journal of Higher Education in Africa/
Revue de l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique
Vol. 16, Nos 1&2, 2018 (ISSN 0851–7762)

Contents/Sommaire

JHEA/RESA Vol. 16, Nos 1&2, 2018, pp. v-vi

(ISSN 0851–7762)

Editorial

Elísio S. Macamo*

Knowing It through the Diaspora

The days when Africans shunned their heritage seem to be gone, at least in academia – no more 'Koomsons'. Koomson, a character from Ayi Kwei Armah's (1968:147) celebrated novel *The Beautyful Ones Are Not Yet Born*, derives pleasure from 'trying to pronounce African names without any particular desire to pronounce them well…'. Perhaps this embracing of an African heritage is due to the experience of African scholars who sought intellectual refuge and stimulation abroad. To paraphrase a trope, they left Africa, but Africa never left them. Indeed, there is a sense in which the very idea of a diaspora renders Africa visible. Not being there makes 'there' not only conceivable, but also visible.

Since one of the tasks of higher education is to train people to render the world intelligible, it is appropriate that those whose travails abroad help render Africa at least visible should be invited to be part of such an enterprise. They are not fulfilling a patriotic duty. Rather, they are doing what scholars do, namely lending their skills to the exhilarating job of opening minds, fostering curiosity and promoting a critical way of being in the world. A Mozambican saying states that those who do not travel end up marrying their own sisters. It is a variation on the idea that contact with different cultures forms character and opens minds. This is not to suggest that African diaspora scholars are 'better' than those who stay at home. However, given that others read Africa in their behaviour, demeanour and way of being in the world, African diaspora scholars cannot take things for granted and are in a position to critically engage with received wisdom. As they grapple with this challenge, they come to realise that Africa is neither prior nor external to our thinking about it. Africa is constituted in the very process of critically engaging with it.

* Professor, Centre for African Studies, University of Basel, Switzerland.
Email: elisio.macamo@unibas.ch

The African Diaspora Support to African Universities programme[1] is geared towards allowing the continent to profit from the expertise of African diaspora scholars. Many Africans in the diaspora are committed to their continent and to knowledge production. However, they sometimes lack the means to honour this commitment through practical deeds. Their potential must be harnessed if efforts to bring tertiary education in Africa to higher levels of excellence are to be successful. Having enjoyed the honour of participating in this programme at the invitation of Patrício Langa from the University of the Western Cape in South Africa, I can attest to its importance.

This special issue of the *Journal of Higher Education in Africa* does not simply document the programme. It bears testimony to a scholarly commitment to the continent, one of the last frontiers of knowledge, for it is only when the continent is known through the work of its own daughters and sons in discussion with others that legitimate claims can be made to knowledge of Africa.

Note

1. The programme is an intervention by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Reference

Armah, A.K., 1968, *The Beautyful Ones Are Not Yet Born*, Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

JHEA/RESA Vol. 16, Nos 1&2, 2018, pp. vii-xiv

(ISSN 0851–7762)

Introduction

Reclaiming the African Diaspora to Support African Higher Education

Patrício V. Langa* and Samuel Fongwa**

This special issue (SI) of the *Journal of Higher Education in Africa* (*JHEA*), entitled 'Scholars on the Move: Reclaiming the African Diaspora to Support African Higher Education', is a product of the programme – coordinated by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The programme supports African diaspora academics to travel to universities in Africa for specific durations to undertake academic interventions related to enhancing capacities in teaching and research of the social sciences and humanities. It is hoped that this initial support will result to enduring relationships and networks of academic collaboration between universities in Africa and African academics in the diaspora for mutual benefits. The CODESRIA programme was launched in a wrokshop held in Nairobi, kenya, in October 2015. Some of the articles in this SI arose from presentations at the launch workshop while others have resulted from interventions implemented by some of the diapsora academics supported under the programme.

The aim of this SI is to stimulate debate on how to develop a positive culture of collaboration between African diaspora academics and African universities, beyond the usual criticism of the implications of the brain drain. Without neglecting the implications of the brain drain, the SI. Literature on brain drain, its impacts and the strategies that have been adopted both by receiving and losing countries is extensive. Concepts such as 'brain gain' and 'brain circulation' are understood as ways to address a country's loss of highly skilled human capital (Gaillard and Gaillard 1997; Saxenian 2005 a, b; Schiff 2006).

* Faculty of Education, University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, Mozambique. Email: planga@uwc.ac.za; patricio.langa@uem.mz

** Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), Pretoria, South Africa. Email: sam4ngwa50@gmail.com

There is also extensive literature on strategies adopted by countries such as India and China to curb and increase brain drain through promoting transnational circulation and reverse/returnee migration (Dai and Liu 2009; Saxenian 2002, 2005a, b; Bajpai and Dasgupta 2004). Chinese- and Indian-born engineers are accelerating the development of information technology industries in their home countries, initially by tapping low-cost skills in their respective countries, and over time by contributing to highly localised processes of entrepreneurial experimentation and upgrading, while maintaining close ties with technology and markets in Silicon Valley in the USA. However, these successful models also raise questions about the broader relevance of brain circulation outside of several key countries, especially, within the global South. The articles in this SI urge for alternative policies to tap into the African academic diaspora and the creation of an intellectual space where students, academics, theorists, researchers and practitioners of education, amongst others, can come together to engage on the experiences and potential roles of the African diaspora in strengthing African universities. The authors are scholars of African descent in the diaspora as well as academics based in Afican universities, but with frequent interaction with those academics in the diaspora. They share their theoretical, empirical and personal experiences of collaboration from different universities in Africa and in the diaspora.

Promoting mutual collaboration between African universities and African academics in the diaspora emerged just over the last three decades (Zeleza 2013). The initial catalyst for this interest was the need for fast expansion of African universities in the early 1990s as a response to the externally imposed contraction that had been imposed by the implementation of structural adjustment policies, and the subsequent crisis of quality that unplanned expansion occasioned. A strong argument for African academic diaspora's contribution to go beyond remittances has been advanced (African Union 2011; Bodomo 2013; Espinosa 2016; Qayyum, Din and Haider 2014; Newland and Patrick 2004), boosting bilateral trade, facilitating foreign direct investment (Plaza and Ratha 2011), reducing poverty (Newland and Patrick 2004) and promoting civil rights (Adams 2013).

Additionally, there is acknowledgement that the key to Africa's development lies in knowledge production besides natural resources (Cloete, Maassen and Bailey 2015; Mkandawire 2011). The African academic diaspora is seen as critical to this knowledge production development alternative as they constitute skilled capital that can be tapped into producing relevant knowledge for the continent's development in the medium term, while at the

same time contributing to producing individuals and the networks to sustain the process in the long-term (Ogachi 2015; Zeleza 2013). However, there is no consensus in the literature regarding who should be considered part of the African academic diaspora and who should be targeted for diaspora engagement (Bakewell 2009, 2011).

In this special issue (SI) of the *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*, the African academic diaspora primarily refers to academics and intellectuals who are African-born and of African descent, working in foreign (mostly Western) research institutes and higher education institutions. Our definition includes both those who temporarily live outside of their homeland as well as those who have already acquired citizenship of their country of residence (host country) but remain strongly attached to their country of origin. The African Union (AU) Commission considers the Diaspora as Africa's sixth region and defines the African diaspora as 'peoples of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union'.[1] In 2012, the estimated number of Africans living in the diaspora, by region, was as follows: North America, 39.16 million; Latin America, 112.65 million; Caribbean, 13.56 million; and Europe, 3.51 million. China, India, Israel, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Turkey and Taiwan are examples of countries that have relied on the expertise of their academics living in the diaspora. This is contrary to conclusions drawn in some early studies on immigration policy that migrants sever ties with their country of origin (Choi 2003; Plaza and Ratha 2011; Van Cour, Gerybadze and Pyka 2017; Zhu 2007; Kalicki 2009).

A number of African governments are also reaching out to the African academic diaspora (Plaza and Ratha 2011) in terms of conceptualizing and seeking solutions to their development needs. Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa, for example, have launched plans to incorporate their diaspora communities as partners in development projects (AHEAD 2007; African Development Bank 2011; Pitamber, Wahome and Afele 2011; Woldetensae 2007).

Since strengthening relations between African academics in the diaspora and African universities may impact on African higher education, it is imperative to study and better comprehend the African academic diaspora, the nature of its collaborations with African-based academics and the implications for tertiary education on the continent.

Organisation of the Special Issue

The papers in this SI highlight the positive impacts that can result from collaborations between African-based scholars and the African academic diaspora.

Patrício V. Langa and Nelson Zavale's paper presents a historical overview of African diaspora academics. Unpacking the concepts 'diaspora' and 'academic freedom', they make a case on how the diaspora serves as a safe haven that allows African diaspora academics to perform their 'extramural' activities in Africa. The authors argue that the African academic diaspora's engagement in political and social affairs is vital to protect African societies against biased knowledge, powerful ideologies and dogmas. They conclude by theorising that the African academic diaspora's tendency to engage in 'extramurl' academic freedom is influenced by academics' disciplinary background, the political and economic situation of the country of origin, the reasons for migrating (whether politically or economically motivated), and by other variables such as the duration of exile, the nature of the host country and institutional affiliation.

Clapperton Chakanetsa Mavhunga discusses the kind of education suitable to drive Africa's development. His paper highlights the defects of the education currently offered in Africa and suggests the kinds of educational ingredients and tools needed to facilitate Africa's development. Concentrating on engineering education and its relationship to entrepreneurial education, vocational education, and the social sciences and humanities, Mavhunga advocates for an interdisciplinary, cross-cultural and anticipative curriculum that emphasises research, problematising and problem-solving. He discusses this under five sections: research capacity; funding; partnership with the informal sector; an entrepreneurial university; and an interdisciplinary, cross-cultural and anticipative university.

Patrício Langa explores multiple academic appointments as one way to curb the effects of brain drain. He argues that although the concepts of 'brain gain' and 'brain circulation' already allude to forms of academic mobility and exchange that address the effects of the brain drain, multiple academic appointments have not been extensively explored and examined as an effective way to reverse the effects of the brain drain. Langa proposes the concept of translocal brain-sharing as a new form of international academic exchange and engagement, which might or might not include physical mobility (circulation) from one geographical location to another, allowing for an exchange and sharing of knowledge. He concludes by arguing that multiple academic appointments can be an enabling factor in translocal brain-sharing, particularly in the age of the internet and digital technology, since they broaden the scope

and possibilities for a win-win academic exchange between higher education institutions in developed and developing countries.

John Kwame Boateng and Raymond Asare Tutu discuss the role of information and communication technology (ICT) in educational research collaboration and partnership. Specifically, their paper covers the nature of their own collaboration, the main collaboration stimuli, the anticipated costs and benefits of the collaboration, and the role ICT played in this endeavour. Drawing on their experience, they demonstrate how social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Skype, Google Hangouts and phone calls and SMS messages helped them to attain four milestones in their research collaboration: planning, revising and submitting a research proposal to CODESRIA; preparing for a methodology workshop organised by CODESRIA in Nairobi, Kenya, and incorporating suggested revisions prior to the workshop; a post-Nairobi methodology workshop preceding the network project launch in Accra, Ghana; and events after project kick-off.

Nelson Nkhoma highlights the importance of ethics in collaborations between African-based scholars and African academics living in the diaspora. He argues that the ethics of collaboration must be able to address truth and the normative venture of improving the production of knowledge projects aimed at the common good of humanity. Considering two major obstacles – the politics of identity and difference and the common view of ethics as power – that impact on collaboration, he proposes an African humanistic ethic as a solution to enable African scholars and those in the diaspora to deal with the problems facing African societies today. Nkhoma claims that although institutions that promote collaboration in Africa do exist, promoting effective collaboration among African-based scholars and the African academic diaspora requires establishing a new institution mandated for this purpose; he sees CODESRIA performing this role.

In his paper, Samuel Fongwa discusses the diaspora's diverse contribution to Africa's development, including remittances, the promotion of democratic values, and collaboration between diaspora-based and African-based academics. Focusing on the latter, he suggests that the quantity and quality of knowledge production in Africa can be enhanced through fostering this collaboration. He argues that although funding opportunities and research collaborations are on the rise, this hardly translates into a win-win situation for stakeholders in Africa. Drawing on his personal experience of research collaboration with the African academic diaspora, he highlights three caveats to maximise the gains of diaspora collaborations in knowledge production. He concludes that careful introspection is vital in ensuring a win-win relationship in diaspora collaborations.

Finally, in the Addendum, Patrick Swanzy and Pedro Uetela draw from the experience of four influential African scholars, experts in the domains of social sciences and humanities, engineering and education, to explore the range of motives that accounted for their emigration in the circles of the continental academy. Through exploring their reasons, the paper investigates the importance of the academic diaspora in terms of contributing to teaching and research in both the West and in Africa based on the premise that African diaspora scholars and African-based scholars are interdependent when it comes to empowering global science.

References

Adams, R.L., ed., 2013, *Rewriting the African Diaspora in Latin America and the Caribbean: Beyond Disciplinary and National Boundaries*, New York: Routledge.

African Development Bank, 2011, *Leveraging Human Capacity and Financing from Diaspora*, Africa Capacity Development Brief 2(1), Tunisia: African Development Bank. Available online at http:// www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/AfriCaDev%20Brief%20DIASPORA.pdf

African Union, 2011, *Report of the Technical Experts Meeting on the African Diaspora (TCEM)*, Pretoria, South Africa, 21–22 February, Addis Ababa: African Union.

AHEAD (Association for Higher Education and Development), 2007, *Enabling Diaspora Engagement in Africa: Resources, Mechanisms and Gaps. Case Study of Ethiopia*, Ottawa: Association for Higher Education and Development.

Bajpai, N., and Dasgupta, N., 2004, *Multinational Companies and Foreign Direct Investment in China and India*, CGSD Working Paper 2, New York: Center on Globalization and Sustainable Development, the Earth Institute, Columbia University.

Bakewell, O., 2009, *Which Diaspora for Whose Development? Some Critical Questions about Roles of African Diaspora Organizations as Development Actors*, Danish Institute for International Studies Brief, Copenhagen: Danish Institute for International Studies.

Bakewell, O., 2011, 'Migration and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa', in N. Phillips, ed., *Migration in the Global Political Economy*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. pp. 121–142.

Bodomo, A., 2013, 'African Diaspora Remittances Are Better Than Foreign Aid Funds: Diaspora-Driven Development in the 21st Century', *World Economics*, Vol. 14, No. 4, pp. 21–29.

Choi, I., 2003, 'Korean Diaspora in the Making: Its Current Status and Impact on the Korean Economy', in C.F. Bergsten and I. Choi, eds, *The Korean Diaspora in the World Economy*, Special Report 15, Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics. pp. 9–27.

Cloete, N., Maassen, P., and Bailey, T., 2015, *Knowledge Production and Contradictory Functions in African Higher Education*, African Minds Higher Education Dynamics Series Vol. 1, Cape Town: CHET.

Dai, O., and Liu, X.H., 2009, *Returnee Entrepreneurs and Firm Performance in Chinese High Technology Industries Business School*, Leicestershire: Loughborough University.

Edozie, R., 2012, 'The Sixth Zone: The African Diaspora and the African Union's Global Era Pan Africanist', *Journal of African American Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 268–299.

Espinosa, S.A., 2016, 'Diaspora Philanthropy: The Making of a New Development Aid? *Migration and Development*, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 361–377.

Gaillard, J., and Gaillard, A., 1997, 'The International Mobility of Brains: Exodus or Circulation?' *Science, Technology and Society*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 195–228.

Kalicki, K., 2009, 'Ethnic Nationalism and Political Community: The Overseas Suffrage Debates in Japan and South Korea', *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 33, No. 2, pp. 175–195.

Mkandawire, T., 2011, 'Running While Others Walk: Knowledge and the Challenge of Africa's Development', *Africa Development*, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 1–36.

Newland, K., and Patrick, E., 2004, *Beyond Remittances: The Role of Diaspora in Poverty Reduction in Their Countries of Origin*, Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Nyamapfene, K., and Ndofirepi, A, 2017, 'Knowledge, Globalization and the African University: The Change Agenda', in Michael Cross and Amasa Ndofirepi, eds, *Knowledge and Change in African Universities: Current Debates*, Vol. 1, Rotterdam, Boston and Taipei: Sense Publishers. pp. 81–101.

Ogachi, I.O., 2015, 'Engaging the African Academic Diaspora: How Ready Are Universities in Africa?' *International Journal of African Higher Education*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 25–53.

Qayyum, U., Din, M. and Haider, A. (2014), Foreign aid, external debt and governance, Economic Modelling, 37 (February 2014), pp. 41–52.

Pitamber, S., Wahome, J., and Afele, J., 2011, *The Role of the Diaspora in Nation Building: Lessons for Fragile and Post-Conflict Countries in Africa*, Tunis: African Development Bank.

Plaza, S., and Ratha, D., 2011, *Diaspora for Development in Africa*, Washington, DC: World Bank.

Saxenian, A.L., 2002, 'Transnational Communities and the Evolution of Production Networks: The Cases of Taiwan, China and India', *Industry and Innovation, Special Issue on Global Production Networks*, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 183–202.

Saxenian, A.L., 2005a, 'Brain Circulation and Capitalist Dynamics: Chinese Chip Making and the Silicon Valley-Hsinchu-Shanghai Triangle', in V. Nee and R. Swedberg, eds, *The Economic Sociology of Capitalism*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. pp. 325–351.

Saxenian, A.L., 2005b, 'From Brain Drain to Brain Circulation: Transnational Communities and Regional Upgrading in India and China', *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 40, No. 2, pp. 35–61.

Schiff, M., 2006, 'Brain Gain: Claims about Its Size and Impact on Welfare and Growth Are Greatly Exaggerated', in Ç. Özden and M. Schiff, eds, *International Migration, Remittances, and the Brain Drain*, Washington and New York: The World Bank and Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 201–225.

Van Cour, S., Gerybadze, A., and Pyka, A., 2017, 'Turkish Diaspora Networks and Innovation', in Andreas Pyka, Yeşin Kustepeli and Dominik Hartmann, eds, *International Innovation Networks and Knowledge Migration: The German–Turkish Nexus*, New York: Routledge. pp. 180–201.

Woldetensae, Y., 2007, 'Optimizing the African Brain Drain: Strategies for Mobilizing the Intellectual Diaspora towards Brain-Gain', paper presented at the Association of African Universities Conference, 21–25 October, Tripoli, Libya.

Zeleza, P., 2013, *Engagement between African Diaspora Academics in the U.S. and Canada and the African Institutions of Higher Education: Perspectives from the North America and Africa*, report for the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Zhu, Z., 2007, 'Two Diasporas: Overseas Chinese and Non-Resident Indians in Their Homelands', *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 281–296, doi: 10.1007/s11366-007-9012-4

JHEA/RESA Vol. 16, Nos 1&2, 2018, pp. 1-24

(ISSN 0851–7762)

African Diaspora and the Search for Academic Freedom Safe Havens: Outline of a Research Agenda

Nelson Casimiro Zavale* and Patrício V. Langa**

Abstract

This article examines assumptions concerning the extent to which being in exile influences academics' possibilities to exercise academic freedom, particularly when articulating views on African political and social issues that might be inconvenient to the established political authorities. Two main questions are addressed. First, do African academics need to be in diaspora to exercise their academic freedom, including freedom of expression and free speech, particularly beyond the walls of the university and its consecrated freedom of teaching and research? Second, do factors such as disciplinary background, country of origin, reasons for migrating from Africa and period of living in exile influence the propensity of academics in diaspora to publicly express their views on political and social issues in their home countries? The article begins by conceptualising the African diaspora, African academic diaspora, academic freedom and 'extramural' academic freedom.

Keywords: African diaspora, academic freedom, extramural academic freedom, safe havens

Résumé

Cet article examine les hypothèses concernant l'impact de l'exil sur l'exercice de la liberté académique des universitaires, notamment lorsqu'ils expriment des opinions sur les problèmes politiques et sociales africaines qui pourraient déranger les autorités politiques en place. Deux questions principales sont abordées. Premièrement, les universitaires africains doivent-ils être en exil (diaspora) pour exercer leur liberté académique, notamment la liberté

* Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, Mozambique. Email: Nelson.zavale@uem.mz

** University of the Western Cape, South Africa & Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, Mozambique. Email: planga@uwc.ac.za; patricio.langa@uem.mz

d'expression et de parole, en dehors de l'enceinte de l'université et de ses libertés garanties d'enseignement et de recherche ? Deuxièmement, est-ce que des facteurs tels que les matières étudiées, le pays d'origine, les raisons de leur migration hors d'Afrique et la durée de leur vie en exil, ont une influence sur la tendance des universitaires de la diaspora à exprimer publiquement leurs opinions sur les problèmes politiques et sociaux de leur pays d'origine ? Cet article procède en premier lieu à la conceptualisation de la diaspora académique africaine, de la liberté académique et de la liberté académique « extra-muros ».

Mots-clés : diaspora africaine, liberté académique, liberté académique extra-muros, asiles

Introduction

In postcolonial Africa, several academics have been forced out of their home countries to live in exile. Some fled political persecution from their governments, others were economic refugees, itself a consequence of bad politics that the academics who fled to exile tried to oppose. The late Kenyan scholar, Ali Mazrui, who first flew to exile from Amin's Uganda once stated that he would have loved to stay in Uganda, but the Idi Amin regime forced him to leave. Alternatively, he would have loved to stay on African soil, in neighbouring Kenya, but the silencing request by Daniel arap Moi's regime to be a 'good boy' prevented him from staying (Mazrui, in Mwakikagile 2006:77; Mazrui 1975, 2003). Another scholar from Makerere University, Mahmood Mamdani, fled Amin's persecutions, first to the UK then to Tanzania and later through South Africa and finally to the US, where he holds professorship positions at Columbia University (Nesbitt 2002). Like Mazrui and Mamdani, scholars like Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Thandika Mkandawire, Joseph Ki-Zerbo and Valentin Mudimbe also left their home countries, fleeing political persecution. In postcolonial Africa, there are countless cases of involuntary politically motivated exiles of more or less prominent African-born scholars (Human Rights Watch 1991; Kerr and Mapanje 2002; Mbiba 2012; Turner and Kleist 2013).

But not everyone left Africa only for political reasons. The academic Paul Zeleza, through a vehement critic of Kamuzi Banda was forced into exile in Kenya following threats to his life upon publication of his novel. He eventually settled in Canada and the US, attracted, one might argue, by the better life and working conditions offered in the host lands. Like Zeleza, many highly qualified Africans have left their home countries, attracted by better socioeconomic conditions in Europe, the US and Australia, as well as in wealthier African countries, particularly South Africa. According to the International Organisation for Migration (in Ogachi 2015:30), since 1990

Africa has annually lost one-third of its skilled professionals, mostly doctors, university teachers and engineers. In 2009, there were about 300,000 highly qualified Africans in the diaspora, 30,000 of whom had PhDs (in Ogachi 2015:30). Global statistics published by Marfouk (2006) indicate that, in 2000, about 70 per cent of African immigrants in the US were qualified, about 65 per cent in Australia, 75 per cent in Canada, 19 per cent in the European Union and almost 40 per cent in Britain. These statistics highlight the fact that Africa has sent many highly '"qualified" economic and political refugees' into exile (Ogachi 2015:28), including academics. Zeleza (2013: 4 estimates that in 2008 there were 297 African-born academics employed as full-time faculty in 124 Canadian universities; in the US, estimates were between 20,000 and 25,000. These are partial statistics, since there are no comprehensive, reliable and updated statistics on academics in the diaspora (Ogachi 2015; Zeleza 2004, 2013).

The brain drain of qualified Africans has raised debates concerning the contribution of the diaspora, including academics, to Africa's development. As Zeleza notes, 'Africa, the most undeveloped continent in the world, has the highest number, per capita, of its educated population in the world's most developed countries' (2004:268). Since the early 1990s, instead of complaints about brain drain, a repositioning of strategies has emerged, aiming at creating mechanisms to engage the academic diaspora in the development of Africa. These early mechanisms have mainly focused on persuading the academic diaspora for a permanent return home to strengthen the academic core and capacity of African universities. Subsequent engagements with the African academic diaspora have entailed deploying the diaspora in traditional academic activities (e.g. teaching, research, students' supervision, innovation), as well as in leadership and management roles, to cope with the challenges of lack of resources, intellectual gaps and poor governance of African academic institutions (Ogachi 2015; Zeleza 2004, 2013).

An issue that is often neglected in debates concerning the academic diaspora's role in African development is academics' engagement, in African political and social affairs. The diaspora may be a safe haven for academics to freely express utterances on African political and social affairs, including criticising African governments. Recall the fierce discussion between Mazrui and former Ghanaian president Jerry Rawlings at a conference in Davos in June 1999. Rawlings accused African professionals and academics migrating to the West of a lack of patriotism and Mazrui blamed politicians (in Nesbitt 2002). Nesbitt summarises this tension between scholars and politicians as follows: 'the same forces that kept them from achieving their

full potential at home demonise them for leaving instead of contributing to national development' (2002:70). Mazrui perhaps dared to openly criticise the Ghanaian president because of his diasporic condition. This provides a background to examine the possibility that those in the academic diaspora enjoy more freedom to express critical utterances on African political and social affairs.

This article examines preliminary hypotheses concerning the extent to which academics in exile take advantage of the expanded space for academic freedom in the institutions where they work, to raise issues of political and social concerns in Africa. Two main questions are addressed. Firstly, do African academics need to be in diaspora to exercise their academic freedom, particularly the freedom that is beyond the walls of the university, in other words, beyond teaching and research? How do factors of academics' profiles, such as disciplinary background, country of origin, reasons for migrating from Africa and period of living in exile, influence their propensity in diaspora to publicly express their views on political and social issues concerning their home countries? Before discussing preliminary hypotheses, the article conceptualises the African diaspora, African academic diaspora, academic freedom and 'extramural' academic freedom.

Conceptualising Diaspora

A conceptualization of the African academic diaspora on one hand and the spaces available for them to engage in extramural academic work offers an understanding of their engagement and impacts on extramural academic freedom in Africa.

The African academic diaspora is but a small part of the historic experiences of African-born people migrating, willingly or not, to other geographical spaces. Several scholars have provided conceptual insights into the complex nature of the African diaspora (Baubock and Faist 2010; Butler 2000; Dufoix 2008; Faist 2010; Falola 2001; Nesbitt 2002; Turner and Kleist 2013; Zeleza 2004, 2005).

In his overview of the state of scholarly debate on diaspora and transnationalism, Faist (2010) highlights how complex it is to conceptualise diaspora, since it is an extremely elastic, all-purpose and politicised term. Although it generally involves ethnic, religious or national groups being dispersed and crossing national borders, voluntarily or not, to live abroad, usually for long periods, the concept of diaspora encompasses older and newer versions. In its older version, the concept is linked to the idea of return to a real or imagined homeland; of ethnic, religious or national groups dispersed

(often involuntarily) and settled in exile. This notion was originally applied to the diasporic experiences of Jews and Armenians, as well as to recent diasporic experiences (e.g. Palestinians). The older notion of diaspora entails the difficulties (or deliberate unwillingness) experienced by diasporic groups to integrate themselves politically, economically and culturally in their host lands, and thus their predisposition to maintain strong ties with their real or perceived homeland. The more recent notion of diaspora does not view the social integration and cultural assimilation of foreign-born groups as the end of diaspora, but rather sees it as illustrative of diasporic groups' hybrid identity. These groups may maintain lateral ties with both the homeland and the host land, in a circular exchange of continuous mobility, without necessarily envisaging a return (Faist 2010). Butler (2000) succinctly summarises these notions of diaspora. According to him, in any conceptualisation of diaspora, five dimensions should be considered: reasons for and conditions of dispersal; relationship with homeland; relationship with host lands; interrelationship within diasporic groups; and comparative study of different diasporas.

Zeleza (2004, 2005) and Falola (2001) have conceptually examined the African diaspora. Zeleza's contribution to the debate is twofold. Firstly, he recognises, as Faist (2010) does, how complex conceptualising African diaspora is, because it is simultaneously a process, a condition, a space and a discourse: the continuous process by which the diaspora is made, unmade and remade, the changing conditions in which it lives and expresses itself, the places where it is molded and imagined, the contentious ways it is studied and discussed (2004:262). Regarding the African diaspora, Zeleza (2004) emphasises its temporal, spatial and cultural embodiments.

Secondly, Zeleza (2005) distinguishes two major categories of African diasporas: 'historic' diasporas consisting of old diasporas formed before the construction of colonial states – this category encompasses the dispersal of African people during ancient times and the period of Indian Ocean and Atlantic slavery (see Palmer 2000; Zeleza 2004); and 'contemporary' diasporas, formed since the late nineteenth century, consisting mainly of three subcategories: diasporas of colonisation, diasporas of decolonisation and diasporas of the structural adjustment period. The diasporas of colonisation emerged during colonial conquest, and involved Africans travelling mainly to colonial powers (including the US), either to study or to work. The diasporas of decolonisation included the settlement of indigenous Africans in the West, but also of Europeans and Asians (e.g. the expulsion of those of Asian origin after Uganda's independence). The diasporas of structural adjustment were triggered by Africa's political and economic crises in the 1980s, which forced African professionals, academics, political refugees and economically motivated migrants to leave (Falola 2001; Zeleza 2005). As Zeleza (2004,

2005) explains, there are still no comprehensive data and statistics on the demographic and social profiles of different categories of African diaspora. What exists are partial and often outdated data.

The dispersal of African people over time, in prehistoric, modern and contemporary ages, has resulted in the spatial distribution of African descendants across the globe. Although dispersal is historically an ancient phenomenon, it was mainly in the 1950s and 1960s that the African diaspora movement was developed, triggered by greater awareness of the condition of different African diasporas. As Zeleza (2004) points out, the dispersal of groups does not create diaspora. Diaspora implies a 'form of group consciousness constituted historically through expressive culture, politics, thought and tradition' (2004:262). Despite sharing Africanity and/or blackness, the different African diasporas do not necessarily share the same consciousness. Contemporary African diasporas' consciousness is not similar to African diaspora rooted in slavery, be it South American, Afro-American or African European.

The focus of this article is on the contemporary African diaspora, particularly academics of the structural adjustment period. We propose a research programme with a preliminary working hypothesis concerning how the generation of academics who left Africa to live elsewhere – voluntarily, forced by political motivations or attracted by better socioeconomic conditions – exercise 'extramural' academic freedom.

African Academic Diaspora

Conceptualising the African academic diaspora is not as simple as it may seem at first glance. One may define an academic by looking at degrees completed (e.g. college education, PhD) or at institutional affiliation (e.g. affiliation to a research institute or university). However, Sekayi (1997) warns of confusing formally educated people and scholars or academics. While anyone possessing the highest possible degree beyond high school is potentially an intellectual, being a scholar is, above all, defined by a set of attitudes held, or activities performed, after or even without having completed formal (university) education. An intellectual and scholar is someone who 'continues to be engaged in scholarly pursuit, critical thinking and production of new ideas on different issues and situations, after and outside formal schooling' (Sekayi 1997:11–12). Academics and professors affiliated to research institutes and higher education institutions are often thought to be intellectuals and/or scholars, but misconceptions and

variations are possible. As Sekayi (1997:11) states, 'a medical doctor can be smart and expert in his own field, but not be an intellectual or scholar', that is, not be engaged in systematic scholarly endeavour or critical thinking.

Nesbitt (2002) provides an interesting starting point for conceptualising the African academic/intellectual diaspora. He distinguishes three types of contemporary African diaspora intellectuals: comprador intelligentsia, postcolonial critics and progressive exiles. Comprador intelligentsia are those academics or intellectuals who either work full-time for international organisations, particularly financial institutions (World Bank and International Monetary Fund) and United Nations' agencies, or are affiliated to research institutes and universities but provide consultancy to international organisations. Comprador intelligentsia are viewed as enabling the perpetuation of neocolonial policies in Africa by acting as intermediaries between Africa and global capital and by facilitating Africans' uncritical adoption of the global market ideology. Like the compradors, postcolonial diaspora critics use their Africanity and blackness and their Western experience to be conduits of the Western (Euro-American) world vision, for African consumption. They promote African westernisation by arguing for the adoption or adaptation of metanarratives such as liberalism, socialism, modernisation and dependency/world systems theories.

Progressive exiles are intellectuals who use the knowledge acquired abroad to liberate their fellow Africans. Several generations of progressive exiles can be distinguished, from anticolonial activists to critics of anti-authoritarian postcolonial African regimes. Anticolonial intellectuals like Julius Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah, Amílcar Cabral, Eduardo Mondlane, Hastings Banda and Léopold Senghor lived in the West for many years and used the knowledge they acquired during exile to fight for African independence. But once in power, many of these former intellectuals, and then leaders and national heroes, established authoritarian regimes, resulting in another generation of progressive exiles, now fleeing political persecution and trying to enlighten their fellow Africans from abroad (see the introduction of this articles for further examples of postcolonial progressive exiles). As Nesbitt (2002:74) argues, the three types of African migrant intellectuals are not mutually exclusive; 'intellectuals who consider themselves progressives in one context find themselves allied with global capital and neo-colonial forces in another'.

Another way of conceptualising African academics in diaspora, particularly postcolonial academics, is looking back to Africa, to the internal process through which these academics were formed, to different phases of their professional development and to the different contexts underlying their

migration from Africa. In this regard, Mkandawire (1995, 2005) offers valuable insights by distinguishing three generations of postcolonial intellectuals. The first generation was that of early independence until the 1970s. This generation was generally trained in the best Western universities, had high academic standards and strong networking alliances in the international research community. Most academics of this generation returned home after training, attracted by material and moral incentives, better-resourced universities, better living conditions, as well as by the idea of guaranteeing the functioning of universities through indigenising local staff. All these attractions were inserted into the euphoria of the nation-building project of the newly born states. It is not surprising that this generation of African academics maintained good relations with the state and political elites.

The second generation identified by Mkandawire (1995, 2005) is that of the 1980s until the early 1990s. Like the first, the second generation was mostly trained abroad. But, unlike the first generation, many of the second generation's intellectuals stayed abroad, while those that returned did not stay long. Several factors prevented the second generation from returning home permanently, including (i) more competitive and risky professional development prospects (because indigenisation of African universities had almost been completed); (ii) economic crises ravaging African countries, with consequences for academics' salaries and living conditions, and for universities' financial health; and (iii) increasing university–state conflicts and growing political repression of academics in the context of establishing authoritarian political regimes. Mkandawire labels this phase the age of disillusion and disenchantment, provoking the first wave of brain drain.

Statistics cited by Zeleza (1998) indicate that, during the 1980s, an average of 23,000 qualified academics left Africa annually, with an estimated 50,000 leaving in 1995. The second generation's failure to return, coupled with the need to continue running universities and research institutions in Africa, led to the emergence of the third generation of postcolonial intellectuals. Unlike the first and second, the third generation did not, overall, benefit from training abroad and had limited exposure to international academic communities and networks. Difficulties encountered by the third generation include completing their university education in their home countries in very difficult conditions; being subjected, during their youth, to repression of their academic freedom; working in academic environments with limited resources; and being forced to devote themselves to consultancies to increase their salaries, with negative effects on their engagement in original research.

This article's reference to the African academic diaspora refers primarily to African-born academics and intellectuals working in foreign research institutes and higher education institutions. Motivated by political concerns or economic factors, they migrated from Africa and established themselves in host countries, mainly in the US, Europe and Australia but also in Africa, particularly South Africa. The article also considers comprador intelligentsia, those academics working in international or non-governmental organisations, as long as they have devoted themselves to the scholarly pursuit of knowledge. Since our focus is to reflect on how the diasporic condition of these academics affects their extramural academic freedom vis-à-vis African issues, the concept of academic freedom is addressed next.

Academic Community and Ideal of Academic Freedom

Academic freedom is considered essential to academic life. Ideally, it implies that the scientific community should undertake its activities (e.g. teaching and research) without external control (Altbach 2007). Originally, the freedom was two-dimensional and entailed what in German Humboldtian time was known as Lehrfreiheit (the privilege of the teacher to teach and of the student to learn freely) and Lernfreiheit (the privilege of the researcher and student to inquiry freely) (Ashby and Anderson 1966). In other words, a teacher/researcher should be free to teach/undertake research and a student to learn/inquire, both being bound only by the pursuit of truth; the academic community should undertake its activities without fear of 'hindrance, dismissal, or other reprisal' (Coleman 1977:14). The concept of academic freedom was originally developed to protect activities internal to the academic community – those occurring in classrooms and within the walls of academia. But given the nature of the activities performed by the academic community – production and dissemination of knowledge and its usage by external constituencies – the concept extrapolated academia's walls to include the protection of activities that academics perform outside academia, particularly regarding their civic participation. This third dimension, labelled 'extramural' academic freedom (Coleman 1977; Goldstein 1976), concerns academics' engagement in the political and social affairs of the society they live in. As noted by Goldstein (1976), extramural academic freedom was particularly developed by the American Association of University Professors – as an extension of the original German concepts of academic freedom – to protect academics because, historically, they were more attacked for their extramural conduct than for their intramural activities of teaching and research.

Altbach (2007) posits that the ideal of academic freedom has never been absolute over the history of academia. Even when university autonomy was

granted to academia by competing powers (e.g. state, church, market), the freedom provided to academics could not be taken for granted. For example, Oxford was an autonomous university in the nineteenth century, but it denied academic freedom to its members. There are also cases in which universities are not autonomous, but they protect the academic freedom of their members. For example, during Alexander von Humboldt's time, Prussian universities were heavily dependent on the state, but they granted academic freedom to their members (Ashby and Anderson 1966). Restrictions to academic freedom tend to increase in times of political tensions and to target academics working in politically and ideologically sensitive fields, such as social sciences and humanities (Altbach 2007). Galileo Galilei's death and Martin Luther's restrictions are widely known examples of threats to academic freedom during the Renaissance and the Reformation. Other historical examples are restrictions imposed on academics during Nazi Germany, and in former Soviet countries and authoritarian Latin American countries in the 1960s and 1970s. Today, academic freedom is particularly threatened in countries like North Korea and China, as well as Arabic and African countries. But even in Western countries, threats to academic freedom still exist. Altbach (2007) reports that the rise of managerialism and the corporatisation of academic institutions threaten academic freedom by pressuring academics to be accountable to the market and to satisfy its demands.

At least two fundamental premises back the ideal of academic freedom. The first and perhaps most important is the principle that there is no unchallenged absolute truth, and that the only way to allow the truth to be unveiled is by not setting dogmatic boundaries to its continuous search. John Stuart Mill is among the classical philosophers who originally developed this idea. In his On Liberty, he advocates that the freedom to discuss beliefs, including those held (imposed) by authorities, is the only way to discover the truth and to avoid uncritical acceptance of dogmas (Mill, reprinted in Gray 2008). Max Weber brought this debate into the science–politics nexus by distinguishing the role of science and politics in his 'politics as vocation and science as vocation' lectures (Weber, reprinted in Owen and Strong 2004). Weber conceives politics, embodied by the state, as aiming to organise human groups through the legitimate use of coercive power, grounded in different forms of authority (e.g. traditional, charismatic, bureaucratic), whereas the ultimate goal of science is not to exercise power but to pursue truth. Weber further argues for using expert scientific knowledge to allow for the rational exercise of politics. Thus, the ideal of academic freedom is grounded in the need to protect academics' pursuit of truth. Underlying this ideal is the principle, no matter how challenged it might be, that science is a sanctuary of truth and, consequently, academics' utterances, both in their intramural (research and

teaching) and extramural (civic engagement) activities, are bound by the epistemic imperative of 'truth', or by what Altbach (2007) terms disengagement or neutrality: ideally, academics' utterances should not be ideologically bound, but based on the most accurate available scientific knowledge.

This standard view of science – the view, rooted in a positivist–quantitative paradigm and based mainly on natural sciences' methods, that scientific knowledge is true, factual, neutral and objective (Buker, Bal and Hendriks' [2009] demarcation between scientific knowledge and non-scientific knowledge) – has turned science into a potent social force, and academics into undisputed and legitimate authorities. These features of science have aligned it with politics by turning experts into providers of factual evidence to rationally advise political decision-making. Paradoxically, however, while science's characteristics have aligned experts and politicians, particularly in the contemporary knowledge society, tensions have also arisen due to differences in purpose. Science aims at pursuing truth, even if through this process it becomes powerful; politics aims at exercising power, even if for this it may demand truth (Buker et al. 2009; Maasen and Weingart 2005; Weingart 1999). As Maasen and Weingart (2005) emphasise, politics adheres to the operating code of 'power', while science adheres to that of truth. Policy-makers have not only used science, but have also attempted to control experts, particularly when the truth produced is distasteful to the dominant groups' interests and beliefs. Academic freedom thus aims to protect the scientific principle of pursuing, and possibly producing, truth. Truth is, in principle, the code characterising academics' utterances on political affairs.

This epistemic imperative of truth continues to be the backbone of science, despite the changes that have occurred since the 1960s challenging science's pureness. These changes include a greater awareness and demonstration of science's imperfections, and of its increasing democratisation and politicisation (Buker et al. 2009; Maasen and Weingart 2005). Criticisms of scientific metanarratives (e.g. positivism, empiricism) have exposed scientific knowledge's fallibility (Lyotard 1992). The democratisation of society has demystified and democratised scientific knowledge and scientists as well. Other contending social groups, different from experts, have had access to science and have called for more socially and financially accountable science (Maasen and Weingart 2005). Furthermore, universities' and research institutes' exclusiveness in knowledge production has been challenged by other emergent, competitive players, such as corporations (Gibbons et al. 1994). Additionally, academics' involvement in offering political advice has not merely led to the scientification (rationalisation) of politics; it has also led some academics to use their scientific credentials to engage in and support ideological positions.

The public exposure of conflict among academics due to their ideological and partisan membership has contributed to reinforcing science's fallibility and to demystifying its supposedly ideological neutrality. Particularly in the fields of social sciences and humanities, difficulties in rigorously applying the positivist–quantitative paradigm rooted in natural sciences, and the suspicion regarding the objectivity and reliability of alternative qualitative and interpretative paradigms, have negatively affected their scientificity (Buker et al. 2009; Maasen and Weingart 2005). All this has challenged science's principle and possibility of truth. But despite these exposed weaknesses, the scientific endeavour continues to be oriented by the epistemic imperative of 'truth', underlying which is the ideal of academic freedom.

The second fundamental premise backing the ideal of academic freedom is academics' professionalism. Academic freedom is often regarded not as a privilege, but as a fundamental condition or a functional prerequisite for academics to effectively perform their roles of teaching, research and social engagement (Coleman 1977). This premise stems from the idea that academics, like physicians and lawyers, are sanctuaries of valuable skills, knowledge and expertise, and that the best way to allow them to perform their role – of discovering the truth – is through giving them freedom and permitting them discretion in determining what tasks they do and how they do them (Goldstein 1976).

But neither the ideals nor the premises of academic freedom are exempt from critical scrutiny. Goldstein (1976) concedes that extramural academic freedom should be protected as part of the civil liberties that all citizens have, in this case regarding freedom of speech, but he claims that the idea that academic freedom is an academic's special right is not well founded. When academics express civic utterances, it is unclear whether they do so as common citizens or as experts or members of an academic community. As Goldstein (1976:58) asks: '[W]hy should a university chemistry professor enjoy uniquely greater rights to engage in political activities free from restraints imposed by his employer or government than are enjoyed by other citizens and employees?' Obviously, the right of chemistry professors to engage in political activities does not stem from their field of expertise, but from their rights as citizens. Likewise, the ideal of academic freedom does not imply freedom from restraints and obligations in terms of academics' duty to respect the opinions of others, as well as their employers' and professions' public image and interests when making public utterances. These obligations are also applicable to intramural activities: in their teaching and research activities, academics should respect their employers' interests and should be accountable for the money they receive (Goldstein 1976). Nevertheless, using the civil

liberty of freedom of speech to protect academics has often seemed insufficient to safeguard science's sacrosanct principle of the pursuit of truth (despite the inexistence of absolute truth). This has justified the need to protect academic freedom as a special academic right, as exemplified by the tenure system. In extramural engagement, this protection allows academics, particularly those working in politically and ideologically sensitive fields like social sciences and humanities, to express their views on political and social affairs without fear of persecution. Academics' views are, ideally, based on the most accurate available scientific knowledge. In the African context, where knowledge gaps within national academic communities and the persecution of academics working in national institutions continue, the academic diaspora's utterances on political and social affairs may be critical to allow African societies to access less biased knowledge and to protect themselves from powerful ideologies and dogmas.

Academic Freedom in Postcolonial Africa

In post-independence Africa, the degree of academic freedom enjoyed by academics has been shaped by the continent's postcolonial history. Three main phases can be distinguished regarding the possibilities for academic freedom. The first phase, from the late colonial period to the 1970s, was that of academic euphoria. During this period, academics enjoyed a positive image and a greater degree of academic freedom. Besides academics' (and politicians') optimistic engagement with the nationalist project, several factors contributed to the healthy relationship between universities and the new African governments. These factors included university governance models imported from European counterparts; the dominance of the expatriate professoriate, including in management positions, despite the initial Africanisation; the quietism of university graduates due to positive career prospects; and the good material and financial health of African universities (Coleman 1977; Mkandawire 2005). The second phase, from the 1980s to the early 1990s, was that of academic disillusionment and troubled university–government relationships. During this phase, the rise of authoritarian, one-party dictatorships and often military regimes resulted in African academics' disillusionment with the nationalist project and with the political elites, as well as in substantial threats to academic freedom. These threats mainly took two forms: (i) state repression, censorship, intimidation, imprisonment and, in some cases, executions of academics; and (ii) the extreme material and economic deprivation of academic institutions. It is not surprising that many academics went into exile during this phase (Diouf and Mamdani 1994; Mkandawire 2005). The third phase, from the 1990s

onwards, shifted the threats to academic freedom from state–university to market–university relationships, in what Ogachi (2011:36) has termed 'from authoritarian state to authoritarian market'.

While the state and political elites continued to curtail academic freedom with the emergence of neoliberal policies, the market has gained more prominence, with the activities of universities and academics being shaped to be responsive to market demands (Mamdani 2007; Ogachi 2011). In the early years of independence, Ashby and Anderson (1966) minimised the threats to academic freedom in Africa, if by academic freedom we mean Lehrfreiheit and Lernfreiheit, that is, freedom to teach, learn, undertake research and publish. As Ashby and Anderson assert:

> Little evidence that academic freedom (Lehrfreiheit) has been curtailed…at any time in any university in the African commonwealth countries. There have been occasionally complaints and tensions about teaching of some academics but we do doubt whether there are well-authenticated cases of teachers being victimized for opinions they expressed in the classroom. If the definition of academic freedom is broadened to cover the rights of academics to hold political opinions distasteful to the government, then cases have occurred… (1966:344)

The first part of Ashby and Anderson's assertion, concerning 'little evidence' of curtailment of freedom of teaching, was perhaps correct in the early period of independence. But from the 1980s onwards, threats to academic freedom have targeted both intramural (teaching and research) and extramural (expression of views regarding political affairs) activities. These threats began prior to the 1980s, when governments altered the university self-governance pattern inherited from former colonisers by appointing government members to university councils and senates, and by turning presidents of republics into chancellors.

External forces integrated into executive and academic boards have begun to exercise control over universities and academics, including over what and how they teach and research, and what they say publicly. Cases of control and curtailment of academic freedom have been reported throughout Africa (see Coleman 1977; Diouf and Mamdani 1994; Human Rights Watch 1991; Kerr and Mapanje 2002; Mbiba 2012). Kerr and Mapanje (2002) report cases of the persecution of academics in Malawi because of their teaching, research and political and social views; Mbiba (2012) reports similar cases in Zimbabwe; and Bubtana (2006), Diouf and Mamdani (1994) and Human Rights Watch (1991) highlight such cases from across Africa. Ogachi (2011) and Mamdani (2007) report on how market forces have influenced the selection of programmes, courses and content taught at some African universities.

Diaspora as an Academic Freedom Safe Haven for African Academics

What possibilities does the diaspora space accord African academics to express their views and positions concerning social and political affairs in Africa? Through presenting preliminary hypotheses, our objective is to initiate and frame a scholarly debate on the relationship between the African intellectual diaspora and the possibilities of exercising extramural academic freedom. A number of research questions inform our study: Does going into exile result in more extramural academic freedom? In other words, do African academics need to be in diaspora to exercise academic freedom beyond the walls of the university? Is the diaspora an academic freedom safe haven for African scholars?

Despite the absence of reliable and comprehensive data and statistics concerning African academics living in the diaspora, the literature examined in this article shows that many African academics have migrated from their homelands and established themselves elsewhere. Some went into exile after publicly criticising their governments or expressing views distasteful to the political elites. Others were attracted by the better social, economic and professional conditions offered by the host lands.

In both cases, once in exile many have continued to be emotionally tied to, and professionally engaged with, African affairs, not just through their actions, but also through the views they express publicly on African social and political issues. Needless to say, some of the positions expressed by the African academic diaspora, either through the mass media or through other publications, have been distasteful to the dominant political and economic forces in Africa. However, unlike their counterparts working in the homelands, those in the diaspora seem to face less curtailment of their extramural academic freedom, or to be less afraid of political repression when they comment on African political and social issues. As Teferra states:

> It is a common pattern for those in the Diaspora to reflect, comment, or criticize freely without fear of persecution or personal wellbeing. And yet their counterparts at home have to be vigilant and conscious of the consequences of their words and their implications. (2004:6)

The preliminary hypothesis that African intellectuals in the diaspora are less limited or feel less afraid to express their views on political and social affairs in Africa is backed by the diasporic experiences of generations of African intellectuals who participated in the struggle for independence. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's (1996) allegory of the cave perhaps best captures how being in

the diaspora enabled some independent African intellectuals to understand the African situation and to express their views against the colonial order.

After living in exile, African intellectuals like Julius Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah, Hastings Banda, Eduardo Mondlane, Amílcar Cabral and Thabo Mbeki were able to use their status of having been abroad and the knowledge and experience acquired there to reflect and comment on and criticise the colonial system. But once this generation of intellectuals seized political power, some of them established monolithic and authoritarian regimes that provoked a wave of brain drain of African intellectuals and professionals.

Zeleza (2005) reflects on the African academic diaspora's engagement in knowledge production in Africa and how this engagement has minimised the peripheral position of African academia within the global geopolitics of knowledge production. African scholars in the diaspora, particularly those working in politically and ideologically sensitive fields such as social sciences and those that do not necessarily belong to the comprador intelligentsia or fall within the Gramscian concept of organic intellectuals, have frequently criticised powerful political and economic forces in Africa in their publications, without suffering serious persecution or intimidation (see Macamo 2005; Mazrui and Mutunga 2003; Mkandawire 2010). However, it is also true that instances abound where intellectuals working in Africa have courageously criticised governments without reprisals (Diouf and Mamdani 1994).

Kerr and Mapanje (2002) report that this vigilance has led some scholars working at Malawian universities to become experts at playing a double game in order to academically survive Banda's censorship. For example, Alifeyo Chilibvumbo and John Kandawire, Malawian sociologists then affiliated to the University of Malawi, produced two versions of the same papers in order to be permitted to participate in international academic conferences. They submitted the version whose content was inoffensive to Banda's regime for government approval, but presented the other version at the conference. It seems, then, that being in the diaspora frees the voices of African intellectuals and accords them the opportunity for political engagement with political issues at home in ways that would not be possible were they at home.

While the preliminary hypothesis that African intellectuals in the diaspora are less limited or feel less afraid to express their views on political and social African affairs sounds reasonable, there are still knowledge gaps concerning how this freedom is shaped by the different profiles of academics in exile. Research is still needed to unveil how aspects such as disciplinary background, country of origin, host country, period of living in exile, institutional affiliation and reasons for migrating from the homeland shape and influence the exercise of extramural academic freedom.

Based on the literature review, we next present some hypotheses regarding how disciplinary background, country of origin and reasons for migrating influence academics in the diaspora to exercise their extramural academic freedom.

Disciplinary Background: The Curse of Social Sciences and Humanities

The propensity for academics to hold views considered controversial on political and social matters is not unconnected to their disciplinary background. Similarly, the efforts of dominant social forces to exert control and power over academics' positions and views also vary according to academics' disciplinary background. Altbach (2007) hypothesises that restrictions to academic freedom, particularly extramural academic freedom, tend to target those academics working in politically and ideologically sensitive fields, namely the social sciences. To test this hypothesis in the African context, we undertook an exploratory analysis of the disciplinary backgrounds of academics who have suffered from many forms of restrictions on their extramural academic freedom. The results suggest a link: African political elites tend to exert more control over those academics working in social sciences and humanities.

All the prominent African academics in the diaspora mentioned in the introduction of this article have a background in social sciences and humanities: Ali Mazrui and Mahmood Mamdani are political scientists; Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o is a linguist and writer; Thandika Mkandawire is a developmental economist; Joseph Ki-Zerbo, a historian; Valentin Mudimbe, a prolific social scientist, specialising in areas ranging from philosophy, anthropology, sociology and linguistics to history and literature. Kerr and Mapanje (2002) report cases of the curtailment of academic freedom in Malawi, targeting mainly social sciences and humanities' academics, such as those affiliated to the Department of English at the University of Malawi, like Jack Mapanje, as well as James Stewart and other intellectuals with backgrounds in economics and sociology, such as former World Bank economist Goodall Gondwe and sociologist Alifeyo Chilibvumbo.

Human Rights Watch (1991) produced a detailed report on how the African academic community suffered restrictions on several forms of extramural academic freedom in fourteen African countries (Cameroon, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Nigeria, South Africa, Somalia, Tanzania, Sudan, Swaziland, Togo, Uganda, Zaire and Zimbabwe) during the 1980s and 1990s. A number of academics and students were arrested, detained, dismissed, tortured or executed because of views they broadcast in the mass media or the political and social positions they defended in academic papers. While some academics with backgrounds in fields

other than social sciences and humanities (e.g. neurosurgeon George Mtafu in Malawi and biologist Kamoji Wachiira in Kenya [Human Rights Watch 1991]) were affected by these restrictions, nearly everyone who suffered from the curtailment of their freedom had a background in social sciences or humanities.

Human Rights Watch (1991) reports many cases of restrictions placed on academics with backgrounds in social sciences and humanities in the fourteen countries. Prominent examples include journalism professors Sam Fonkem and Tatah Mentang in Cameroon; linguistics lecturers Hansel Ndumbe Eyoh and Ambroise Kom, also in Cameroon; Kenyan law lecturers J. Martin and Willy Mutunga; educational psychologist Edward Oyugi in Kenya; political scientist Anyang Nyong'o in Kenya; professor of political science Obaro Ikime in Nigeria; Sudanese lecturers in linguistics, Ushari Ahmed Mahmoud and Khalid al-Kid; professor of geography and history Tanko Diasso, in Togo; Ugandan geography professor Charles Kagenda-Atwooki; and Kempton Makamure, professor and dean of the faculty of law at University of Zimbabwe. Others have also reported similar cases (see Diouf and Mamdani 1994; Mbiba 2012). This suggests that academics in the diaspora with backgrounds in the social sciences and humanities are more likely to be sensitive to issues of academic freedom than those working in other fields. Research, particularly qualitative research, targeting academics in the diaspora from different disciplinary backgrounds is needed to support this preliminary hypothesis.

Country of Origin

Besides disciplinary background, the political and economic situation of the home countries from which these academics depart seems to influence the likelihood of them expressing views about political and social matters in their homelands, as well as efforts by the political elites of these countries to exert control and power over academics' positions and views. A report of the Sixth International Higher Education and Research Conference, held in Malaga in 2007[1], analysed the state of academic freedom across 170 countries, including in Africa. African countries have been classified into five categories depending on the degree to which they restrict academic freedom. Reports cite hardly any cases of violating academic freedom in countries in the first category, such as Mauritius and Botswana. In the second category, countries like Mozambique, Senegal, Zambia and South Africa formally guarantee academic freedom but there are restrictions at the practical level. The third category is composed of countries like Egypt, Somalia and Zimbabwe, where academic freedom is formally and practically restricted. Countries in the fourth category, like

Côte d'Ivoire, severely restrict academic freedom. Fifth category countries, such as Uganda and Kenya, once restricted academic freedom but have lately undergone significant improvements.

Despite this 2007 classification perhaps being outdated, it highlights the fact that African countries are not homogeneous in the way they formally and practically protect academic freedom. As mentioned by Altbatch (2007), restrictions to academic freedom increase where and when there are political tensions. In Africa, the critical phase in terms of curtailment of academic freedom coincided with the rise of authoritarian regimes and the economic crises in the 1980s and early 1990s (Diouf and Mamdani 1994; Mkandawire 2005; Zeleza 2005). Unsurprisingly, this period saw the exodus of African academics reach its apex, especially from countries with the most authoritarian regimes. Since the early 1990s, African countries have witnessed improvements in protecting academic freedom. These improvements have accompanied trends of democratisation in African societies, including of their political systems.

However, African countries continue to display differences in their degree of democratisation, the openness of their political systems and the availability of economic opportunities. Mbiba (2012), for example, reports that political tensions and economic crises in Zimbabwe post agrarian reform led to professionals and academics going into exile, to Britain and elsewhere. This diaspora has participated in political debate in the homeland. Political and economic differences across African countries suggest that they should be classified differently in terms of the way they restrain academic freedom. In sum, apart from disciplinary background, the political and economic situation of the countries from which African academics migrate may shape and influence their exercise of extramural academic freedom. As is the case with disciplinary background, research is needed to unveil how country of origin influences academics in diaspora to exercise this freedom.

Reasons for Emigrating from Homeland

The reason for migrating and living in diaspora is another variable that seems to be relevant when examining the way African academics in diaspora exercise their extramural academic freedom. The literature highlights two main reasons for migrating. The first is political persecution – those affected include the academics Ali Mazrui, Mahmood Mamdani, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Thandika Mkandawire and Jack Mapanje. The second is economic – those academics and professionals who left their homelands as a result of being attracted by better social and economic conditions elsewhere (Kerr and Mapanje 2002; Mbiba 2012; Zeleza 2013).

Zeleza (2005) notes the lack of comprehensive data on the demographic and social profiles of African academics in diaspora. This lack is even more pertinent regarding reasons why academics flee from their homelands. It is thus difficult to conclusively correlate the reasons for departing and the way African academics in diaspora exercise their academic freedom in relation to issues of African concern. But one clue allows us to make a reasonable hypothesis. Academics who have migrated because of political persecution often do not hesitate to recall or use their personal experience and condition of departure when they address African concerns, particularly years after their departure from the homeland. It is as if they take the problem personally and use the 'weapons' of the academy to express their dissatisfaction.

On at least two occasions, Ali Mazrui publicly recalled his condition of departure from Africa to sustain his scientific arguments. The first was a paper he published in 1975 in African Affairs, where he argued that academic freedom in Africa faced a dual tyranny – the internal tyranny of political elites curtailing the normal functioning of educational and research institutions, and the external tyranny represented by the dominance of European culture on and within African academia (Mazrui 1975). To sustain his argument of internal tyranny, Mazrui recalled his own experience of not being able to deliver a lecture at the University of Cape Town because the apartheid regime would not allow him to enter the country with his English wife. The second occasion was in 2003, almost three decades after his departure from Africa, during a lecture he delivered at the University of Nairobi. On that occasion, Mazrui (2003) emphasised that the death of intellectualism in postcolonial Africa was related to what he himself had suffered: political persecution during Uganda's Idi Amin regime and Kenya's Daniel arap Moi regime. Kerr and Mapanje (2002) are further examples of scholars whose academic writing is inspired by personal experience.

Along with other Malawian academics in diaspora, Jack Mapanje's academic freedom was severely restricted during Banda's regime. The title of a journal article he co-authored reveals its content: 'Academic Freedom and the University of Malawi'. Mahmood Mamdani, another academic in diaspora, used his personal experience to back his claims in a lecture on academic freedom he delivered at Rhodes University and at the University of Natal in 1993; at the time, he was a visiting professor at the University of Durban-Westville (Mamdani 1993). Besides working in the field of social sciences and humanities and coming from countries facing political tensions and economic crises, academics who flee their homeland due to political persecution appear to be more likely to address controversial African political and social concerns in their scholarship. Qualitative research is needed to unveil how the reasons for departing from Africa influence academics in diaspora to exercise their extramural academic freedom.

Concluding Remarks: Outlining a Research Agenda

This article laid the groundwork for a research agenda on one issue concerning the role of the African academic diaspora: their engagement in political and social affairs in their home country. The article outlined why academics in the diaspora engage in extramural activities on the continent, using the diaspora as a safe haven from which to express their political views. Furthermore, we argued that, since national African academic communities continue to face knowledge and capacity gaps and to be persecuted for their public utterances, the African academic diaspora's engagement in political and social affairs is critical to allow African societies to access less biased knowledge and to protect themselves from powerful ideologies and dogmas.

Based on a comprehensive literature review, the article presented preliminary hypotheses on the African academic diaspora and extramural academic freedom. The literature supports the assumption that African academics in the diaspora are less limited or feel less constrained in terms of expressing their views on political and social affairs in their respective home countries. However, we hypothesise that the African academic diaspora's propensity to exercise their extramural academic freedom is affected by their disciplinary background, the political and economic situation in their country of origin and the reasons for migrating (whether politically or economically motivated), as well as by other variables such as the duration of exile, the nature of the host country and institutional affiliation.

African academics hosted in more stable democratic countries and educational/research institutions, with a long and steady tradition of protecting individual and civil rights, including academic freedom, may be more inclined or feel less limited or afraid to criticise and comment on issues related to their homelands. We hypothesise that the longer the academics stay in host countries, or the more professional stability they enjoy in these safe academic havens, the more likely they are to exercise their extramural academic freedom. The cases of academics such as Ali Mazrui, Mahmood Mamdani, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Thandika Mkandawire and Jack Mapanje, all of whom moved to countries in the West, particularly the US and Western Europe, support the preliminary hypothesis for a more in-depth study.

These hypotheses open up new avenues for more in-depth research, particularly qualitative research focusing on African academics in diaspora and their experiences. This new research agenda should aim to expand the profile variables that shape the way academics exercise their extramural academic freedom to address pressing issues in their homelands.

Note

1. See the site: https://download.ei-ie.org/Docs/IRISDocuments/Education/Higher%20Education%20and%20Research/Higher%20Education%20Policy%20Papers/2008-00037-01-E.pdf

References

Altbach, P., 2007, 'Academic Freedom in a Global Context: 21st Century Challenges', *The NEA 2007 Almanac of Higher Education*, pp. 50–56.

Ashby, E., and Anderson, M., 1966, 'Autonomy and Academic Freedom in Britain and in English Speaking Countries of Tropical Africa', *Minerva*, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 317–364.

Baubock, R., and Faist, T., eds, 2010, Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods, IMICOE Research, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Bubtana, A., ed., 2006, Problems and Challenges in Arab and African Countries, Proceedings of the Academic Freedom Conference held in Alexandria, Egypt, 10–11 September 2005.

Buker, W.E., Bal, R., and Hendriks, R., 2009, *The Paradox of Scientific Authority: The Role of Scientific Advice in Democracies*, London and Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Butler, K.D., 2000, 'From Black History to Diasporan History: Brazilian Abolition in Afro-Atlantic Context', *African Studies Review*, Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 125–139.

Coleman, J., 1977, 'Academic Freedom and Responsibilities of Foreign Scholars in African Universities', *Journal of Opinion,* Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 14–32.

Diouf, M., and Mamdani, M., eds, 1994, *Academic Freedom in Africa*, Dakar: CODESRIA.

Dufoix, S., 2008, Diasporas, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Faist, T., 2010, 'Diaspora and Transnationalism: What Kind of Dance Partners?' in R. Baubock and T. Faist, eds, *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. pp. 9–34.

Falola, T., 2001, *Nationalism and African Intellectuals*, Rochester: University of Rochester Press.

Gibbons, M., Limoges, C., Nowotny, H., Schwartzman, S., Scott, P., and Trow, 1994, *The New Production of Knowledge: The Dynamics of Science and Research in Contemporary Societies*, London: Sage.

Goldstein, S., 1976, 'Academic Freedom: Its Meaning and Underlying Premises as Seen through the American Experience', *Israel Law Review*, Vol. 11, No. 52, pp. 52–75.

Gray, J., ed., 2008, *John Stuart Mill: On Liberty and Other Essays*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Human Rights Watch, 1991, *Academic Freedom and Human Rights Abuses*, New York, Washington and London: African Watch.

Kerr, D., and Mapanje, J., 2002, 'Academic Freedom and the University of Malawi', *African Studies Review*, Vol. 45, No. 2, pp. 73–91.

Lyotard, J-F., 1992, *The Postmodern Explained, Minneapolis*, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Maasen, S., and Weingart, P., 2005, 'What Is New in Scientific Advice to Politics? Introductory Essay', in S. Maasen and P. Weingart, eds, *Democratization of Expertise? Exploring Novel Forms of Scientific Advice in Political Decision-Making*, Dordrecht: Springer. pp. 1–20.

Macamo, E., 2005, 'Against "Development"', *Codesria Bulletin*, Nos 3&4, pp. 5–7.

Mamdani, M., 1993, 'University crisis and reform: A reflection on the African experience', *Review of African Political Economy*, 20:58, 7-19, DOI: 10.1080/03056249308704016

Mamdani, M., 2007, *Scholars in the Marketplace: The Dilemmas of Neoliberal Reform at Makerere University 1989–2005*, Dakar: CODESRIA.

Marfouk, A., 2006, 'Emigration, stopper l'hémorragie, L'état de l'Afrique', *Jeune Afrique*, 24 Octobre. Available online at http://www.abdeslammarfouk.com/uploads/1/6/3/4/16347570/extrait_etat_afrique_2006.pdf

Mazrui, A., 1975, 'Academic Freedom in Africa: The Dual Tyranny', *African Affairs*, Vol. 75, No. 297, pp. 393–400.

Mazrui, A., 2003, 'Towards Re-Africanizing African Universities: Who Killed Intellectualism in the Post-Colonial Era?' *Alternatives, Turkish Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 2, Nos 3&4, pp. 135–163.

Mazrui, A., and Mutunga, W., eds, 2003, *Governance and Leadership: Debating the African Condition*, Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Mbiba, B., 2012, 'Zimbabwean Diaspora Politics in Britain: Insights from the Cathedral Moment', *Common Wealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 2, pp. 226–252.

Mkandawire, T., 1995, 'Three Generations of African Academics: A Note', *Transformation*, Vol. 28, pp. 75–83.

Mkandawire, T., 2005, 'African Intellectuals and Nationalism', in T. Mkandawire, ed., *African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development*, London and New York: Zed Books and CODESRIA. pp. 10–55.

Mkandawire, T., 2010, 'From Maladjusted States to Democratic Developmental States in Africa', in O. Edigheji, ed., *Constructing a Democratic Developmental State in South Africa: Potentials and Challenges*, Cape Town: HSRC Press. pp. 59–81.

Mwakikagile, G., 2006, *Africa Is a Mess: What Went Wrong and What Should Be Done?* Pretoria: New Africa Press.

Nesbitt, F.N., 2002, 'African Intellectuals in the Belly of the Beast: Migration, Identity and the Politics of Exile', *African Issues*, Vol. 30, No. 1, pp. 70–75.

Ogachi, I.O., 2011, 'Neo-liberalism and the Subversion of Academic Freedom from within: Money, Corporate Cultures and "Captured" Intellectuals in African Public Universities', *JHEA/RESA,* CODESRIA, Vol. 9, Nos 1&2, pp. 25–47.

Ogachi, I.O., 2015, 'Engaging the African Academic Diaspora: How Ready Are Universities in Africa?' *International Journal of African Higher Education*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 25–53.

Owen, D., and Strong, T.B., 2004, *Max Weber: The Vocation Lectures*, trans. Rodney Livingstone, Indianapolis: Hackett.

Palmer, C., 2000, 'The African Diaspora', *Black Scholar*, Vol. 30, Nos 3&4, pp. 56–59.

Sekayi, D.N., 1997, *African American Intellectual-Activist: Legacies in the Struggle*, New York and London: Routledge.

Teferra, D., 2004, 'Brain Circulation: Unparalleled Opportunities, Underlying Challenges and Outmoded Presumptions', Paper prepared for the Symposium on International Labour and Academic Mobility: Emerging Trends and Implications for Public Policy, 21–22 October, World Education Services, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Turner, S., and Kleist, N., 2013, 'Introduction: Agents of Change? Staging and Governing Diasporas and the African State', *African Studies*, Vol. 72, No. 2, pp. 192–206.

wa Thiong'o, N., 1996, 'The Allegory of the Cave: Language, Democracy and New World Order', *Black Renaissance/ Renaissance Noire*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 1–18.

Weingart, P., 1999, 'Paradoxes: Scientific Expertise and Political Accountability: Paradoxes of Science in Politics', *Science and Public Policy*, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 151–161.

Zeleza, P., 1998, 'African Labour and Intellectual Migration to the North: Building New Transatlantic Bridges', Symposium on African and African-American Intellectuals, Santiago, CA, University of California.

Zeleza, P., 2004, 'The African Academic Diaspora in the United States and Africa: The Challenge of Productive Engagement', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and Middle East*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 261–275.

Zeleza, P., 2005, 'Rewriting the African Diaspora: Beyond the Black Atlantic', *African Affairs*, Vol. 164, No. 414, pp. 35–68.

Zeleza, P., 2013, Engagement between African Diaspora Academics in the U.S. and Canada and the African Institutions of Higher Education: Perspectives from the North America and Africa, Report for the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

JHEA/RESA Vol. 16, Nos 1&2, 2018, pp. 25-50

(ISSN 0851–7762)

Modelling an African Research University: Notes towards an Interdisciplinary, Cross-Cultural and Anticipative Curriculum

Clapperton Chakanetsa Mavhunga*

Abstract

What kind of education do we want our students to have in order to meet the opportunities and challenges facing Africa? What kind of ingredients and tools does such an education require to be responsive to the needs of all of Africa's people? Mobilising around engineering education and its synergies with entrepreneurial education, vocational education, and the social sciences and humanities, this essay argues for an interdisciplinary, cross-cultural and anticipative curriculum that emphasises research, problematising and problem-solving. The article is organised around five potential ingredients a research university could prioritise: research capability, not just capacity; financial means to do research; partnership with society (the informal economy); entrepreneurship; and an interdisciplinary, cross-cultural ethos that addresses current and anticipates future challenges.

Keywords: diaspora, engineering education, entrepreneurial education, vocational education

Résumé

Quel type de formation nos étudiants devraient-ils suivre afin de saisir les occasions et de relever les défis qui confrontent l'Afrique ? Quels sont les ingrédients et les outils requis pour que ce type de formation soit en mesure de répondre aux besoins des populations en Afrique ? Cet article s'articule autour de la formation des ingénieurs et ses synergies avec la formation à l'entrepreneuriat, la formation professionnelle, les sciences humaines et sociales, et préconise un programme d'études interdisciplinaires, interculturelles et anticipatives qui mettent l'accent sur la recherche,

* Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Cambridge, MA, USA.
Email: mavhunga@mit.edu

la problématique et la résolution des problèmes. Il s'articule autour de cinq ingrédients potentiels qu'une université de recherche devrait prioriser : la capacité de recherche, pas seulement l'aptitude ; les moyens financiers pour mener les recherches ; le partenariat avec la société (économie informelle) ; l'entrepreneuriat ; et une éthique interdisciplinaire et interculturelle qui permet de relever les défis actuels et d'anticiper les défis futurs.

Mots-clés : diaspora, formation des ingénieurs, formation à l'entrepreneuriat, formation professionnelle

Introduction

What kind of education do we want our students to have in order to meet the opportunities and challenges facing Africa? What kind of ingredients and tools does our education require to be responsive to the needs of all of Africa's people? How do we go about setting up and sustaining that kind of university, bearing in mind that over 70 per cent of Africa's employment is currently within the informal sector, not in research and development (R&D)?

In 1997, an expert group composed of deans of engineering schools met at a summit convened by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation and the African Network of Scientific and Technological Institutions. On its agenda was a review of quality assurance and the relevance of engineering programmes in Africa's higher education institutions (HEIs).

The diagnosis started where it should start: with Africa's enduring colonial legacy and Africans' efforts which have both sought to escape this legacy and further entrenched it. Many of the engineering schools and curricula at that time were for, not by, Africans. They still follow the disciplinary structures European colonisers set for us, consistent with the economic exploitation they were meant to effect. Most schools of engineering started with agricultural, civil, electrical and electronic, and mechanical engineering, as well as surveying, with other programmes being added after independence to cater for post-independence exigencies. Today, many engineering programmes are true to their local economies and have been crafted in specific response to requests from government and industry (Kumapley 1997; Kunje 1997; Markwardt 2014; Massaquoi and Luti 1997). In general, the engineering education was imported from the Global North and therefore designed for other societies (Simbi and Chinyamakobvu 1997). The buildings, campuses, degree programmes and even courses were new, but the 'universities of science and technology' continued to be subjected to the traditional lectures that funnelled 'content knowledge' into students'

heads without developing and stimulating 'any spirit of inquiry or initiative in the student'. The students' duty was that of 'memorizing lecture notes for the sake of passing examinations only' (Simbi and Chinyamakobvu 1997:48; Kunje 1997; Senzanje, Moyo and Samakande 2006). African engineering content and syllabi are generally both continuations of colonial traditions of engineering (pompous titles, little or no tangible and visible product) and models borrowed from and imitating those of the West. The curricula are still too theoretical and of little relevance to their contexts (Matthews, Ryan-Collins, Wells, Sillem and Wright 2012). Our engineering model operates in exclusion of the society to it, one that it engineers *for* rather than *with*. It's engineering without social responsibility, engineering without any creativity.

At the end of its deliberations, the expert group called for a curriculum with 'more social sciences, computer courses and industrial attachment'; dissertations reflecting 'real life situations' and graduates capable of 'solving regional problems' (Massaquoi and Luti 1997:8). The deans spoke against an imitative model that failed to 'address African needs' but simply put 'an African complexion to imported copies', thus continuing 'a cycle of dependence which makes us lie back and await changes in foreign systems' and then react with minor adjustment to suit our needs (1997:8). The professors called for 'committed scholars with creative minds' to critically engage with global ideas and instruments to generate new technologies and provide indigenous oversight on decisions pertaining to foreign things to which locals assign technological value (Massaquoi and Luti 1997:8; Masu 1997). Two decades later, that call remains unanswered; the high rate of unemployment among engineering graduates confirms that Africa's HEIs are churning out graduates with unemployable skills (EARC 2014).

The deans' call predated a current debate among engineer educators in the West. Engineering education generally passes on disciplinary, well-understood and already existing formulae for problem-solving; seldom does it try out new methodologies or take creative risks (Beer, Johnston and DeWolf 2006; Bucciarelli 1994, 2003; Seely 2005; Sheppard, Macatangay, Colby and Sullivan 2008). The calls for engineering education reform in the United States (US), for example, boil down to one question: 'How can one teach engineering science courses so that students come to understand what they are not learning?' (Downey 2005:592).

To answer this question means that engineering has to be opened up more aggressively to the humanities, arts and social sciences so that engineers better understand the social and political context within which they do engineering (Grasso and Burkins 2010). Top engineering institutions like the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) require their students to take a significant

number of social sciences and humanities subjects to graduate (MIT 2017). Technical skill is only one among many other skills sets an engineer requires to negotiate the complex social, political, cultural, environmental and ethical challenges of the profession (Faler 1981; Noble 1977). The idea of 'holistic engineering', emphasising context-specificity, teamwork, transdisciplinary communication and lifelong learning, has generally emphasised collaboration between different branches in engineering (Duderstadt 2010; Grasso and Burkins 2010; Ramadi, Ramadi and Nasr 2016).

By 2007, US universities had begun focusing on engineering science (hi-tech subjects) at the expense of the traditional engineering disciplines (mechanical, civil, electrical, chemical and aeronautical), with a resulting critical shortage of engineers of physical infrastructure. An acute dependence on international students and workers followed (Frankel 2008). Today, the antiquated US road, rail and electricity infrastructure needs upgrading.

Nor should we blindly follow China's model. Engineers are not in short supply: engineering is the country's largest discipline, with 2,222 (or 92.2 per cent) of its 2,409 institutions running an undergraduate programme in 2011 – and counting. That same year, 8,689 million undergraduate and 0.588 million graduate students (a third of China's enrolment) were engineering majors. This is understandable – China has more than 1.3 billion people and is the world's second largest economy; it is the factory of the world! But like most of Africa's HEIs, China's curriculum prioritises knowledge accumulation and dissemination and building knowledge systems, not knowledge mastery and practical ability. And it is obsessed with rankings vis-à-vis its competitors as opposed to meeting the needs of industry (Bai et al. 2009; Rutto 2015).

The last thing Africans can afford is to replace Western imports with Eastern ones. The argument advanced is that science and engineering should be brought into multidisciplinary conversation with the social sciences and humanities to forge a new covenant for solving Africa's problems and generating made-in-Africa products and opportunities. It is not enough when training an engineer for Africa to simply make engineering sciences, laboratory experiments and design legitimate topics for the social sciences, humanities and arts, or to help engineers 'get it' (i.e. better understand the social and political context within which they do engineering). One key obstacle inherited is the colonial mentality that the engineer designs *for*, not *with*, society. It reduces society to a spectator when it should be a comrade-in-arms in research and problem-solving.

By adopting an inclusive, multi-optic approach to conception, not implementation or use, and by identifying, conceptualising and solving problems together, solutions cease to be imposed from the top down by governments, by foreign countries using 'donations' or by 'donor agencies' using 'soft power' to dominate Africa. Solutions then emerge organically from and with the people affected by the problem. This communality of research and knowledge production is the embodiment of *umoja*, *ujamaa*, *hunhu* and ubuntu. Picture an engineer, physician, lawyer and a specialist in investment finance working with a historian, sociologist, political scientist, environmentalist, philosopher, linguist, an informal trader, blacksmith, pottery maker, healer, youths and an elderly custodian of indigenous knowledge all working within one team, each bringing their skills to bear upon one problem.

This article argues that an African research university must foster within its students and faculty a culture of inclusive, multi-optic problematising and problem-solving, that is, one that deploys multiple skills sets and sees issues from many angles. To accomplish this, we must invest in programmes that synergise and even synthesise the science and engineering curricula with the humanities, arts and social sciences in order to generate opportunities, solve problems and create physical and intellectual infrastructures for that purpose.

It is argued further that the solution ought not to be an end in itself, but also a platform for staging completely new innovations. This multiplier effect takes valuable lessons from the value-addition Africans are contributing to mobile technology. The mobile money transfer app M-pesa, for example, can be interpreted as value-addition to the cellphone and an innovation with multiplier effects. To acquire this research, problematising and problem-solving capability, the African research university must:

- Have research capability, not just capacity;
- Have financial means to do research;
- Engage with the informal economy;
- Be entrepreneurial (in an innovative and market sense); and
- Be interdisciplinary, cross-cultural and anticipative of a post-disciplinary world yet to come.

The argument is not simply that we have no such university that embodies who we are as Africans and what we could be. I am much more worried that we are not even thinking about it with our eye on the realities that

define Africa and the futures we may not live to see but which our (grand) children will have to face. As a discipline that makes and builds things, engineering occupies an important space it should open up and share in order to achieve the immense power it potentially has to help African societies build positive, happy futures.

Research Capability

> I teach … 2 First yr. tutorials per wk., 9 First yr. tutorials per week, 4 Second Yr. Seminars per week, 3 Third Year Lectures per week, 2 Third Year Seminars per week. Add up and then add 4 PhD students to supervise. That should give you 20 lectures…Those are the lectures I was giving from July to the end of this week (October 14th). And every second semester. So, I hope you have softened your judgement of a brother after looking at the stats.[1]

These are the words of a friend, a faculty member at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), explaining to me why it was impossible for him to join me in a workshop I was trying to organise as a visiting professor in July 2016. It drove home a reality I had witnessed when I taught at the University of Zimbabwe from 2000 to 2002 – that generally, the African university continues to be a teaching university, with big classes, heavy workloads, poor to non-existent research funding, and little time off for faculty to conduct research. This is called the 'massification of higher education', where students are empty containers whose job it is for the *lecturer* to fill up. Students' job is to open their ears, imbibe, memorise for and take an exam, pass, graduate and look for a job. Students approach research as just another exam and in many instances lecturers' own publication records are razor-thin (Kanyandago 2010; Openjuru 2010; Zeelen 2012).

Capability is not to be confused with ability or capacity. Capability refers to talent, skill or proficiency; the friend cited above, for example, could walk into any Ivy League university and thrive as a research professor as he possesses the necessary capability. Capacity refers to being in a position to do research if one has the ability. All the constraints my friend referred to above impede his capacity to do so. Usually our solutions target one and leave out the other.

The research figures speak for themselves. Based on 2011 figures, the highest performing African country, South Africa, had 818 researchers per one million people. Compare that to South Korea's 4,627 per million. South Korea produces 3,124.6 science and engineering articles per year; the

US produces 212,394.2; Brazil, 13,148.1; and India, 22,480.5 (Cyranoski, Gilbert, Ledford, Nayar and Yahia 2011; UNECA 2013). Fifteen per cent of the world population live in Africa yet the continent has just 1.1 per cent of the world's scientific researchers (one scientist or engineer per 10,000 people) compared with 20–50 per 10,000 in more industrialised nations. Africa owns just 0.1 per cent of global patents (UNESCO 2015). Institutional rankings put pressure on faculty to publish, and promotion and salary scales are based on them. Individualism, which is detrimental to research collaboration, creeps in (Soudiena and Grippera 2016).

Interestingly, one of the major causes of the problem is beginning to be a potential solution. Especially in the past two decades, Africa has seen its most skilled human resource, graduate students, either drained or draining itself out to greener pastures owing to poor salaries and conditions of service. Graduate students educated on taxpayer-funded subsidies have studied for PhDs abroad, found employment there and never returned to plow back their skills into the homeland. The statistics are staggering: 43 per cent of Zimbabwe's highly educated population live in Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, with Mauritius (41 per cent) and the Congo Republic (38 per cent) close behind. About 20,000 medical doctors, engineers, professors and other professionals leave Africa each year. Some 30,000 of the estimated 300,000 Africans who live abroad have PhDs, the vacancies they leave in their homelands being filled by expatriates at a cost of US$4 billion annually. Europe and North America benefit from skills acquired at great cost; for example, in Kenya it costs US$40,000 to train a medical doctor and US$10,000–15,000 to educate a university student for four years (Mills et al. 2011). The money used to train these students comes from a budget that includes loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank that African countries must pay back, but the graduates they expended it on now work in the very countries that lent the money.

Africa no longer talks about the brain drain as Lalla Ben Barka of the UN Economic Commission for Africa did in 2014 when she said: 'In 25 years, Africa will be empty of brains' (Tebeje 2014). Out-migration has depleted university faculties and most remaining lecturers have master's degrees rather than PhDs (Chinyemba 2011). Africa is now embracing its capacity to be present throughout the world, to see, learn, master, internalise and bring back skills to develop the continent – hence the emphasis on the developmental diaspora (Plaza and Ratha 2011).

Two programmes funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York are proving just how wrong Barka was by offering the African diaspora and Africa at large a wonderful opportunity to return even *while* and *because of* staying where they are. One is the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa's African Diaspora Support to African Universities programme dedicated to social sciences and humanities; the other is the Carnegie Corporation of New York African Diaspora Fellowship programme, which has a much broader remit. On the one hand, the programmes are helping African intellectuals based in North American universities to forge links with African universities. On the other, they are providing financial resources to African universities to identify and host the African diaspora intellectuals they want, through whom they create inter-university partnerships. Both programmes have been mobilising African academics in the diaspora to contribute to 'the strengthening of PhD programs and the curricula', 'the filling of gaps and dealing with shortages in teaching', mentoring of young scholars in Africa, and 'strengthening relations between African academics in the diaspora and the institutions where they are based and African universities' (CODESRIA 2014; Foulds and Zeleza 2014). The author of this article is one of these diaspora intellectuals and this article is an outcome of these collaborations to not only forge overseas partnerships, but also create and strengthen intra-African inter-university connections.

Funding

However, such brain circulation will not solve a perennial research capability problem: funding. How does the university remain financially viable? The students are poor, and the university needs a budget to maintain its operations. The often state-funded universities have no money; research requires money. What is to be done?

The channels through which Africans ended up in North America and Europe reveal our education system's enduring colonial ties to and financial dependence on the West and our struggle to evade colonial legacies and be institutionally independent. Our universities have expanded but funding remains inadequate and susceptible to government budget cuts. This affects research and salaries, discouraging prospective talent and leading to the loss of staff to private sector and overseas competition. At 0.5 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP), African investment in R&D is the lowest in the world. There have been individual country improvements, for instance Kenya's and Botswana's recent pledge to commit 2 per cent of

GDP to research since 2015. Ethiopia already commits 1.06 per cent. The bulk of Africa, however, commits much less to research, instead prioritising primary, secondary and undergraduate education (APLU 2014; Divala 2016; HESA 2014; Trayler-Smith 2014; UNESCO 2015).

Genuine international partnerships with African institutions have acted as capacity-building vehicles for universities and individual faculty, bringing in much-needed funding, equipment and staff development, with overseas partners also benefiting from the collaboration (Rampedi 2003). But there are also deceitful, neocolonial partnerships that continue colonial infrastructures of dependency and that reduce and use Africa-based faculty and institutions as the equivalent of data-mining offshore rigs (Ishengoma 2016; Kot 2016). Most of these partnerships are initiated by universities, foundations and donor agencies in the global North (Samoff and Carroll 2004). What is seldom highlighted is that most university initiatives start with well-meaning individual faculty and students, with institutions getting involved only later.

Some donor-funded programmes continue to serve US, British and European interests. For example, donor agency partnerships involving the US Agency for International Development are inextricable from US 'soft power' – the use of aid and diplomacy in the national interest. Other programmes, such as those by the Centers for Disease Control and the National Institutes of Health, are aimed at containing and preventing deadly diseases and their agents from coming to the US. The United Kingdom (UK) and Europe have similar 'soft power' and 'containment' partnerships (CDC 2015; Kot 2016).

Critics say the escalation of these overseas partnerships is happening at the expense of intra-African linkages, thus exacerbating a trend begun under colonialism. Living in the US has given those of us in diaspora an appreciation of the pragmatic national interests that drive these host countries' interventions in our homelands. They have interests in Africa; Africans have interests in the US. That is common ground for building solid bridges and mutually beneficial postcolonial relationships rather than privileging populist but empty political rhetoric that scuttles innovation opportunities. Every North American, European, Chinese and Australian institution will now have to rethink its African partnership strategy around the African faculty in their employ. In turn, African intellectuals will have to strategically position themselves as bridges facilitating mutual benefit between their host institutions and Africa.

Our universities are still young; most depend on annual central government budgets for their operations and for faculty and other staff salaries. Endowments are the exception; where they exist, they are very small. For example, as of 2010, endowments for some African HEIs were as follows: the University of South Africa, US$300 million; University of Pretoria, US$165 million; University of Cape Town, US$150 million; and Wits, US$100 million (UNISA 2011; UCT 2010; UP 2010; Wits 2011). Comparatively, Harvard's as of 2015 was US$36 billion; Yale, US$25 billion; the University of Texas System, US$24 billion; Stanford and Princeton, US$22 billion; and MIT, US$13 billion. The endowment total of US universities is US$394.94 billion, up from US$219.37 billion in 2005, composed of gifts from alumni and other well-wishers, as well as investment portfolios (Commonfund Institute 2016). Africa's rich and famous tend to build themselves mansions and buy expensive vehicles rather than investing in Africa's education systems. In 2015, the richest person in Africa was Nigerian Aliko Dangote (net worth US$12.6 billion). Twenty-six of the top fifty richest people in Africa are each worth US$1 billion or more (Forbes 2016). Commendably, Dangote has established a foundation called the Dangote Foundation, 'the main objective of...[which] is to reduce the number of lives lost to malnutrition and disease'.[2] Strive Masiyiwa, chairman of telecommunications group ECONET, and his wife Tsitsi, sponsor talented African students to attend prestigious universities overseas under the Yale Young African Scholars Program (Office of Public Affairs & Communications 2016). That is how it should be. What is still needed is to fund research targeting problem-solving at local universities, and to create spaces where diasporic talent can come home, walk tall on the African soil and 'do their thing'. It does not have to be for free; it is, quite simply, business and the diaspora is an investor.

A People's University: Towards Informal-Sector Partnership

In Mozambique, only 11.1 per cent of the population is employed in the formal sector, 4.1 per cent of whom are government employees. Of the 10.1 million labour force, 52.3 per cent are self-employed (Robb, Valerio and Parton 2014). In neighbouring Zimbabwe, some 50 per cent (5.7 million) of Zimbabweans are employed in agriculture; 42 per cent of them are communal farmers or farmworkers. In 2012, 67 per cent of Zimbabweans were economically active. The employment rate was 89 per cent. About 60 per cent of the economy is informal; that is where

20 per cent of the country's GDP comes from. Without counting those (self-)employed in the informal economy, the unemployment rate is 80 to 90 per cent (ZimStat 2012).

Youth unemployment throughout Africa is increasing rapidly and employment-creation programmes have had little impact (Hilson and Osei 2014). Fifty per cent of graduates on the continent are unemployed (ACET 2016). Simply put, Africa's problem is that it trains for employment when it should be training employers and problem-solvers. Universities' yardstick for successful training is the employability and performance of graduates internationally and their admission into MSc and PhD programmes inside and outside the country. Industries require employees with practical skills, since they are subsidiaries of overseas firms and thus do not do R&D locally (Simbi and Chinyamakobvu 1997).

It is a cliché that our universities are not producing graduates who meet the needs of industry (Matthews et al. 2012; McCowan 2014). Our higher education's lack of applicable value to the economy and society explains the high rates of unemployment among graduates.

Examples of courses that produce employable graduates include the University of Zimbabwe's applied engineering and science programmes, which began in 1992. This included a shift from the BSc general degree that trained school teachers to an honours programme geared to industrial applications as Zimbabwe placed itself on an IMF–World Bank-funded market economy footing. The applied physics programme offers courses in industrial, medical, laser and plasma and environmental physics. Most students chose industrial physics, with courses in workshop practice, computer applications software, theory of devices, computer interfacing, instrumentation physics, quality control, digital signal processing and data communications and networks, and industrial applications of laser and plasma physics, as well as biomedical instrumentation. Upon graduating, they have not struggled to find jobs in industry (Carelse 2002). The applied geology programme was a response to expansion in the mining industry, and includes a vacation placement for students doing basic geological jobs like core logging and sampling (Walsh 1999).

These initiatives are geared towards supplying industry with employees. However, if, hypothetically, somebody removed the jobs that these graduates occupy, the initiatives would cease to be effective or relevant. In that sense, our university system is apocalyptic.

Here we come face to face with the street and the village as (possible and actual) workplaces. What in Africa we call the informal sector in the US is called small businesses, including home businesses. People in these businesses are self-employed, not unemployed; contrast that with Africa, where only formal employment counts. A paid cattle herder, a street vendor, a farmer, a welder, or somebody who rears livestock in their rural home does not count as employed. Billions of dollars circulate informally, seldom entering the formal banking system – hence Zimbabwe's unending cash crisis (Murwira 2014).

Deindustrialisation threw experienced Zimbabwean workers onto the streets, where they created employment for themselves and others – underneath trees, on pavements, at shopping centres in urban and rural townships, at road intersections, in backyards, on rural homesteads, in wetland gardens, in the fields. Mechanics at Gazaland (Highfield) and Chikwanha, carpenters and leather upholsterers in Glen View, and steelworkers and boilermakers at Makoni – these small entrepreneurs have used their artisanship to dominate manufacturing in the country.[3]

Critics rightly say their record-keeping and customer service is poor, and government enforcement of standards impossible because there are too many of them. Few workers have formal contracts and their rights get violated daily. With no registration, most informal entrepreneurs pay no taxes. 'Instead of celebrating mediocrity and hiding behind the fallacy of empowerment,' one observer notes, 'perhaps Zimbabwe should be looking for ways to grow formal industry and get the manufacturing sector working again' (Rudzuna 2014). Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) in Glen View Area 8 face challenges like capital availability, difficulties in procuring raw materials, low technological capabilities and difficulties in securing permits and licences, with the result that SMEs are neither growing nor surviving. Policy frameworks, including the SMEs Policy and Strategy Framework, 2002–2007 and the Industrial Development Policy for 2012–2016 are weak on informal-sector participation (Mbizi, Hove, Thondhlana and Kakava 2013).

Traditionally, an employee is 'somebody who has got a pay slip and can get certain privileges like accessing credit'; therefore, the strategy has been to formalise the informal sector and tax individual workers' monthly salaries (Munanga 2013; Oxford Analytica 2010). In Mauritius, hawkers are licensed and registered with the registrar of companies, the Small and Medium Enterprise Development Authority or municipalities, and taxed

15 per cent of all profits. They are only allowed to sell at designated points. Such measures have faced resistance in Zimbabwe. Vendors say they make very little, that banks cannot lend to them, charge exorbitant fees and interest rates, and risk collapsing at any time (Ndebele 2015). Between US$3 billion and US$7 billion circulates in the informal sector (ZEPARU and BAZ 2014). Government says it will 'follow where the money now is…in the informal sector'. It wants informal entrepreneurs to keep books, even if 'very simply, very elementary and show the taxman' (Business Writer 2015).

The informal sector, the mainstay of most African economies, is not properly accounted for in the curricula of Africa. The reason is simple: there is no place for community as knowledge producer or partner, comparable to industry–university and transcontinental inter-university and funder–university partnerships. At most, universities engage in 'community outreach' – they send students for service attachments and 'allow' people from the community to participate in university activities as part of the 'developmental university' (*Pitlane Magazine* 2017). The closest example of a society-responsive university in Africa to date was Tanzanian Julius Nyerere's notion of 'education for self-reliance', a mutually beneficial university–community partnership wherein students acquired real-life experience and the community benefited from academic knowledge, thus creating 'a sense of commitment to the total community' (Nyerere 1968:239). However, Nyerere's revolutionary project lacked entrepreneurship and the capacity to be self-sustaining and profitable. What Nyerere – and all our governments – have done right, we should consolidate and build upon. Whatever errors and weaknesses there are, we should analyse and correct. What tools we can make, we should make. What we do not have, we should import, adapt and use.

Research has demonstrated the urgency of escalating the technical efficiency of informal-sector entrepreneurship: farming, metal manufacturing, transportation and marketing are still excessively labour intensive – 75 per cent of their gross added value is labour (Mujeyi, Siziba, Sadomba and Mutambara 2016). The case for mechanisation of land preparation, weeding and harvesting is obvious (Thebe and Koza 2012). Very interesting grassroots innovation and entrepreneurship is taking place in the dambo gardens of Chihota (Zimbabwe) as farmers import and deploy petrol- and diesel-powered water pumps to draw water from shovel-dug ditches. A traditional method of irrigation, these shallow wells are now many times the size they used to be

as farmers replace hand-held cans with pumps to scale up their operations. Where they used to grow collard greens, tomatoes and onions on small areas of a few yards, they now plant hectares of winter cash crops traditionally monopolised by white commercial farmers – potatoes and early maize, for example[4] (Wuta, Nyamadzawo, Mlambo and Nyamugafata 2016). Research shows that artisan–craftsmen are critical suppliers of agricultural and other tools used daily (Bennell 1993; Mupinga, Burnett and Redmann 2005), and that rural areas are a potential site of grassroots-driven beneficiation of crops, milk, fruits and so forth (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2014; Popov and Manuel 2016). Specific examples include fruits, vegetables and grains that could be processed into juices, dried products and extracts like oil, as well as organic waste (like cattle, goat and chicken manure) that could be processed into fertiliser and fuel (Mvumi, Matsikira and Mutambara 2016; Rusinamhodzi, Corbeels, Zingore, Nyamangara and Giller 2013). We have to start reimagining the homestead, the village, as laboratory and factory.

To do this, programmes must be initiated to make value-adding tools available to rural and urban sites of informal economic activity and to turn them into venues of vocational–entrepreneurial education. Non-pedagogical ingredients are already present in some countries. For example, the leading German company Bosch Group supplies artisans with hand and machine tools (and user training) in Ghana and Nigeria under its Bosch Power Box programme of value-addition through improving product quality (Agbugah 2016). Another example is Hello Tractor,[5] an app-based tractor rental for the poor, started by Jehiel Oliver, an African American. The social enterprise is currently operating in Nigeria. Marketing, too, is increasingly being linked via information and communication technology (ICT)-based platforms, which build upon and respond to the needs of farming and add value to their activities. Platforms like eSoko, iCow, Rural eMarket, and M-Shamba (Fripp 2013) offer services like market information, weather forecasts, farming tips, business strategies, market monitoring, supplying, and sourcing. Studies of ICT use often stress how they could be used to improve the lives of the poor, especially by governments and non-governmental organisations. They talk of computers, printers, telephones, television, the internet and fax machines (Mugwisi, Mostert and Ocholla 2015), yet ordinary people use the cheapest cellphones as long as they have one function: WhatsApp. Thus, such studies miss, for instance, how villagers in Chihota strategically deploy WhatsApp to sell their crops, inquire about prices and arrange pick-up of their commodities for transport to city markets after ascertaining that they are not flooded with

the same products.[6] Our higher education system is still 'too academic and distant from the developmental challenges of African local communities' to capture and collaborate with innovator–entrepreneurs like these (Kaya and Seleti 2013:30).

The language of research, engineering, science, innovation, and entrepreneurship has no space for the real-life problem-solving, value-generating activities happening at the grassroots level. The usual colonial languages (English, French, Portuguese and German) are still the official academic and research languages, except in Tanzania, which returned to kiSwahili. Scholars who see this as undermining the serious development of research and theory based on indigenous conceptual frameworks and paradigms are right. Our failure to develop indigenous modes of theory to meet the needs of the African people has robbed us of the opportunity to engage African people as partners in, not recipients of, solutions. Languages die if they are not used (Divala 2016; Hountondji 2002; Gudhlanga and Makaudze 2012).

An Entrepreneurial University

Research has shown that about 60 per cent of Zimbabwe's start-ups (called SMEs locally) fail in the first year, 25 per cent fail within three years, and just 15 per cent survive. This translates into an 85 per cent start-up failure rate (Mudavanhu, Bindu, Chigusiwa and Muchabaiwa 2011).

Africa has already embraced entrepreneurship education (EE), but not entrepreneurship. On paper, the mandate of EE is to educate entrepreneurs who are also innovators, to instil 'an entrepreneurial attitude' or 'spirit' and expunge 'risk-averseness'. EE is supposed to equip students with techniques to analyse and synthesise, and create risk-takers who initiate innovative start-ups and see them to success (Fayolle and Gailly 2008; Griffiths, Kickul, Bacq and Terjesen 2012; Woollard, Zhang and Jones 2007). Sceptics, however, differ: a certificate does not make one an entrepreneur, and entrepreneurship does not exist without innovation (Walt and Walt 2008).

EE is expanding in Africa at a rapid pace; the demand is 'overwhelming' (Robb et al. 2014). Since 1997, entrepreneurship has been a compulsory subject in Kenya's technical vocational education and training (Farstard 2002), even though at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT) engineering students were 'encouraged' to 'audit or attend' entrepreneurship courses, but they were not a requirement for graduation (Marangu 1997). JKUAT and Kenyatta University offer entrepreneurship specialisation at

doctoral level; other universities offer undergraduate programmes (Robb et al. 2014). Since 2008, EE programmes have been established at Mozambique's three public and two private HEIs: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Universidade Pedagógica, Instituto Superior Politecnico, Universidade Católica de Moçambique and Instituto Superior de Gestão, Comercio e Finanças. Under the National Agenda to Combat Poverty, these HEIs are the nation's vehicles for driving the economy forward through entrepreneurial education, start-up incubators and leveraging overseas partnerships (Libombo and Dinis 2015). Thus far success stories are scarce (Libombo and Dinis 2015).

In general, EE curricula focus more on theory and business plans rather than exposing students to real-life business situations. Entrepreneurship is about taking risks, yet students graduate without ever having taken any (Robb et al. 2014). Their instructors are themselves risk-averse; few have ever been entrepreneurs (Kirby 2006). The institutions that train them have no support structures for start-ups or ties to, let alone collaboration with, industry or the informal sector (Shambare 2013). EE slavishly teaches the Schumpeterian principles of a linear correlation between entrepreneurship and economic development. African entrepreneurship is highly informal, creative, irregular and often hardship-driven, with no access to lines of credit (Libombo and Dinis 2015; Robb et al. 2014; Sautet 2013). Despite supporting the majority in a continent of limited formal jobs, the informal sector does not feature as a space for students to acquire practical skills.

This is where vocational education becomes key to any research university: to not just research but turn our findings into products. Vocational education is supposed to train people in hands-on, practical, basic reading and mathematical skills. Empirical research shows that the courses are quite poorly developed, offer limited practical training and depend on donors for funding and equipment. Usually the programmes do not build on predominant activities and local resources that sustain the informal sector. For example, in Mozambique, despite loud political declarations about non-formal vocational education, few programmes are devoted to agriculture, which supports 75 per cent of Mozambican livelihoods. Furthermore, small-scale farmers contribute 95 per cent of agricultural production and 70 per cent of the population lives in the countryside. There are similar problems in Botswana and South Africa (Mayombe 2016; Moswela and Chiparo 2015; Oladiran, Pezzotta, Uziak and Gizejowski 2013).

Our science does not usher in anything tangible due to the specific circumstances in which it originated, and the notions that technology is an outcome of scientific research and that white men determine what is considered scientific. Since our independence, we have voluntarily chained ourselves to the Haldane principle that emerged in the UK in 1904, which states that researchers, not politicians, should make decisions about research funding allocations. In 1918, Richard Haldane recommended that government-supported research be placed in a special department and more general research in autonomous research councils. Classical political science designated technology as residual to factors of production (land, labour and capital); everything starts with research in basic sciences, is applied by engineers, which ushers in technological application, innovation and diffusion. Thomas Kuhn (1962) further cemented the Haldane principle in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.

The African Union's Science, Technology and Innovation Strategy for Africa (STISA-2024) is the latest iteration of the Haldane principle, on a continent where many innovations are 'neither based on nor the result of basic science research' (Marjoram 2010:173), but in informal activity. STISA-2024 derived from the 'Frascati family' of manuals that OECD National Experts on Science and Technology Indicators have developed since 1960: the Frascati Manual in 1963 (on R&D), the Oslo Manual in 1991 (innovation) and the Canberra Manual in 1995 (human resources in science and technology) (OECD 2002, 2005).

The argument is not that R&D is not important; the issue is what ingredients ought to constitute it so that it works for us. Everything else – who, where, with what – depends on critically addressing that question. Marjoram (2010) points out that promoting the development and application of science, engineering and innovation must take precedence over education, capacity-building and infrastructure, which the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD 2007) emphasises. Yet both are further downstream of establishing an identity for science and engineering in Africa defined by and for African priorities, as Latin American science, technology and innovation strategists did when crafting their own Bogota Manual (RICYT/OAS/CYTED 2001). Instead of top-down (science-intensive) R&D, these scholars emphasise the role of 'social innovation', 'inclusive innovation', 'innovation at the bottom of the pyramid', 'grassroots innovation', 'innovation for development', '*jugaad* innovation', 'reverse innovation' and 'community innovation' (Globelics 2012).

Our designs 'must reflect local conditions, use local resources in response to local problems. Anything from the outside must be complementary to this' (Mamdani 2010).

Conclusion: An Interdisciplinary, Cross-Cultural and Anticipative University

In a world that demands interdisciplinary, cross-cultural and out-of-the-box thinking, we have ministers of higher education and vice-chancellors who are taking us where we should be fleeing from. Disciplinary rigidity and the separation of the engineering sciences into electrical, civil, mechanical or agricultural engineering impedes an integrated approach and leaves no room for productive floor-crossing and collaboration. The physical architectures of the university are such that the humanities, arts and social sciences are aloof from the science and engineering departments. Internal engagement across lines is non-existent, to say nothing of interdisciplinary research and teaching. These structural and pedagogic rigidities are a serious obstacle to a multi-optic problem-solving research university. But we are building more of these.

For countries like Nigeria, the path lies in modelling new science and engineering institutions around very specific services and products – energy, materials, chemical and leather technology, industrial research, various types of incubators, biotechnology, remote sensing, etc. (FG Plans 2016). The danger is that STEM will create a vast pool of mono-skilled technicians (what I call 'glorified mechanics' of bodies, cars and the soil, with no historical and identity consciousness), whereas the informal economies that dominate Africa thrive on multi-skilled competence. For Ethiopia, the route to a developed nation lies in quintupling the current public universities to thirty-four (Rayner and Ashcroft 2011). For Rwanda, it lies not in numbers but in merged universities with concentrated researchers and resources (Iizuka, Mawoko and Gault 2015). Private universities and colleges are sprouting in every African country, absorbing high school graduates in large numbers. There is much money to be made. For example, by 2012, Uganda had twenty-seven private universities compared to just seven public; Ethiopia had thirty private and twenty-two public; Nigeria, forty-five private, thirty-seven state and thirty-six federal; while South Africa had a whopping eighty-seven private compared to just twenty-three public (Mashininga 2012). The number of PhDs every country is producing is also increasing – for example, Burkina Faso has been lauded for having

one PhD for every twenty graduates (UNESCO 2015). However, Africa's problem is no longer one of quantity but rather the quality of degrees. Engineering professors need to be doers, not just by-the-book 'lecturers'; then, students will also be doers.

Notes

1. Personal Communication with Chikoko Nyamayemusoro, WhatsApp Chat, 16 October 2016.
2. https://www.dangote.com/foundation/
3. Mavhunga Field Notes, Mbare, Mupedzanhamo, Gazaland (Harare), Chikwanha and Makoni (Chitungwiza), Zimbabwe, 20–30 January 2017.
4. Mavhunga Field Notes, Mavhunga Village, Chihota, 14 July–26 August 2016.
5. www.hellotractor.com
6. Mavhunga Field Notes, Chihota District, Zimbabwe, 25 June to 30 August 30 2016.

References

ACET (African Center for Economic Transformation), 2016, *Unemployment in Africa: No Jobs for 50% of Graduates*. Available online at http://acetforafrica.org/highlights/unemployment-in-africa-no-jobs-for-50-of-graduates

Agbugah, F., 2016, *Bosch Is Set to Bring Nigerian Artisans into the Formal Sector of the Economy*. Available online at http://venturesafrica.com/bosch-is-set-to-bring-nigerian-artisans-into-the-formal-sector-of-the-economy

APLU (Association for Public and Land-grant Universities), 2014, *African Higher Education: Opportunities for Transformative Change for Sustainable Development.* Available online at http://www.aplu.org/library/african-higher-education-opportunities-for-transformative-change-for-sustainable-development/file

Bai, J., Zhang, X., Chen, J., Sun, M., Yu, F., and Zhou, Z., 2009, 'Comparative Study on Engineering Education in China and USA', unpublished BSc, Interactive Qualifying Project, Worcester Polytechnic Institute.

Beer, F.P., Johnston, E.R., and DeWolf, J.T., 2006, *Mechanics of Materials*, New York: McGraw-Hill.

Bennell, P., 1993, 'The Cost-Effectiveness of Alternative Training Modes: Engineering Artisans in Zimbabwe', *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 434–453.

Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014, *Mozambique Country Report*, Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung. Available online at https://www.bti-project.org/fileadmin/files/BTI/Downloads/Reports/2016/pdf/BTI_2016_Mozambique.pdf

Bucciarelli, L., 1994, *Designing Engineers*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bucciarelli, L., 2003, *Engineering Philosophy*, Delft: Delft University.

Business Writer, 2015, 'Chinamasa Defends Presumptive Tax', *The Daily News*, 28 May.

Carelse, X.F., 2002, 'The Training of Industrial Physicists in Zimbabwe: A Success Story', *Physica Scripta*, Vol. T97, pp. 28–31.

CDC (Center for Disease Control and Prevention), 2015, *African Union and U.S. CDC Partner to Launch African CDC*, Press Release. Available online at https://www.cdc.gov/media/releases/2015/p0413-african-union.html

Chinyemba, F., 2011, 'Mobility of Engineering and Technology Professionals and its Impact on the Quality of Engineering and Technology Education: The Case of Chinhoyi University of Technology, Zimbabwe', *International Journal of Quality Assurance in Engineering and Technology Education*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 35–49.

CODESRIA (Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa), 2014, *CODESRIA Launches a New Programme: African Diaspora Support to African Universities*. Available online at http://www.codesria.org/spip.php?article2175

Commonfund Institute, 2016, *NACUBO-Commonfund Study of Endowments Results Released*. Available online at https://www.commonfund.org/2016/01/27/2015-nacubo-commonfund-study-of-endowments-2

Cyranoski, D., Gilbert, N., Ledford, H., Nayar, A., and Yahia, M., 2011, 'Education: The PhD Factory', *Nature*, Vol. 472, No. 7343, pp. 276–279.

Divala, J.J., 2016, 'Re-Imaging a Conception of Ubuntu that Can Recreate Relevant Knowledge Cultures in Africa And African Universities', *Knowledge Cultures*, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 90–103.

Downey, G., 2005, 'Are Engineers Losing Control of Technology? From "Problem Solving" to "Problem Definition and Solution" in Engineering Education', *Chemical Engineering Research and Design*, Vol. 83, No. A6, pp. 583–595.

Duderstadt, J.J., 2010, 'Engineering for a Changing World', in Domenico Grasso and Melody Burkins, eds, *Holistic Engineering Education: Beyond Technology*, New York: Springer. pp. 17–35.

EARC (East Africa Regional Resource Center), 2014, *Kenya: Country Strategic Paper 2014–2018*, African Development Bank Group, Nairobi. Available online at https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Project-and-Operations/2014-2018_-_Kenya_Country_Strategy_Paper.pdf

Faler, P.G., 1981, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts 1780–1860*, New York: SUNY Press.

Farstard, H., 2002, *Integrated Entrepreneurship Education in Botswana, Uganda and Kenya*, Oslo: National Institute of Technology.

Fayolle, A., and Gailly, B., 2008, 'From Craft to Science: Teaching Models and Learning Processes in Entrepreneurship Education', *Journal of European Industrial Training*, Vol. 32, No. 7, pp. 569–593.

'FG Plans New Universities of Science and Technology', 2016, 10 May, *Daily Post* (Nigeria). Available at http://dailypost.ng/2016/05/10/fg-plans-new-universities-of-science-and-technology/.

Forbes, 2016, *The World's Billionaires*. Available online at http://www.forbes.com/profile/aliko-dangote/

Foulds, K., and Zeleza, P.T., 2014, 'The African Academic Diaspora and African Higher Education', *International Higher Education*, Vol. 76, pp. 16–17.

Frankel, E., 2008, *Changes in Engineering Education: Massachusetts Institute of Technology*. Available online at http://web.mit.edu/fnl/volume/205/fnl205.pdf

Fripp, C., 2013, 'Top 10 Mobile Agriculture Applications', *IT News Africa*, 7 November. Available online at http://www.itnewsafrica.com/2013/11/top-10-mobile-agriculture-applications/

Globelics, 2012, *Learning Innovation and Inclusive Development: A Globelics Thematic Report*, Globelics Secretariat.

Grasso, D., and Burkins, M., eds, 2010, *Holistic Engineering Education: Beyond Technology*, Rio de Janeiro: Springer.

Griffiths, M., Kickul, J., Bacq, S., and Terjesen, S., 2012, 'A Dialogue with William J. Baumol: Insights on Entrepreneurship Theory and Education', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, Vol. 36, No. 4, pp. 611–625.

Gudhlanga, E.S., and Makaudze, G., 2012, 'Promoting the Use of an African Language as a Medium of Instruction in Institutions of Higher Learning in Zimbabwe: The Case of Great Zimbabwe's Department of Languages, Literature', *Prime Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 51–56.

HESA (Higher Education South Africa), 2014, *Remuneration of Academic Staff at South African Universities: A Summary Report of the HESA Statistical Study of Academic Remuneration*. Available online at http://www.justice.gov.za/commissions/FeesHET/docs/2014-HESA-SummaryReport-RemunerationOfAcademicStaff.pdf

Hilson, G., and Osei, L., 2014, 'Tackling Youth Unemployment in Sub-Saharan Africa: Is There a Role for Artisanal and Small-Scale Mining?' *Futures*, Vol. 62, pp. 83–94.

Hountondji, P., 2002, *The Struggle for Meaning: Reflections on Philosophy, Culture and Democracy in Africa*, Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Iizuka, M., Mawoko, P., and Gault, F., 2015, *Innovation for Development in Southern & Eastern Africa: Challenges for Promoting ST&I Policy*, United Nations University Policy Brief, No. 1, Tokyo: United Nations University.

Ishengoma, J.M., 2016, 'Strengthening Higher Education Space in Tanzania through North-South Partnerships and Links: Experiences from the University of Dar es Salaam', *Comparative & International Education*, Vol. 45, No. 1, pp. 1–17.

Kanyandago, P., 2010, 'Revaluing the African Endogenous Education System for Community-Based Learning: An Approach to Early School Leaving', in J. Zeelen, J. van der Linden, D. Nampota and M. Ngabirano, eds, *The Burden of Educational Exclusion: Understanding and Challenging Early School Leaving in Africa*, Rotterdam, Boston and Taipei: Sense Publishers. pp. 101–116.

Kaya, H.O., and Seleti, Y.N., 2013, 'African Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Relevance of Higher Education in South Africa', *The International Education Journal: Comparative Perspectives*, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 30–44.

Kirby, D., 2006, 'Creating Entrepreneurial Universities in the UK: Applying Entrepreneurial Theory to Practice', *Journal of Technology Transfer*, Vol. 31, No. 5, pp. 599–603.

Kot, F.C., 2016, 'The Perceived Benefits of International Partnerships in Africa: A Case Study of Two Public Universities in Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo', *Higher Education Policy*, Vol. 29, pp. 41–62.

Kuhn, T., 1962, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Kumapley, N.K., 1997, 'Some Issues Relating to Relevance and Quality Assurance in Engineering Education at Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana', in J.G.M. Massaquoi and F.M. Luti, eds, *Quality Assurance and Relevance of Engineering Education in Africa*, Paris: ANSTI and UNESCO. pp. 36–41.

Kunje, W.A.B., 1997, 'A Look at Issues Affecting Quality and Relevance of Engineering Education', in J.G.M. Massaquoi and F.M. Luti, eds, *Quality Assurance and Relevance of Engineering Education in Africa*, Paris: ANSTI and UNESCO. pp. 30–35.

Libombo, D.B., and Dinis, A., 2015, 'Entrepreneurship Education in the Context of Developing Countries: Study of the Status and the Main Barriers in Mozambican Higher Education Institutions', *Journal of Developmental Entrepreneurship*, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 1550020-1–1550020-26.

Mamdani, M., 2010, 'Commercialisation is Killing Makerere University: Interview with Moses Mulondo', *Pambazuka News*. Available online at http://www.pambazuka.net/en/category/features/66800

Marangu, S.M., 1997, 'Training of Engineering Graduates in Response to Present and Future Needs for Kenya: The JKUAT Experience', in J.G.M. Massaquoi and F.M. Luti, eds, *Quality Assurance and Relevance of Engineering Education in Africa*, Paris: ANSTI and UNESCO. pp. 25–29. Available online at http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001206/120628Eo.pdf

Marjoram, T., 2010, 'Engineering, Science and Technology Policy', in *UNESCO Report: Engineering: Issues, Challenges, and Opportunities for Development*, Paris: UNESCO. pp. 171–175.

Markwardt, C.E., 2014, *Mozambique Creates a Star of Africa – A World Class Petroleum Engineering Program at the University of Eduardo Mondlane (UEM)*, Maputo: Society of Petroleum Engineers.

Mashininga, K., 2012, 'Private Universities Set to Overtake Public Institutions', *University World News*, No. 211. Available online at http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20120302141207184

Massaquoi, J.G.M., and Luti, E.M., eds, 1997, *Quality Assurance and Relevance of Engineering Education in Africa*, Paris: ANSTI and UNESCO.

Masu, L.M., 1997, 'Quality Assurance and Relevance of Engineering Education in Africa', in J.G.M. Massaquoi and F.M. Luti, eds, *Quality Assurance and Relevance of Engineering Education in Africa*, Paris: ANSTI and UNESCO. pp. 13–19. Available online at http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001206/120628Eo.pdf

Matthews, P., Ryan-Collins, L., Wells, J., Sillem H., and Wright, H., 2012, *Identifying Engineering Capacity Needs in Sub-Saharan Africa*, London: Royal Academy of Engineering. Available online at http://www.raeng.org.uk/publications/reports/engineers-for-africa

Mayombe, C., 2016, 'Enabling Labour Market Entry for Adults through Non-Formal Education and Training for Employment in South Africa', *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 376–395.

Mbizi, R., Hove, L., Thondhlana, A., and Kakava, N., 2013, 'Innovation in SMEs: A Review of its Role to Organisational Performance and SMEs Operations Sustainability', *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*, Vol. 4, No. 11, pp. 370–389.

McCowan, T., 2014, *Can Higher Education Solve Africa's Job Crisis? Understanding Graduate Employability in Sub-Saharan Africa*, London: University of London.

Mills, E.J., Kanters, S., Hagopian, A., Bansback, N., Nachega, J., Alberton, M., Au-Yeung, C.G., Mtambo, A., Bourgeault, I.L., Luboga, S., Hogg, R.S., and Ford, N., 2011, 'The Financial Cost of Doctors Emigrating from Sub-Saharan Africa: Human Capital Analysis', *British Medical Journal*, No. 343. Available online at http://www.bmj.com/content/bmj/343/bmj.d7031.full.pdf

MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), 2017, *General Institute Requirements*. Available online at http://catalog.mit.edu/mit/undergraduate-education/general-institute-requirements

Moswela, B., and Chiparo, U., 2015, 'An Evaluation of Botswana Technical Colleges' Curriculum and Its Enhancement of Graduate Employability', *Journal of Higher Education Theory and Practice*, Vol. 15, No. 7, pp. 105–120.

Mudavanhu, V., Bindu, S., Chigusiwa, L., and Muchabaiwa, L., 2011, 'Determinants of Small and Medium Enterprises Failure in Zimbabwe: A Case Study of Bindura', *International Journal of Economic Research*, Vol. 2, No. 5, pp. 82–89.

Mugwisi, T., Mostert, J., and Ocholla, D.N., 2015, 'Access to and Utilization of Information and Communication Technologies by Agricultural Researchers and Extension Workers in Zimbabwe', *Information Technology for Development*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 67–84.

Mujeyi, K., Siziba, S., Sadomba, W.Z., and Mutambara, J., 2016, 'Technical Efficiency of Informal Manufacturing Sector Enterprises: Evidence from the Informal Metal Industry of Zimbabwe', *African Journal of Science, Technology, Innovation & Development*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 12–17.

Munanga, E., 2013, 'Financial Challenges Faced by Retail Smes Operating in a Multi-Currency Environment: A Case of Gweru Urban, Zimbabwe', *Asian Economic and Financial Review*, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 377–388.

Mupinga, D.M., Burnett, M.F., and Redmann, D.H., 2005, 'Examining the Purpose of Technical Education in Zimbabwe's High Schools', *International Education Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 75–83.

Murwira, Z., 2014, '$7bn Circulates in Informal Sector', *The Herald*, 4 April.

Mvumi, B., Matsikira, L.T., and Mutambara, J., 2016, 'The Banana Postharvest Value Chain Analysis in Zimbabwe', *British Food Journal*, Vol. 118, No. 2, pp. 272–285.

Ndebele, H., 2015, 'Street Vendors: Lessons from Mauritius', *Zimbabwe Independent*, 5 June.

Noble, D., 1977, *America by Design: Science, Technology and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Nyerere, J.K., 1968, *Freedom and Socialism: A Selection from Writings & Speeches, 1965–1967*, Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press.

(OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development), 2002, *Frascati Manual: Proposed Standard Practice for Surveys on Research and Experimental Development*, Paris: OECD. Available online at http://www.oecd.org/sti/inno/frascatimanualproposedstandardpracticeforsurveysonresearchandexperim

OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development), 2005, *The Oslo Manual: Guidelines for Collecting and Interpreting Innovation Data*, 3rd

edition, Paris: OECD and Eurostat. Available online at http://www.oecd.org/sti/inno/oslomanualguidelinesforcollectingandinterpretinginnovationdata3rdedition.htm

Office of Public Affairs & Communications, 2016, 'Yale Welcomes Zimbabwean Philanthropists and New Partners to Campus', *Yale News*, 12 May. Available online at http://news.yale.edu/2016/05/12/yale-welcomes-zimbabwean-philanthropists-and-new-partners-campus

Oladiran, M.T., Pezzotta, G., Uziak, J., and Gizejowski, M., 2013, 'Aligning an Engineering Education Program to the Washington Accord Requirements: Example of the University of Botswana', *International Journal of Engineering Education*, Vol. 29, No. 6, pp. 1591–1603.

Openjuru, G., 2010, 'Government Education Policies and the Problem of Early School Leaving: The Case of Uganda', in J. Zeelen, J. van der Linden, D. Nampota and M. Ngabirano, eds, *The Burden of Educational Exclusion: Understanding and Challenging Early School Leaving in Africa*, Rotterdam, Boston and Taipei: Sense Publishers. pp. 22–47.

Oxford Analytica, 2010, *Shadow Economies Resist Taxation Efforts*, Oxford Analytica Daily Brief Service. Available online at https://dailybrief.oxan.com/Analysis/DB158317/AFRICA-Shadow-economies-resist-taxation-efforts

Pitlane Magazine, 2017, 'Community Outreach Activities of African Universities'. Available online at http://www.pitlanemagazine.com/cultures/community-outreach-activities-of-african-universities.html

Plaza, S., and Ratha, D., 2011, *Diaspora for Development in Africa*, Washington, DC: World Bank.

Popov, O., and Manuel, A., 2016, 'Vocational Literacy in Mozambique: Historical Development, Current Challenges and Contradictions', *Literacy & Numeracy Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 23–42.

Ramadi, E., Ramadi, S., and Nasr, K., 2016, 'Engineering Graduates' Skill Sets in the MENA Region: A Gap Analysis of Industry Expectations and Satisfaction', *European Journal of Engineering Education*, Vol. 41, No. 1, pp. 34–52.

Rampedi, M.A., 2003, *Implementing Adult Education Policy in the Limpopo Province of South Africa: Ideals, Challenges and Opportunities*, Groningen: Centre for Development Studies.

Rayner, P., and Ashcroft, K., 2011, 'Ashcroft Ethiopian Higher Education: Expansion, Dilemmas and Quality', *World Education News & Reviews*. Available online at http://wenr.wes.org/2011/06/wenr-june-2011-feature

RICYT/OAS/CYTED, 2001, *Bogota Manual: Standardization of Indicators of Technological Innovation in Latin American and Caribbean Countries*.

Robb, A., Valerio, A., and Parton, B., 2014, *Entrepreneurship and Education and Training: Insights from Ghana, Kenya and Mozambique*, Washington, DC: World Bank.

Rudzuna, C., 2014, 'Limited Benefits from Informal Sector', *Zimbabwe Independent*, 24 January.

Rusinamhodzi, L., Corbeels, M., Zingore, S., Nyamangara, J., and Giller, K.E., 2013, 'Pushing the Envelope? Maize Production Intensification and the Role of Cattle Manure in Recovery of Degraded Soils in Smallholder Farming Areas of Zimbabwe', *Field Crops Research*, Vol. 147, pp. 40–53.

Rutto, D., 2015, 'Industry Demands and Future of Engineering Education in Kenya', *International Journal of Engineering Pedagogy*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 31–36.

Samoff, J., and Carroll, B., 2004, 'The Promise of Partnerships and Continuities of Dependence: External Support to Higher Education in Africa', *African Studies Review*, Vol. 47, No. 1, pp. 67–199.

Sautet, F., 2013, 'Local and Systemic Entrepreneurship: Solving the Puzzle of Entrepreneurship and Economic Development', *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, Vol. 37, No. 2, pp. 387–402.

Seely, B., 2005, 'Patterns in the History of Engineering Education Reform: A Brief Essay', in *Educating the Engineer of 2020: Adapting Engineering Education to the New Century*, Washington, DC: National Academies Press. pp. 114–130.

Senzanje, A., Moyo, N., and Samakande, I., 2006, 'Relevance of Agricultural Engineering Education against the Background of a Changing World: The Case of Southern Africa', *International Journal of Engineering Education*, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 71–78.

Shambare, R., 2013, 'Barriers to Student Entrepreneurship in South Africa', *Journal of Economics and Behavioral Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 7, pp. 449–459.

Sheppard, S.D., Macatangay, K., Colby, A., and Sullivan, W.M., 2008, *Educating Engineers: Designing for the Future of the Field*, New York: Springer.

Simbi, D.J., and Chinyamakobvu, S., 1997, 'Quality Assurance and Relevance of Engineering Education in Zimbabwe', in J.G.M. Massaquoi and F.M. Luti, eds, *Quality Assurance and Relevance of Engineering Education in Africa*, Paris: ANSTI and UNESCO. pp. 44–49.

Soudiena, C., and Grippera, D., 2016, 'The Shifting Sands of Academic Output: University of Cape Town Research Output in Education and Social Anthropology, 1993–2013', *Higher Education Policy*, Vol. 29, pp. 495–510.

Tebeje, A., 2014, *Brain Drain and Capacity Building in Africa*, International Development Research Center. Available online at https://www.idrc.ca/en/article/brain-drain-and-capacity-building-africa

Thebe, T.A., and Koza, T., 2012, 'Agricultural Mechanization Interventions to Increase the Productivity of Smallholder Irrigation Schemes in Zimbabwe'. Paper presented at the conference Creating a Competitive Edge through Agricultural Mechanization and Post-Harvest Technology in Developing Countries, Valencia, Spain, 8–12 July.

Trayler-Smith, A., 2014, 'Making Higher Education Work for Africa', *SciDev Net*. Available online at http://www.scidev.net/global/education/feature/higher-education-africa-facts-figures.html

UCT (University of Cape Town), 2010, *Annual Report*. Available online at https://www.uct.ac.za/usr/finance/afs/afs2011.pdf

UNCTAD (UN Conference on Trade and Development), 2007, *The Least Developed Countries Report 2007: Knowledge, Technological Learning and Innovation for Development*, Geneva: UNCTAD.

UNECA (UN Economic Commission for Africa), 2013, *African Science, Technology and Innovation Review 2013*, Addis Ababa: UNECA.

UNESCO (UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation), 2015, *Towards 2030: UNESCO Science Report*, Paris: UNESCO Publishing.

UNISA (University of South Africa), 2011, *Consolidated Financial Statements*. Available online at http://www.unisa.ac.za/happening/docs/AnnualReport_2011.pdf

UP (University of Pretoria), 2010, *Annual Review*. Available online at http://web.up.ac.za/sitefiles/file/publications/2011/UP

Walsh, K.L., 1999, 'Curricular Changes in the Geology Department, University of Zimbabwe: Towards a More Vocational Degree', *Journal of African Earth Sciences*, Vol. 28, No. 4, pp. 879–884.

Walt, V.R., and Walt V.S.J., 2008, 'Entrepreneurial Training for Human Resources Practitioners and Potential Services Rendered to Small Enterprises', *Southern African Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business Management*, Vol. 1, pp. 21–34.

Wits (University of the Witwatersrand), 2011, *Consolidated Financial Statements*. Available online at http://www.wits.ac.za/files/11deq_4905320013443276l0.pdf

Woollard, D., Zhang, M., and Jones, O., 2007, 'Creating Entrepreneurial Universities: Insights from a New University Business School'. Paper presented at 30th Institute for Small Business and Entrepreneurship Conference, Glasgow, Scotland, 7–9 November.

Wuta, M., Nyamadzawo, G., Mlambo, J., and Nyamugafata, P., 2016, 'Ground and Surface Water Quality along a Dambo Transect in Chihota Smallholder Farming Area, Marondera District, Zimbabwe', in *15th WaterNet/WARFSA/GWP-SA Symposium: IWRM for Harnessing Socio-Economic Development in Eastern and Southern Africa, Physics and Chemistry of the Earth*, Amsterdam: Elsevier. pp. 112–118.

Zavale, N.C., and Macamo, E., 2016, 'How and What Knowledge Do Universities and Academics Transfer to Industry in African Low-Income Countries? Evidence from the Stage of University–Industry Linkages in Mozambique', *International Journal of Educational Development*, Vol. 49, pp. 247–261.

Zeelen, J., 2012, 'Universities in Africa: Working on Excellence for Whom? Reflections on Teaching, Research, and Outreach Activities at African Universities', *International Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 157–165.

ZEPARU (Zimbabwe Economic Policy Analysis and Research Unit) and BAZ (Bankers Association of Zimbabwe), 2014, *Harnessing Resources from the Informal Sector for Economic Development*. Available online at http://baz.org.zw/resources/harnessing-resources-informal-sector-economic-development

ZimStat, 2012, *Zimbabwe Population Census*, Harare: Population Census Office.

JHEA/RESA Vol. 16, Nos 1&2, 2018, pp. 51-76

(ISSN 0851–7762)

African Diaspora and its Multiple Academic Affiliations: Curtailing Brain Drain in African Higher Education through Translocal Academic Engagement

Patrício V. Langa*

Abstract

Scholars with multiple affiliations have become more visible by assuming their particular role in redressing global knowledge production inequities. This article explores multiple academic affiliations (MAAs) as one way to curb the effects of brain drain, particularly in African universities. It argues that MAAs, is an effective way to reverse the effects of brain drain and promote brain circulation and sharing. The article proposes the concept of translocal academic engagement (TLAE) as a form of international academic exchange and brain-sharing which is not limited to physical mobility (circulation) from one geographical location to the other, but which includes virtual exchange and knowledge-sharing through blended learning delivery methods, e-pedagogies and the use of digital communication technology platforms such as Communities of Practice. The article concludes by suggesting that MAAs, if properly managed, can be a success factor in TLAE activities, particularly in the age of Web 4.0, in mitigating or shifting currently dominating knowledge production flows. TLAE offers possibilities for a win-win situation of academic exchange between higher education institutions in emerging systems.

Keywords: brain drain, brain circulation, translocal brain-sharing, multiple appointments, African diaspora

* University of the Western Cape, South Africa & Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, Mozambique. Email: planga@uwc.ac.za; patricio.langa@uem.mz

Résumé

Les chercheurs ayant de multiples affiliations ont acquis une plus grande visibilité en assumant le rôle spécifique qu'ils doivent jouer pour remédier aux injustices dans la production mondiale des connaissances. Cet article examine les affiliations académiques multiples (AAM) en tant que moyen pour atténuer les effets de la fuite des cerveaux notamment dans les universités africaines. Il fait valoir que les AAM, en tant que moyen efficace pour inverser les effets de la fuite des cerveaux et promouvoir la circulation des cerveaux et les partages, n'a pas encore été examinées en profondeur ni partagées. Cet article étude propose le concept de l'engagement académique translocal (EATL) comme une forme d'échange académique et de partage des connaissances qui n'est pas limitée à la mobilité physique (circulation) d'un lieu géographique à un autre, mais qui inclut les échanges et le partage des connaissances virtuels par le biais de méthodes pédagogiques combinées, de pédagogies en ligne et l'utilisation de plateformes de technologies numériques de la communication telles que les communautés de pratique. Cet article conclut en suggérant que si les AAM sont correctement gérées, elles peuvent contribuer à la réussite des activités d'engagement académique translocal, pour atténuer ou déplacer les flux dominants de la production du savoir, notamment à l'époque du Web 4.0. L'engagement académique translocal offre la possibilité d'avoir une situation gagnant-gagnant pour les échanges entre les établissements d'enseignement supérieur dans les systèmes émergents.

Mots-clés : fuite des cerveaux, circulation des cerveaux, partage translocal des connaissances, affiliations multiples, diaspora africaine

Introduction

Ugandan academic, Mahmood Mamdani, has been dividing his academic activity between Columbia University in the United States of America (USA) and Makerere University (MAK) in Uganda for a long time. Mamdani has been the Herbert Lehman Professor of Government at the School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, as well as professor of anthropology, political science and African studies at the same institution.[1] Concomitantly, Mamdani has been director of the Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR[2]), a social sciences institute whose space he has used to focus his academic energies to train a new generation of social science and humanities academics. In other words, Mamdani holds at least two formal academic appointments in two countries on two continents.

In 2018, years following a clash over his proposed core course on Africa at the University of Cape Town in South Africa in 1997, dubbed the 'Mamdani Affair' (Kamola 2011), which led to his resignation, the

distinguished scholar was reappointed as an honorary professor at the Centre for African Studies (CAS).[3] In addition, Mamdani is a respected political commentator on Africa and a widely published author. He can therefore be acknowledged as an African diaspora scholar (ADS) with multiple translocal scholarship engagements. While Mamdani might epitomise the prominent public intellectual and ADS, the literature shows a growing tendency of scholars – some less publicly visible – holding multiple academic appointments (Hottenrott and Lawson 2017). In the era of the so-called global academic marketplace, possibilities for multiple international academic appointments have increased significantly (Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley 2009).

As exemplified by Mamdani in the case of Uganda, most African countries have their own class of translocal academics. These scholars can either be African-based diaspora scholars (ABDS) taking up appointments in a country other than their country of origin, or ADS based outside the continent but collaborating, through temporary appointments, with universities in Africa.

The elements uniting these scholars are international leadership in their respective disciplines, high productivity in terms of scientific publications and impact measured through citations, and their status as global public intellectuals (Mamdani 2016). These particular academics possess high levels of scientific and symbolic capital (Langa 2010). Academics with multiple appointments and affiliations are no longer an uncommon phenomenon in the global higher education context (ESF 2013; Hottenrott and Lawson 2017). While on a global level, academics display high local and international mobility, the data on academic mobility, particularly in Africa, remain inaccurate and insufficient (Ogachi 2015) and, consequently, a persisting challenge. Despite the growing tendency to collect data on student mobility, a paucity of data on academic staff mobility in general, and MMAs in particular, remains the norm on the continent.

According to Altbach et al., 'the academic profession will become more internationally oriented and mobile, but will still be structured in accordance with national circumstances' (2009:1). Hence, although academic profiles similar to Mamdani's are becoming more common and more visible – especially in the context of the globalised academic marketplace (Altbach et al. 2009) – not all institutions and academics have the ability to attract and engage in such appointments. In general, globalisation tends to concentrate wealth, knowledge and power with those already possessing these elements (Altbach and Knight 2007). By and large, in developed countries, institutions and corporations own most knowledge, knowledge products and information

technology infrastructure, though South-to-South collaborations and networks are increasing, especially in Asia, Latin America and Africa.

Different circumstances might determine whether the mobility of scholars is classified as brain drain, particularly when there is departure to the diaspora, or brain gain – when an academic returns to his or her country of origin after a position abroad. In general, academics go from developing countries to North America, Western Europe and Asia-Pacific. There are also significant flows from sub-Saharan Africa to South Africa, from South Asia to the Middle East and Africa, from Egypt to the wealthier Arab countries, and from the United Kingdom to Canada and the USA (Zeleza 2014).

A key motivator for the direction of this flow is the level of salaries, but, among other factors, improved working conditions, research support infrastructure, opportunities for advancement and academic freedom may also play a role. Those in the diaspora can exert a strong influence by keeping in contact with the academic communities in their home countries and by sharing research and experience (Ogachi & Sall 2015; Zeleza 2014). However, the global flow of academic talent works to the disadvantage of emerging countries, although there are indicators that this status quo is changing. More Chinese scholars are choosing to return home after sojourns elsewhere, for example. Universities in Singapore, Hong Kong, China and elsewhere are attracting Western academics with high salaries and favourable working conditions (Altbach 2004).

In fact, the volume of South–South cooperation in higher education and research has significantly increased in the past decade (ECOSOC 2008; OBHE 2001–10). One common argument for South–South cooperation by southern countries is their similar phase of development, and, hence, their mutual capability to develop practices relevant to each other's contexts (OBHE 2001–10). Compared with North–South partnerships, South–South cooperation is often also cheaper to implement in terms of mobility and is based on fewer prerequisites, thus facilitating the start as well as ongoing administrative procedures. However, developing countries in sub-Saharan Africa are rarely involved in intra-African cooperation. Accurate growth data on South–South, including intra-African, cooperation are often unavailable because they are not systematically collected at the national or international level. Initiatives and programmes, largely financed by the North, are focused on the South. Additionally, international academic mobility favours well-established education systems and institutions, thereby compounding existing inequalities.

The international mobility of African academics, particularly to developed countries, has been regarded as a negative consequence of global market

forces. Since the early 1990s, there has been an almost uncontested narrative that developing countries have been losing higher-level skilled professionals each year to the developed world (Adams 2003). This alarming description of a dangerous human capital exodus from Africa to the developed world has dominated the political and academic discourse. The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) claims that between 1960 and 1989, some 127,000 highly qualified African professionals left the continent. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Africa has lost 20,000 professionals each year since 1990 (Tebeje 2011).

The idea that Africa suffers from brain drain thus became the conventional wisdom in media and academic circles. There are no indications to date that scholarly opinion has shifted significantly. However, in the era of relatively easy air travel and ever-increasing digitalisation, many internationally mobile academics retain close links with their home countries or continent. A more optimistic approach regards the current status quo as brain gain or brain circulation, and can offer many opportunities for developing countries (Teferra 2005; Tung 2008).

The article argues that is that the concepts of MAAs and brain-sharing, particularly in the age of digitalisation, broaden both the scope and the possibility of a win-win situation by sharing the academic and intellectual capacity of highly productive (African) academics through capitalising on MAAs and collaboration between (African) universities and their diaspora scholars. While the article provides insight into the extent and structure of MAAs, further research into the contractual and organisational nature of MAAs in Africa is needed to inform policy and decision-making on the issue. The article concludes by suggesting that, if properly managed, MAAs, together with the effective use of information and communication technology (ICT) and e-learning platforms, can offer an opportunity to curtail the undesired consequences of brain drain.

Literature Review

Brain Drain: A Bleak Picture of African Diaspora at the Transition into the Twenty-First Century

The body of literature on the African academic diaspora has grown significantly in the last two to three decades (Ogachi & Sall 2015; Zeleza 2013, 2014, 2016). However, there continues to be a paucity of literature and research on the kinds of appointments diaspora academics occupy in their collaboration with African institutions. Even literature which presents the notion of brain circulation as an antidote to the undesired effects of

brain drain, does not elaborate on the actual forms of engagement diaspora academics undertake with their partner institutions (Tung 2008). Often, examples provided from those countries which are considered to have adopted strategies to curb brain drain, such as China and India, do not provide the particularities of the contractual agreements these academics make with both the home and host institutions. Likewise, studies on the contractual nature of MAAs are still rare (Hottenrott and Lawson 2017).

In general, the literature tends to focus on brain drain in the context of human capital losses or gains (Tafah 2004). This trend is related to a perspective from the discipline of economics, which diaspora studies have frequently embraced. Hence, while human capital gains enhance economic growth, losses generate important problems in the growth process of any country. Notwithstanding this recognition, research attention on the international movement of economic resources has focused more on the physical movement of people across borders and continents as opposed to the virtual exchange of human capital via ICT and e-learning platforms, in a world increasingly characterised by virtual connectivity and the rise of the network society (Castells 2010).

The recurring definition of the international movement of human capital as loss, brain drain, is generally accepted, as it is perceived as the drainage of talented people from one country, region or continent to another in search of better professional and personal opportunities. Usually, the concern with brain drain becomes relevant in the context of competition amongst nations, which may lead to scarcity of skills and talents. In this sense, brain drain constitutes a great loss for the country from which migration takes place, because it is the exodus of the most educated stratum of a particular society. The concept of brain drain is therefore used to describe the loss of advanced professional and technical skills, such as scientists, academics, doctors, engineers and other professionals with university training. In that sense, it alludes to the most trained fraction of a particular society (Giannoccolo 2009, 2010a, 2010b).

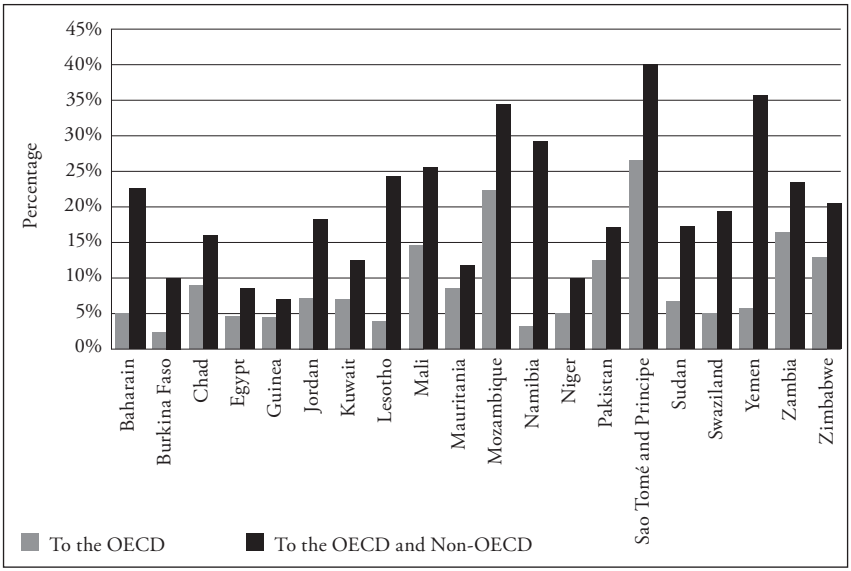
The literature on the African diaspora denounces the academic mobility of high-level, skilled personnel from emerging countries, for example in Africa, to Western countries. This view assumes that the diaspora negatively affects the socioeconomic and sociocultural prospects of developing nations, since they lose human capital to the developed world (April 1998; Obia 1993; Smyke 2001). Literature produced in the late 1990s and early 2000s proposed remedial measures to deal with brain drain, which was regarded as a national threat to developing nations (Commander, Kangasniemi and Winters 2004). This dreary picture was often based on imprecise figures and presented a worrisome situation.

Figures on African Brain Drain

In the case of Africa, the idea that the best and brightest are fleeing the continent has been documented and supported with figures provided by various sources including organisations such as the International Organisation of Migration (IOM), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), The World Bank and researchers (Tafah 2004; Mohamoud 2005; World Bank 2007; Capuano and Marfouk 2013; Chukwudum Oforka 2015). According to the IOM, Africa had already lost one-third of its human capital and continues to lose its expert personnel at an increasing rate, with an estimated 20,000 doctors, university lecturers, engineers and other professionals leaving the continent annually. According to the IOM, over 300,000 African professionals live outside of the continent, and approximately 20,000 African professionals migrate to Western countries every year (Ite 2002). The IOM estimates over 300,000 highly qualified Africans were in the diaspora, 30,000 of whom were PhD holders (Boyo 2013; Chukwudum Oforka 2015). At the same time, Africa was spending US$4 billion per year (representing 35 per cent of total official development aid to the continent) to employ some 100,000 expatriates performing functions generically described as technical assistance. While skilled Africans leave the continent, non-Africans work in skilled jobs on the African continent (Barka 2000).

In Figure 1 below Capuano and Marfouk (2013) use a dataset (DMOP) developed by Docquier, Marfouk, Özden, and Parsons (2011) to compare the highly skilled emigration rates when emigration to non-OECD countries is also considered. The figure shows that the brain drain is mostly underrated in sub-Saharan African countries, such as Burkina Faso, Chad, Lesotho, Namibia, Swaziland, Niger, and Mali. For instance, "for Lesotho, the high skilled emigration rate to the OECD and non-OECD countries (23 per cent) is approximately six times higher than the high-skilled emigration rate to the OECD countries (4 per cent)" (p.309). Capuano and Marfouk (2013) also in Figure 1 show that "the magnitude of the brain drain is also underrated for non-African countries. In fact, DMOP only considers 76 receiving countries. Due to the low quality of the data, the information on sending countries is partial" (p.310), but enough to give an overall idea of the immigration trends of high skilled people.

Figure 1: Comparison of the emigration rates of high-skilled workers to the OECD and non-OECD versus OECD, for selected origin countries in 2000



Source: Capuano and Marfouk 2013

Furthermore, in the year 1999, Africa as a whole counted only 20,000 scientists (0,36 per cent of the world total) and its share in the world's scientific output had fallen from 0.5 per cent to 0.3 per cent as it continued to suffer a brain drain of scientists, engineers and technologists (Deen 1999, Anonymous (n.d).

Reports based on figures from IOM and UNESCO show that the problem of brain drain has reached quite disturbing proportions in certain African countries, with Ethiopia ranked first on the continent in terms of rate of loss of human capital, followed by Nigeria and Ghana. Over the past 10 to 15 years, about 50 per cent of Ethiopians who went abroad for academic training did not return after completing their studies. According to the IOM, Ethiopia lost about 74.6 per cent of its human capital from various institutions between 1980 and 1991. The report states that, while Ethiopia had only one single full-time economics professor, there were more than one hundred Ethiopian economists in the USA (Deen 1999, Barka 2000, Anonymous [n.d.]). This bleak brain-drain scenario resulted in the United Nations recognising that the emigration of African professionals to the West was an obstacle to Africa's development. Studies in the first 15 years of the new millennium show that research collaborations between African scholars and international academics recorded a slight improvement in African research output, a major area of

underperformance when compared to other continents. Africa is at the bottom of almost every indicator-based ranking and league table in science and higher education. For instance, in the early 2000s, Africa's share of publication output was 1.6 per cent and of researchers by region/continent, 2.2 per cent. By the first decade of the new millennium, Africa's share of publications had risen to 2.5 per cent, although the share of researchers declined slightly from 2.2 per cent to 2.1 per cent (Zeleza 2014). Central to the problem of academic emigration from Africa are issues of supply, demand and mobility, as well as limitations in specific areas of postgraduate education and career development, and comparatively poor working conditions for scientists in Africa. More specifically, these issues include large differences in remuneration and living conditions for those working in low-income countries, alongside a demand for skilled workers in high-income countries. Political persecution, repression and instability are among the other reasons for emigration (Kerr and Mapange 2002; Mbiba 2012; Zeleza 2013).

African governments' higher education policies have tended to respond to the migration of African professionals, including academics, to the North in one of three ways. First, they admonish the brain drain and engage in mutual accusations with the diaspora. Governments of originating countries may view their migrants as unpatriotic for leaving their countries when they are needed the most. Attitudes can also shift from positive to negative if migrants gather resources, become more organised and hence become politically influential, implying a potential threat to the status quo (Mohan 2008).

Second, some governments have pursued the brain gain argument to encourage the diaspora to return permanently. For instance, Ghana's main concern has been the health sector and it acts to prevent the departure of its health professionals. At the same time, it encourages Ghanaians abroad to provide temporary service in the national health system (Vezzoli and Lacroix 2010). Furthermore, policies can be developed as ways to promote the extension of rights of (former) citizens residing outside national boundaries. Relevant policies include the political incorporation of migrants, either by allowing dual citizenship and providing expatriates with passive and active voting rights or by granting migrants access to civil and social services (Gamlen 2006, 2008). In this respect, the government of Ghana passed a dual citizenship law in the year 2000 and, more recently, provided Ghanaian migrants with the right to vote in elections in Ghana. Another example is the government of India, which has created a systematic method to attract the skills and human capital of its diaspora for the development of various sectors of the Indian economy (Vezzoli and Lacroix 2010).

The third governmental response is the 'diaspora' option, which recognises migrants as new diasporas. Efforts are made to build effective strategies of brain mobility or brain circulation between them and their countries of origin as well as the continent as a whole (Mensa-Bonsu and Adjei 2007). The latter requires developing innovative strategies for knowledge and skill circulation, such as the creation of national, regional and continental knowledge networks facilitating brain mobility through academic exchanges, consultancy assignments and temporary return migration movements.

Changes in the Academic Profession in the Knowledge Society

Globally, substantial research has been produced on the changes taking place in the academic profession in the era of the knowledge society (Balbachevsky, Schwartzman, Novaes Alves, Felgueiras dos Santos and Birkholz Duarte 2008; Brennan 2006; Cummings and Arimoto 2011; Finkelstein, Walker and Chen 2009; Henkel 2007; Higgs, Higgs, Ntshoe and Wolhuter 2010; Höhle and Teichler 2011). However, with the exception of South Africa (Higgs et al. 2010; Wolhuter 2015), Africa has generally been neglected in such studies. In the new era, the framework of higher education has experienced major changes. Similarly, the backgrounds, specialisations, expectations and work roles of academic staff have undergone transformation (Teichler, Arimoto and Cummings 2013).

The academy is expected to become more professional in teaching, more productive in research and more entrepreneurial (Harman and Meek 2007). Concomitantly, knowledge has come to be identified as the most vital resource of contemporary societies (Arimoto 2010). To respond to the multiple demands and challenges of the knowledge society, academic work has been adapting itself by developing new content and reshaping its forms. Translocal and transnational institutional affiliations and engagements with multiple stakeholders, both face-to-face and online, have become part of the portfolio of many academics as an integral part of their academic work. Thus, academic affiliation is becoming an elusive home (Orduña-Malea, Ayllón, Martín-Martín and López-Cózar 2017).

However, in some cases the academic profession still maintains certain features that are not always compatible with the new demands on the translocal context of higher education. This is the case particularly in the African context, where academics still tend to be employed on manual worker-type contracts which require physical presence in the workplace. This situation is amplified whenever academics are remunerated on the basis of the number of hours they are supposed to dedicate to teaching activities and research, and where outreach is not specified as part of their work. In an era marked by increasing globalisation and internationalisation of the academic profession and

scholarly work, with academics engaging in multiple international institutional affiliations, certain traditions and practices in academic management, such as single institutional contracts, are being challenged.

Research Approach and Data Sources

Being an exploratory study, the information and data used in this article derive from multiple sources, including a literature review, conversations with African-based and African diaspora scholars,[4] and reports of bibliometric databases on academic collaborations. The conversations with African-based scholars (ABS) and ADS took place in the context of their participation in the establishment of two postgraduate programmes and an academic staff exchange and mobility programme. The Council for the Development of Social Sciences Research in Africa (CODESRIA), through its programme African Diaspora Support to African Universities (ADSAU), sponsored seven academic exchanges between ABS and ADS from 2016 to 2018. Through these, a number of joint activities took place, including:

i) curriculum design of two new PhD programmes in Higher Education Studies at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM);
ii) co-supervision of postgraduate students;
iii) delivery of public lectures;
iv) seminars with doctoral and postdoctoral fellows at the Institute of Post School Studies (IPSS) of UWC and UEM;
v) joint grant applications; and
vi) reciprocal institutional visits between ABS and ADS.

The collaboration between ABS and ADS has since continued by means of another funding source, the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY), for the period 2016–2019. The CCNY also sponsored seven doctoral students and three postdoctoral research fellows in higher education studies at UWC's IPSS. Enabled by CODESRIA and CCNY sponsorship combined, more than ten ABS and ADS visited the IPSS between 2016 and 2018. The article interweaves a theoretical research exploration together with the perspectives of those ABS and ADS who participated in the Doctoral Programme in Higher Education Studies (DPHES) at the IPSS. The main research objective is to explore the types of engagement and the nature of contractual arrangements diaspora academics engage in. All academics and visiting fellows in the DPHES display different contractual arrangements and MAAs with various African institutions as well as with their current or permanent universities in Europe or America.

A variety of topics are discussed in what follows, reflecting concerns and views regarding opportunities and challenges of engagement with the academic diaspora. The research focus was on multiple international appointments/affiliations (MIAAs), which are emerging as a global trend in the academic profession, with implications for African academia.

Brain-Sharing: Exploring Multiple Academic Affiliations

Studies by Paul Zeleza on engagements between ADS in the USA and Canada and African institutions of higher education shed much-needed light on possible roles that the African academic diaspora can play in supporting African universities (Zeleza 2004, 2013, 2014; Zeleza, Akyeampong and Musa 2017). Although Zeleza's studies mostly turn a blind eye to intra-Africa or internal African academic diaspora, they are nevertheless an invaluable contribution to scholarship on the role of academic diasporas. A dimension that is largely absent in Zeleza's research on diaspora, as in most literature on the African academic diaspora, is the specific forms of affiliation scholars engage in, including contractual arrangements. Indeed, as far as the African research community is concerned, little is known about the modalities of engagements and contractual arrangements to promote collaboration between African academic diasporas and their academic peers on the continent.

In fact, Zeleza (2013) acknowledges that many African diaspora academics have established vibrant, albeit largely informal, engagements with individuals and/or institutions across Africa. These engagements range from research collaboration to curriculum development and graduate student supervision. He also recognises that diaspora engagements frequently face institutional and attitudinal barriers. Zeleza's work identifies some of the major obstacles that hinder engagement with the diaspora:

i) differences in resources and facilities;

ii) a mismatch in expectations between African-based and African diaspora academics;

iii) different academic status, teaching loads and institutional priorities; and

iv) scheduling around incompatible academic calendars between the sending and receiving institutions.

This study reinforces Zeleza's observations, in that traditional structures, paired with a lack of knowledge about new trends in the academic profession, impede new, creative and flexible modes of promoting

collaboration between ADS and ABS. The next section explores the challenges and opportunities of MIAAs in the African context. For a comprehensive overview, see Table 1 below.

Table 1: Typical patterns of academic activities and types of affiliation by ABS and ADS

Functions/ mission	**African-based scholars**	**African diaspora scholars**
Teaching	• Teaching-intensive • Transmission of knowledge • Requires physical presence • Massive Restrictive Presence Courses	• Research-intensive • New knowledge generation • Blended learning (physical presence and e-learning platforms) • MOOCs – Massive Open Online Courses with and for international audiences (e.g. Webinars)
Research	• Subsidiary function • Teach or perish	• Core function • Publish or perish
Mobility/ collaboration	• Local	• International collaboration
Appointment/ Affiliation	• Single affiliation (local) • Turbo lecture – commuting between various local public and private institutions for teaching	• MIAAs

The Sports Contract Mentality

An internationally competing football player cannot perform in and be contracted by two national teams. Therefore, strict rules from football governing boards, such as the International Federation of Association Football, subscribed to by national football confederations, sanction and prevent players from double contracts with clubs. Obviously, the circumstances of professional athletes in high-performance sports, which imply physical engagements and presence, are decisive in contractual obligations. Unlike in professional sports, the academic profession and the nature of academic work is more flexible as it allows for virtual, non-face-to-face interactions. In the age of Web 4.0, even laboratories can be shared virtually. The rise of e-classrooms is no longer an imagined reality. There has been a profound structural and morphological transformation of the conditions under which learning and teaching, as well as research, take place (Berk 2009).

Downes (2007) argues that new technologies allow for the deinstitutionalisation of learning. The rise of virtual classrooms is well documented, as are various e-learning tools and technological resources – for example, Moodle, blogs, Facebook, wikis – which have revolutionised the meaning of a classroom. The rapid spread of ICT has changed traditional ways of communication and information-sharing. New technologies have brought innovations to different aspects of society and, of relevance here, to teaching and learning processes in higher education. These innovations have improved the types of communication, interaction and knowledge-sharing engaged in between individuals and groups (Avci and Askarl 2012).

A new generation of students – known as 'digital natives', the 'Net Generation' or 'Generation Y' – has not known the world without the internet (Oblinger and Oblinger 2005). Nowadays, it is possible to share the knowledge of ADS or any other international experts without them having to physically move to Africa. Likewise, it is possible for ABS to teach in universities in the North. Technology has become both a facilitating element and a tool to create bridges between African universities and institutions in other parts of the world.

Nevertheless, most African universities treat their academics as manual workers who have to be physically present at their workplace. This trend is related to the following factors:

i) most African (public) universities have seen an increase in student intake on campuses, therefore requiring the physical presence of lecturers in classes and lecture halls;
ii) academic work is mostly conceived of in the traditional way of teaching usually very large classes, thus requiring physical presence;
iii) some institutions have introduced attendance registration books to keep a record of the physical presence of lecturers in classes.

In some cases, fingerprint-enabled digital control of lecturers' physical presence in class is taking place, particularly in private institutions that pay staff per hour taught.

The traditional idea of academic work being defined as teaching in class reinforces the predisposition of most African universities to oppose international collaboration and mobility. The professional athlete mentality therefore obstructs the mobility and ability of ADS to engage in multiple affiliations and international academic collaborations.

Academic staff managers and human resource departments in most African universities have set rules and regulations to control the 'local' mobility of academics. Although claiming to promote academic mobility,

university managers regularly apply restrictive regulations and measures which infringe on this principle. The digital fingerprint tool mentioned above, for instance, is utilised as a control mechanism to monitor academic staff's class attendance, thereby reinforcing the prevalent physical presence-based, face-to-face teaching culture.

The 'Turbo Lecture': The Downside of Multiple Local Institutional Affiliation

African-based academics commonly teach in more than two institutions, or in different time shifts in the same institution, as a way to supplement their relatively meagre salaries. Usually, these lecturers carry a heavy workload, leaving little or no time for research. The absence of national and institutional databases facilitating staff administration contributes towards the poor management of academic affiliations.

In order to curb the so-called turbo lecture – that is, an individual with multiple teaching appointments – it would be necessary to establish 'one-size-fits-all' regulations which prevent academics from engaging in collaborations with other national and international institutions. While it may seem reasonable for universities to want to counteract the 'turbo lecture' – as denounced by Mamdani (2007) – as an unpleasant side effect of the commercialisation of higher education (a result of the transformation of African universities towards being more market-driven), they also need to promote the international mobility of their academic staff.

While turbo lectures may represent the decay of African academia, internationally mobile and engaged academics are outliers and represent the positive side of multiple international engagements. Global networks and multiple international engagements contribute to giving African institutions a positive reputation (Overton-de Klerk and Sienaert 2016). Outlier academics have profiles that are similar to those of their peers in research universities in the North, yet, unlike their counterparts, they do not usually receive the same recognition. Furthermore, they are usually confronted with the demands of a heavy teaching load and overcrowded classrooms in their home institutions, with their physical presence being required at all times. Despite the advantages that MIAAs can bring to African universities, most do not seem ready to explore their benefits.

In the context of changing incentives and reward systems, it is increasingly important for academics to cooperate and co-publish internationally (Abramo, D'Angelo and Di Costa 2009; Kwiek 2018). For instance, '"Internationalists" increasingly compete with "locals" in university hierarchies for prestige and

for access to project-based research funding across Europe' (Kwiek 2018:136). In Africa, despite the paucity of data, research shows that more productive academics are likely to engage in multiple networks of collaboration with international partners (Langa 2010; Overton-de Klerk and Sienaert 2016).

A study conducted by Kyvik and Reymerton (2017:951) shows that 'Membership in a research group and active participation in international networks are likely to enhance publication productivity and the quality of research'. Collaboration is hence central to the viability of engagement with the diaspora. Collaboration in research can take different forms, from giving informal advice to colleagues to working closely together via institutional agreements. Teamwork can be undertaken between colleagues in a university department, between peers in different departments, with other universities or research institutes, with industry, and with research establishments in other countries. Collaboration can take place between two individual researchers or between many scientists as members of large teams (Kyvik and Reymerton 2017).

Paradoxically, in order for African academics to be more productive, they need the autonomy to engage in MIAAs and networks of collaboration with translocal research groups. This requirement often clashes with the inflexibility of their academic job descriptions and the contractual obligations at their home institutions.

Joint and Double Degrees: An Opportunity for Reciprocity in MAAs

A recent development in African higher education is the establishment of joint and dual or double degree programmes, particularly at postgraduate level, in collaboration with international universities in Europe, America and Asia. A joint degree programme, usually at master's or PhD level, is offered jointly by two or more international universities and results in a joint diploma which is formally accepted by all degree-awarding partner universities. A double degree programme – also known as dual degree, combined degree, conjoint degree, joint degree, simultaneous degree or double graduation programme – involves students' registering and studying for two different university degrees in parallel, either at the same institution or at different institutions, including in different countries at times, and completing those degrees in less time than it would have taken to earn them separately. The two degrees might be in the same subject area – applicable in particular when the course is split between countries – or in two different subjects (Fourie-Malherbe, Botha and Stevens 2016).

In Latin America and South-East Asia, the number of North–South double/joint degree programmes has grown, for example between a Latin American country and France, Spain, the USA or Germany, and between Japan, South Korea and Vietnam, Cambodia or Mongolia (Gacel-Ávila 2009). In Africa, joint degree programmes are also taking off. In Europe, the process of establishing joint degree programmes was started by the Bologna Declaration in 1999. It formulated a set of goals, including the development of a European Higher Education Area, to promote citizens' mobility and employability, to achieve greater compatibility and comparability of the systems of higher education, and to increase the international competitiveness of the European system of higher education, as well as its worldwide attraction for students and scholars (Bologna Declaration 1999).

Some North–South double degree programmes have received international funding, for example from the European Union (EU) or via the German Academic Exchange Service (*Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst*, or DAAD) programmes from Germany, aimed at promoting the development of these types of degrees. African universities have also benefited from such programmes, particularly through the EU-funded intra-Africa mobility programme. The number of North–South dual and joint degree programmes appears to be growing. Currently, dual degree programmes still dominate as they have to adhere to fewer regulations and are thus easier to establish. In addition, not all countries legally allow the creation of joint degree programmes.

Joint degree programmes are one example of promoting equal collaboration between ABS and ADS, where all sides have similar opportunities for academic exchange and MAAs. However, as it stands, European partners, including the African diaspora, regularly benefit more than their ABS partners from these programmes. In most cases, the engagement of African diaspora and northern partners is viewed by the latter as a generosity resulting in intellectual and academic remittances to African universities.

African Diaspora as an Intellectual Generosity

The idea that engagement with ADS results in intellectual and academic remittances to ABS raises some questions. This understanding leads to ABS being placed in a disadvantaged position when compared to their counterparts. Academic collaboration involves a free sharing of ideas and the possibility of co-production of new knowledge for mutual benefit. However, ADS frequently position their collaboration as an expression of intellectual generosity through nurturing the development of less experienced colleagues.

ADS thus position themselves as mentors providing a platform for the better visibility of ABS through joint publications.

The exploitation of junior researchers by those in positions of power and seniority – a constellation also referred to as collaboration-as-parasitism – is also sometimes observed in ADS and ABS collaborations. Whilst collaboration has always been at the heart of academic work, its paradoxes illustrate how individual and collective goals can conflict, through measuring academic performance, on the one hand, and the way in which such audits reduce the meaning of collaboration to absurdity, on the other.

New Dynamics in African Diaspora Engagement with Africa

In 2017, a consortium comprised of Harvard University, the University of Johannesburg, the United States International University-Africa, the Ford Foundation, CODESRIA, the CCNY and the Institute of International Education organised a conference entitled 'Role of the Diaspora in the Revitalization of African Higher Education' (Zeleza et al. 2017). The conference gathered some of the most prominent ADS, including the authors of the post-conference report.

The report is a comprehensive document featuring current debates and ideas about diaspora academics' role in advancing Africa's higher education to curtail the continent's brain drain and introduce a cycle of brain gain and brain circulation (Zeleza et al. 2017). Some of the key conclusions extracted from the report suggest that ADS represent a huge asset for the continent in meeting the challenges of African higher education and exploiting all opportunities (Zeleza et al. 2017). South Africa, for example, is amongst those African countries that have benefited the most from the presence of intra-African immigrants, despite many of them being met with hostility (Kalitanyi and Visser 2010).

According to the report, ADS 'are an indispensable player in Africa's rapidly growing and increasingly diversified education sector. Their intellectual remittances are fundamental to the realization of integrated, inclusive and innovative sustainable development envisioned in numerous national and regional development agendas' (Zeleza et al. 2017:4). The authors also indicate that there is 'huge demand by African institutions for diaspora academics and there is need to expand beyond fellowships to other modalities of engagement to appeal to different stakeholders' (Zeleza et al. 2017:4).

While the report highlights the role diaspora academics can assume as remitters of intellectual capital, it does not outline a role that internal African-based diaspora should or could take up. There is an implicit notion

that the African diasporic condition is restricted to those academics outside the continent, based in Europe, America and Australasia.

The report thus fails to acknowledge the intracontinental diaspora. In fact, it refers to the following Afro-diaspora categories as claiming 'the entire African diaspora; Africa-Americans, Afro-Brazilians, Afro-Europeans, Afro-Asians and others' (Zeleza et al. 2017:16). The report also does not extensively consider the forms of affiliation engaged in by African academic diaspora. The fact that some diaspora academics, especially those working in the USA, get three months unpaid leave – mostly during their holidays – is habitually presented as a window of opportunity to engage in academic mobility and exchange on other continents, including Africa. For instance, there are records of USA–German academic exchange, dubbed 'elective diasporas', occurring since the end of World War II (Jöns, Mavroudi and Heffernan 2014).

The notion of elective diaspora stresses the 'elective nature of diasporic identities and belonging by emphasising that individuals can choose whether they wish to support diasporic networks of one or more communities and cultures they feel connected to' (Jöns et al. 2014:113). It also suggests that this 'civic rather than "ethno" territorial understanding of diasporic networks has wider relevance for theorisations of diaspora, for studies of transnational mobility and knowledge transfer, and for university and public policies seeking to attract talent from abroad' (Jöns et al. 2014: 113).

The occasional affiliation, especially during holidays, may be complemented by new forms of joint, dual or multiple appointments. Academics who are based on the continent as well as in the diaspora can explore new forms of engagement which are mutually beneficial. New forms of research collaboration which include joint curriculum development, shared graduate student supervision, joint research projects and joint grant applications, require a much longer-term type of engagement beyond the duration of a summer holiday. Therefore, there is a need for new institutional arrangements and the removal of barriers, as well as research on the changes in the academic profession in Africa, including the new forms of academic work taking place.

Conclusion

The main discourse around the African academic diaspora follows a typical pattern of focusing on the wide-ranging costs of losing some of the continent's best and brightest intellectual's through brain drain. This focus on the disadvantages, however, obstructs the expansive and often innovative interactions that ADS and ABS have forged on both sides,

involving their home and host institutions. Emerging patterns of multiple institutional and international academic affiliations between both ADS and ABS are reinforcing scholarly and personal engagements. While there are still many challenges to overcome, particularly in African institutions, the collaborations between ADS and ABS are gradually gaining financial support from international funding agencies, with the aim to build capacity in African universities. Funding schemes such as the EU's ERASMUS+ programme and the Intra-Africa Academic Mobility Scheme, CODESRIA and the Carnegie Corporation of New York African Diaspora Fellowship Program are crucial in promoting more equitable and fair ADS and ABS engagements, but also need to be aligned with revised contractual conditions for academic staff, allowing more flexibility and multiple affiliation. The professional athlete contract mentality exhibited by some academic staff managers at African universities is not compatible with the global trend of internationalisation of the academic profession.

There is evidence that a significant and growing proportion of scholars with multiple affiliations also display high levels of academic integrity and productivity. This evidence validates the need for African scholars to attribute the necessary importance to studying multiple affiliations in the context of scientific research and institutional capacity development. This article discussed multiple affiliations and their conditions as a possibility to curb the effects of brain drain, while promoting brain-sharing. It argued that multiple affiliations not only reflect the dynamics and competitive advantage of the higher education sector in specific countries, but also that they can make a valuable contribution in minimising knowledge production inequities globally. The use of ICT and associated e-learning platforms represents an advantage for all actors involved by promoting a more integrated culture of blended-learning environments.

In conclusion, MAAs have not been studied extensively, despite their enormous potential to redress knowledge and academic inequities globally, but specifically in emerging countries. By curbing the effects of brain drain and promoting brain gain, brain circulation and brain-sharing, it is recommended that MAAs be explored in more detail in future research and policy.

Acknowledgement

Thanks to Leonie Schoelen for exceptional critical comments and invaluable proofreading of this artcle during the review.

Notes

1. See http://www.columbia.edu/cu/mesaas/faculty/directory/mamdani.html (accessed 20 July 2017).
2. See https://misr.mak.ac.ug/people/mahmood-mamdani (accessed 20 July 2017).
3. See https://www.news.uct.ac.za/article/-2018-05-30-mamdani-rejoins-uct (accessed 20 August 2018).
4. Extracts of conversations with African-based and African diaspora scholars are presented in Chapter 8 of this Journal.

References

Abramo, G., D'Angelo, C.A., and Di Costa, F., 2009, 'Research Collaboration and Productivity: Is There Correlation?', *Higher Education*, Vol. 57, No. 2, pp. 155–171.

Adams, R.H., Jr., 2003, *International Migration, Remittances, and the Brain Drain: A Study of 24 Labor-Exporting Countries*, World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 3069, June. Available online at https://ssrn.com/abstract=636431

Altbach, P.G., 2004, 'Globalization and the University: Realities in an Unequal World', *Tertiary Education and Management*, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 3–25.

Altbach, P.G., and Knight, J., 2007, 'The Internationalization of Higher Education: Motivations and Realities', *Journal of Studies in International Education*, Vol. 11, No. 3–4, pp. 290–305.

Altbach, P.G., Reisberg, L., and Rumbley, L.E., 2009, *Trends in Global Higher Education: Tracking an Academic Revolution*, UNESCO Report, World Conference on Higher Education, Paris, 5–8 July.

Anonymous, `Brain drain in Africa: Facts & Figures`. Available online at http://www.aracorporation.org/files/factsandfigures.pdf

April, G., 1998, 'The New Diaspora-African Immigration to the United States', *Journal of Third World Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 80–81.

Arimoto, A., 2010, 'Differentiation and Integration of Research, Teaching and Learning in the Knowledge Society: From the Perspective of Japan', in RIHE, ed., *The Changing Academic Profession in International and Quantitative Perspectives: A Focus on Teaching & Research Activities: Report of the International Conference on the Changing Academic Profession Project 2010*, RIHE International Seminar Reports 15, Hiroshima: Hiroshima University. pp. 1–28.

Avci, U., and Askar1, P., 2012, 'The Comparison of the Opinions of the University Students on the Usage of Blog and Wiki for Their Courses', *Educational Technology & Society*, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 194–205.

Balbachevsky, E., Schwartzman, S., Novaes Alves, N., Felgueiras dos Santos, D.F., and Birkholz Duarte, T.S., 2008, 'Brazilian Academic Profession: Some Recent Trends', in RIHE, ed., *The Changing Academic Profession in International Comparative and Quantitative Perspectives*, RIHE International Seminar Reports 12, Hiroshima: Hiroshima University. pp. 2–25.

Barka, B, L., 2000, Keynote Address, Regional Conference on Brain Drain and Capacity Building in Africa, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 22-24 February 2000.

Berk, R.A., 2009, 'Multimedia Teaching with Video Clips: TV, Movies, YouTube and mtvU in the College Classroom', *International Journal of Technology in Teaching and Learning*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 1–21.

Bologna Declaration, 1999, *Joint Declaration of the European Ministers of Education*. Available online at http://www.magna-charta.org/resources/files/BOLOGNA_DECLARATION.pdf

Boyo, T. M., 2013. The African Brain Drain and the Social impact of Skilled Migration A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts Graduate Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education Ontario Institute for Studies in Education University of Toronto. Available online at https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/67240/1/Boyo_Toritseju_M_201311_MA_thesis%20.pdf

Brennan, J., 2006, 'The Changing Academic Profession: The Driving Forces', in RIHE, ed., *Reports of Changing Academic Profession Project Workshop on Quality, Relevance and Governance in the Changing Academia*: *International Perspectives*, COE Publication Series 20, Hiroshima: Hiroshima University. pp. 37–44.

Capuano, S & Marfouk, A., 2013, African Brain Drain and Its Impact on Source Countries: What Do We Know and What Do We Need to Know?, Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice, 15:4, 297-314.

Castells, M., 2010, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture, Volume 1: The Rise of the Network Society*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Chukwudum Oforka, V. (2015) The Bleeding Continent: How Africa Became Impoverished and Why It Remains Poor. Xlibris.

Commander, S., Kangasniemi, M., and Winters, L.A., 2004, 'The Brain Drain: Curse or Boon? A Survey of the Literature', in Robert E. Baldwin and L. Alan Winters, eds, *Challenges to Globalization: Analyzing the Economics*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 235–278.

Cummings, W.K., and Arimoto, A., eds, 2011, *The Changing Academy – The Changing Academic Profession in International Comparative Perspective*, Vol. 8, Dordrecht: Springer.

Deen, T., 1999, *Development – Africa: Best and Brightest Head West*, IPS, 10 February. Available online at http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/30/098.html

Docquier, F., Marfouk, A., Özden, C. and Parsons, C., 2011, Geographic, Gender and Skill Structure of International Migration, Mimeo, Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium.

Downes, S., 2007, *What Connectivism Is Half an Hour*, 3 February. Available online at https://halfanhour.blogspot.com/2007/02/what-connectivism-is.html

ECOSOC (United Nations Economic and Social Council), 2008, *Trends in South–South and Triangular Development Cooperation*, background study for the Development Cooperation Forum. Available online at http://www.impactalliance.org/ev_en.php?ID=48433_201&ID2=DO_TOPIC

ESF (European Science Foundation), 2013, 'New Concepts of Researcher Mobility – a Comprehensive Approach Including Combined/Part-Time Positions', *Science Policy Briefing* 49, Strasbourg: ESF.

Finkelstein, M.J., Walker, E., and Chen, R., 2009, 'USA. The Internationalization of the American Faculty: Where Are We, What Drives or Deters Us?', in RIHE, ed., *The Changing Academic Profession over 1992–2007: International, Comparative and Quantitative Perspectives*, RIHE International Seminar Reports 13, Hiroshima: Hiroshima University. pp. 113–144.

Fourie-Malherbe, M., Botha, J., and Stevens, D., 2016, 'The Rationale, Challenges and Benefits of Joint Degrees as a New Form of Doctoral Education', in M. Fourie-Malherbe, C. Aitchison, E. Blitzer and R. Albertyn, eds, *Postgraduate Supervision: Future Foci for the Knowledge Society*, Stellenbosch: SUN press. pp. 313–333.

Gacel-Ávila, J., 2009, *Joint and Double Degree Programmes in Latin America: Patterns and Trends*, Observatory on Borderless Higher Education Report, London: OBHE.

Gamlen, A., 2006, *Diaspora Engagement Policies: What Are They, and What Kinds of States Use Them?* Centre on Migration, Policy and Society Working Paper 32, Oxford: COMPAS.

Gamlen, A., 2008, *Why Engage Diasporas?* Centre on Migration, Policy and Society Working Paper 63, Oxford: COMPAS.

Giannoccolo, P., 2009, *The Brain Drain: A Survey of the Literature*, 7 April, Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca, Department of Statistics, Working Paper 2006-03-02. Available online at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=1374329 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1374329

Giannoccolo, P., 2010a, 'From Brain Drain to Brain Gain: How the High Skilled Migration Literature Evolved', *Sistema Economico*, Vol. 2, pp. 25–65.

Giannoccolo, P., 2010b, 'Brain Drain and Fiscal Competition: A Theoretical Model for Europe', *International Journal of Economics*, Vol. 4, No. 1, June 2010 (no pagination).

Harman, G., and Meek, L.V., 2007, 'Australia: Adjustment to the New Management and Entrepreneurial Environment', in W. Locke and U. Teichler, eds, *The Changing Conditions for Academic Work and Careers in Select Countries*, Kassel: Werkstattberichte-66/International Centre for Higher Education Research Kassel. pp. 127–146.

Henkel, M., 2007, 'Shifting Boundaries and the Academic Profession', in M. Kogan and U. Teichler, eds, *Key Challenges to the Academic Profession*, Kassel: Werkstattberichte-65/International Centre for Higher Education Research Kassel. pp. 191–204.

Higgs, P., Higgs, L.G., Ntshoe, I., and Wolhuter, C.L., 2010, 'Teaching and Research in Higher Education in South Africa: Transformation Issues', in RIHE, ed., *The Changing Academic Profession in International and Quantitative Perspectives: A Focus on Teaching & Research Activities: Report of the International Conference on the Changing Academic Profession Project 2010*, RIHE International Seminar Reports 15, Hiroshima: Hiroshima University. pp. 87–100.

Höhle, E., and Teichler, U., 2011, 'Is There an Asian Academic Profession? Common and Diverse Features in Comparative Perspective', in RIHE, ed., *The Changing Academic Profession in Asia: Contexts, Realities and Trends: Report of the International Conference on the Changing Academic Profession Project 2011*, RIHE International Seminar Reports 17, Hiroshima: Hiroshima University. pp. 79–96.

Hottenrott, H., and Lawson, C., 2017, 'A First Look at Multiple Institutional Affiliations: A Study of Authors in Germany, Japan and the UK', *Scientometrics*, Vol. 111, pp. 285–295. doi 10.1007/s11192-017-2257-6.

Ite, U.E., 2002, 'Turning Brain Drain into Brain Gain: Personal Reflections on Using the Diaspora Option'. *African Issues*, 30(1), 76-80.

Jöns, H., Mavroudi, E., and Heffernan, M., 2014, *Mobilising the Elective Diaspora: US-German Academic Exchange since 1945*, Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers). Available online at https://rgs-ibg.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/tran.12062

Kalitanyi, V., and Visser, K., 2010, 'African Immigrants in South Africa: Job Takers or Job Creators?', *The South African Journal of Economic and Management Sciences*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 347–389.

Kamola, A.I., 2011, 'Pursuing Excellence in a World Class African University': The Mamdani Affair and the Politics of Global Higher Education, *JHEA/RESA*, Vol. 9, Nos 1&2, pp. 147–168.

Kerr, D., and Mapange, J., 2002, 'Academic Freedom and the University of Malawi', *African Studies Review*, Vol. 45, No. 2, pp. 73–91.

Kwiek, M., 2018, 'International Research Collaboration and International Research Orientation: Comparative Findings about European Academics', *Journal of Studies in International Education*, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 136–160.

Kyvik, S., and Reymerton, I., 2017, 'Research Collaboration in Groups and Networks: Differences across Academic Fields', *Scientometrics*, Vol. 113, pp. 951–967.

Langa, P.V., 2010, Disciplines and Engagement in African Universities: A Study of the Distribution of Scientific Capital and Academic Networking in the Social Sciences, PhD thesis, University of Cape Town.

Mamdani, M., 2007, *Scholars in the Marketplace: The Dilemmas of Neo-Liberal Reform at Makerere University, 1989–2005*, Dakar: CODESRIA.

Mamdani, M., 2016, 'Between the Public Intellectual and the Scholar: Decolonization and Some Post-Independence Initiatives in African Higher Education', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 68–83.

Mbiba, B., 2012, 'Zimbabwean Diaspora Politics in Britain: Insights from the Cathedral Moment', *Common Wealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 2, pp. 226–252.

Mensa-Bonsu, I.F., and Adjei, E., 2007, *Background Paper – Annex IV: Towards an Institutional Framework for Coherent Migration and Development Policy Planning in Developing Countries: The Case of Ghana*, Brussels: Global Forum on Migration and Development.

Mohamoud, A.A (2005). Reversing the Brain Drain in Africa: Harnessing the intellectual capital of diaspora for Knowledge development in Africa. Available online at https://www.diaspora-centre.org/DOCS/Reversingthebraind.pdf

Mohan, G., 2008, 'Making Neoliberal States of Development: The Ghanaian Diaspora and the Politics of Homelands', *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*, Vol. 26, pp. 464–479.

OBHE (Observatory on Borderless Higher Education), 2001–10, News headlines. Available online at http://www.obhe.ac.uk/what_we_do/news_archive/_news_archive

Obia, C.G., 1993, 'Brain Drain and African Development: A Descriptive Framework for Deriving Indirect Benefits', *Journal of Third World Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 75–76.

Oblinger, D.G., and Oblinger, J.L., eds, 2005, *Educating the Net Generation*. Available online at https://www.educause.edu/research-and-publications/books/educating-net-generation

Ogachi, I.O., and Sall, E., 2015, 'Engaging the African Academic Diaspora: How Ready Are Universities in Africa?', *International Journal of African Higher Education*, Vol. 2, pp. 25–53. doi: 10.6017/ijahe.v2i1.9263

Orduña-Malea, E., Ayllón, J.M., Martín-Martín, A., and López-Cózar, E.D., 2017, 'The Lost Academic Home: Institutional Affiliation Links in Google Scholar Citations', *Online Information Review*, Vol. 41, No. 6, pp. 762–781. Available online at https://doi.org/10.1108/OIR-10-2016-0302

Overton-de Klerk, N., and Sienaert, M., 2016, 'From Research Excellence to Brand Relevance: A Model for Higher Education Reputation Building', *South African Journal*, Vol. 112, No. 5/6, Art. #2015-0365. Available online at http://dx.doi.org/10.17159/sajs.2016/20150365

Smyke, Raymond J., 2001, 'Brain Drain and African Universities', *Transnational Associations*, 4/5 (July–October), pp. 229–238.

Tafah, E.E.O., 2004, 'Migration of Human Capital: Some Implications for Higher Education in Cameroon', *Journal of Applied Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 1–9.

Tebeje, A., 2011, *Brain Drain and Capacity Building in Africa*, International Development Research Centre (IDRC). Available online at https://www.idrc.ca/en/article/brain-drain-and-capacity-building-africa

Teferra, D., 2005, 'Brain Circulation: Unparalleled Opportunities, Underlying Challenges, and Outmoded Presumptions', *Journal of Studies in International Education*, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 229–250.

Teichler, U., Arimoto, A., and Cummings, W.K., 2013, *The Changing Academic Profession: Major Findings of a Comparative Survey*, Dordrecht: Springer.

Tung, R.I., 2008, 'Brain Circulation, Diaspora, and International Competitiveness', *European Management Journal* 26, No. 5, pp. 298–304.

Vezzoli, S., and Lacroix, T., 2010, *Building Bonds for Migration and Development: Diaspora Engagement Policies of Ghana, India and Serbia*, Research Report, International Migration Institute, Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), Eschborn: GTZ.

Wolhuter, C.C., 2015, '1994: New Academic Profession for a New South Africa?', *Studies in Higher Education*, Vol. 40, No. 8, pp. 1377 –1391.

World Bank 2007, Concept note: World Bank mobilizing the African diaspora for development. Capacity Development Management Action Plan Unit (AFTCD) & Operational Quality and Knowledge Services Department (AFTQK). Available online at http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTDIASPORA/General/21686696/conceptnote.pdf

Zeleza, P., 2004, 'The African Academic Diaspora in the United States and Africa: The Challenges of Productive Engagement', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 261–275.

Zeleza, P.T., 2013, *Engagements between African Diaspora Academics in the U.S. and Canada and African Institutions of Higher Education: Perspectives from North America and Africa*, Report for the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Zeleza, P.T., 2014, 'The Development of STEM in Africa: Mobilizing the Potential of the Diaspora', paper presented at the third annual conference on Effective US Strategies for African STEM Collaborations, Capacity Building, and Diaspora Engagement, University of Michigan, Michigan, 1–4 April.

Zeleza, P.T., 2016, 'The Role of Higher Education in Africa's Resurgence', Eric Morobi Inaugural Memorial Lecture, University of Johannesburg, 15 October.

Zeleza, P.T., Akyeampong, E., and Musa, E.A., 2017, *Conference on the Role of the Diaspora in the Revitalization of African Higher Education*, Report. Available online at https://africa.harvard.edu/files/african-studies/files/harvard_conference_report_-_march_30-31_-_20171.pdf

JHEA/RESA Vol. 16, Nos 1&2, 2018, pp. 77-94

(ISSN 0851–7762)

Navigating the Uncertain Path of Research Partnerships: The Role of ICT

John Kwame Boateng* & Raymond Asare Tutu**

Abstract

In this article, we share experiences of the nature of an infant collaboration and how information and communication technology (ICT) is at its heart. We situate our discussion in the broader discourse surrounding educational research collaboration. The main issues we address are: (i) the peculiar nature of our collaboration; (ii) the main collaboration stimuli; (iii) the anticipated benefits and costs of the collaboration; and (iv) the role of ICT. We show that while ICT is invaluable to our collaborative work and its future prospects, it requires a great deal of commitment to nurture, grow and maintain. Although the initial objective of our research network is to examine how technology mediates student–instructor interaction, through ICT we are moving the frontiers of this collaboration to other areas of expertise, interest and strength. Through the log of our communication via Skype, WhatsApp, phone calls and other channels, we demonstrate how beneficial ICT is to our collaboration. We conclude with other possible forms that this network could take and emerge into, given the composition of the research network.

Keywords: African diaspora, ICT, collaboration, research networks, Skype, WhatsApp

Résumé

Dans cet article, nous partageons les expériences de la nature d'une collaboration naissante et de la façon dont les technologies de l'information et de la communication (TIC) en sont le centre. Nous situons notre étude dans le cadre du discours élargi concernant la collaboration dans la recherche pédagogique. Les questions principales que nous traitons sont : (i) la nature spécifique de notre collaboration ; (ii) les principales raisons qui incitent à la collaboration ; (iii) les avantages et le coût de la

* University of Ghana, Akra, Ghana. Email: jboat2009@gmail.com

** Delaware State University, Dover, DE, USA. Email: rtutu@desu.edu

collaboration ; et (iv) le rôle joué par les TIC. Nous montrons que si les TIC sont indispensables pour notre travail de collaboration et ses perspectives d'avenir, il faut un engagement important pour soutenir, faire croître et maintenir cette collaboration. Bien que l'objectif initial de notre réseau de recherche soit d'examiner comment la technologie intervient dans l'interaction entre l'étudiant et le formateur, nous utilisons les TIC pour repousser les limites de cette collaboration et inclure d'autres domaines d'expertise, d'intérêt et de force. Le registre de nos communications via Skype, WhatsApp, des appels téléphoniques et autres canaux, montre à quel point les TIC sont bénéfiques pour notre collaboration. Nous concluons cette analyse en présentant les autres formes possibles que ce réseau pourrait prendre et devenir, étant donné la composition du réseau de recherche.

Mots-clés : diaspora africaine, TIC, collaboration, réseaux de recherche, Skype, Whatsapp

Introduction

This research network responded to a call by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) for a joint proposal for research collaboration in the humanities and social sciences dubbed African Diaspora Support to African Universities. The activities in our proposal were meant to address three main missions of the call:

i) to strengthen the linkages between African diaspora scholars and African universities;

ii) to strategise through introducing new technologies for teaching, and organising workshops and summer schools for advanced doctoral candidates; and

iii) to conduct activities such as co-mentoring and co-supervision.

Comprehending the peculiarities and nature of our collaboration is essential, not only for achieving our goals but also for a clear picture of the process by which those goals were satisfied while simultaneously remaining cognisant of the complexities that exist within the different methods of collaboration used. At the heart of this research network's activities, from the conception of the proposed ideas in our proposal to now, is information and communication technology (ICT). In this article, we describe the peculiarities in the nature of our collaboration, the main motivators of our collaboration, the anticipated benefits and costs of the collaboration, and the role of ICT.

What Is Collaboration and What Are the Peculiarities of Our Collaboration?

Studies analysing research over a number of decades have shown that the best scientific knowledge is produced through international research collaboration (Adams 2013). While academic specialisation through specific disciplinary studies enables a deeper understanding of specialised approaches to tackling particular problems, 'specialization may lead to professional isolation in knowledge "cottages" or "silos"' (Bindler, Richardson, Daratha and Wordell 2012:95). Avoiding such 'silos' in a complex world with complex social problems calls for collaboration, which is advantageous in the areas of dissemination, acknowledgement, prominence and high productivity (Beaver 2001), especially when there is high collaboration intensity and collaborators are very committed (Liao 2011). The idea of collaboration is variegated. The seminal work of Katz and Martin (1997) clearly underscores the need to not assume a generalised understanding of collaboration of any kind, be it university–industry collaboration (D'Este, Guy and Iammarino 2012), collaboration between research groups in an academic department or college, between different academic departments in a university, between different academic institutions in the same region, or between academic institutions in different geographic regions.

Collaboration is complex and takes many forms, and collaborators' perceptions of what constitutes collaboration differ. For example, working together on a project that has resulted from an institutionalised relationship in the form of a signed memorandum of understanding is more recognised as collaboration than a relationship that is not formalised (Hick et al. 1996). While earlier attempts to define research collaboration used multi-authorship or co-authorship (bibliometric studies) of scientific papers as a proxy for collaboration (Gazni and Didegah 2011; Mattsson, Laget, Nilsson and Sundberg 2008; Smith 1958), some argue that such a measure is insufficient and a misrepresentation because co-authorship is only one possible outcome of a collaboration (Bozeman, Fay and Slade 2013). Furthermore, it does not give details on the amount of effort put in by each author (Subramanyam 1983), and bibliometric studies do not show the processes of collaborative work. Thus, with the concept of collaboration not being sacrosanct, research collaboration first needs to be defined before engaging it or attempting to operationalise it in a study.

Research collaboration has been defined as 'the working together of researchers to achieve the common goal of producing new scientific knowledge' (Katz and Martin 1997:7). Bozeman et al. (2013) build on this definition and zero in on the human capital aspect of collaboration to conclude that research collaborations are 'social processes whereby human beings pool their human capital for the objective of producing knowledge' (Bozeman et al. 2013:3). With a common goal in mind, each collaborator offers his or her expertise and consequently collective knowledge is brought to the defined problem, although there is no guarantee of knowledge production at the end of a project (Bozeman et al. 2013). Cognisant of the possible unequal amount of work, both directly and indirectly, that may be inherent in research collaboration (Gordon 1980), coupled with the possibility of losing some collaborators through attrition, Katz and Martin (1997:7) suggest the following as major characteristics that should differentiate actual collaborators from other researchers:

- Those who work together on the research project throughout its duration or for a large part of it, or who make frequent or substantial contributions;
- Those whose names or posts appear in the original research proposal;
- Those responsible for one or more of the main elements of the research (e.g. the experimental design, construction of research equipment, execution of the experiment, analysis and interpretation of the data, writing up the results in a paper);
- Those responsible for a key step (e.g. the original idea or hypothesis, the theoretical interpretation); and
- The original project proposer and/or fundraiser, even if her or his main contribution subsequently is to the management of the research rather than research per se.

We understand the difficulty in delineating the beginning and end points of collaboration between two individual social scientists, especially in the context of research networks that transcend national borders and involve multiple people from varied academic institutions.

Our research network is heterogeneous. It consists of *intra-* and *inter-*national members from different disciplines and departments. We have a colleague and a research assistant from the Department of Sociology at the University of Cape Coast, Ghana; a network member from the School of Business at the University of Ghana; a consultant, a network member and a research assistant from the School of Continuing and Distance Learning,

University of Ghana; and a member from Delaware State University, Dover, in the United States. This network is interdisciplinary, including social science and humanities disciplines such as demography, geography, sociology and adult education. However, as noted, the collaboration is both intra (individual) and international. In other words, for operational and organisational purposes, we distinguish between *network members* and *collaborators*. While the network members comprise all of the people described above, there are two collaborators: the project manager and the diaspora partner. Specifically, the collaboration is an *individual-level researcher collaboration* (Bozeman et al. 2013), albeit with the distant blessing of our respective institutions.

We draw on the participatory collaboration principle as a guide to our organisational structure, where both collaborators have parallel standings and a high degree of independence. That is, the structure of our collaboration is egalitarian in nature with a conscious effort to hold egos in check and respect each other's ideas (Chompalov, Genuth and Shrum 2002). We believe that such a structure is pertinent in achieving our objectives. Our ultimate goal in the context of the African Diaspora Support to African Universities programme is clear and can be summed up as *increments to knowledge* – to be measured by the scientific and technical papers produced and the impacts those papers have over time (Bozeman et al. 2013).

Research Collaboration Stimuli

Research collaboration requires a number of stimuli and these motivators are arguably responsible for the growth of various forms of collaboration. Researchers at different scales (institutional, regional or international) require varying degrees of equipment, which demands increased funding. With limited and dwindling funding opportunities, collaboration allows researchers to pool their available resources and access multiple funding sources to accomplish the research objective.

Additionally, major bilateral partnerships have increased the number of international research collaborations, a phenomenon Adams (2013) calls 'the fourth age of research'. Also, improvements in global transportation systems by road, air and rail have facilitated more efficient movement across vast geographic spaces. While today's plane fares are not cheap, they are relatively inexpensive compared to three or four decades ago, consequently enhancing the interconnectedness of researchers across continents. Additionally, improvements in global communication systems, especially with the development of the internet – from the emergence of

electronic mail to the creation of smartphones with various communication applications – have made communication easier, relatively cheaper (Katz and Martin 1997), and reduced the cost of collaboration (Adams, Black, Clemmons and Stephan 2005).

Furthermore, it is often recognised that major scientific advances and discoveries are functions of research collaborations as well as interdisciplinary work. Remarkable scientific findings and significant contributions to knowledge have been as a result of interdisciplinary collaborations (Bindler et al. 2012; Kodama 1992; Kuhn 1970); improved output of scientific knowledge is also attributed to research collaboration (Huang and Lin 2010). The main stimuli of our network and collaboration are:

- Our desired expectations that this network and collaboration will not only contribute to knowledge in the area of our research goals but will also have remarkable output and impact;
- Seed funding received from CODESRIA; ICT (discussed in detail below); and
- Perceptive and astute network partners and collaborators.

Anticipated Benefits and Costs of the Collaboration

Different forms of research collaboration suggest that costs and benefits will depend on the kind of collaboration pursued, although there might be a number of similarities across the spectrum. We begin with a discussion of the benefits of collaboration. First, the higher an institution's level of collaboration, the more likely it is for the research output of the institution to be published in an outlet with a high-impact factor. For example, Adams (2013) found that in the United Kingdom, institutions with more than 50 per cent international collaboration, measured as co-authorship on published papers, had a mean citation impact of more than 1.6, while the citation impact was less for institutions with less international collaboration.

Adams (2013) further observes that internationally co-authored papers are more highly cited because the authors are more likely to be doing excellent research. An important benefit of research collaboration is the diverse knowledge, skills and competencies that are brought to bear on the research goal. Apart from the fact that no individual is a repository of all knowledge, various disciplinary skills and approaches converging into interdisciplinary arenas illuminate the problem under consideration and, consequently, offer multidimensional approaches to dealing with

complex issues. As Bindler et al. (2012:96) put it, 'the major strength of collaborative work is that multiple perspectives provide a richness of theoretical approaches, a number of potential interventions, and an increased ability to understand complex issues'. Therefore, the sharing of knowledge and competencies is a major benefit of research collaboration.

Associated with knowledge-sharing is the potential for creativity to arise from conflicting ideas. The momentum from conflicting ideas may propel the creation of a new viewpoint on the problem at stake, which might not otherwise have been recognised (Hoch 1987). Furthermore, research collaboration is a source of scholarly camaraderie. The desire to make a meaningful contribution by attempting to identify gaps in the body of knowledge is an arduous task and the hallmark of scholarship. While the art and process of thinking may be accomplished by an individual, bouncing thoughts back and forth with colleagues enables a refinement of ideas. Additionally, the potential loneliness associated with working alone on complex social issues can be buffered by the feedback and challenges received from colleagues.

Research collaboration enables the widening of one's research network and connections. Through bridging, bonding and linking social networks that result from the initial collaboration network, members of the collaboration are able to access and widen their network. This has the potential of starting new research goals. The new contacts may become additional intellectual resources in terms of co-advising and co-supervising.

Although research collaboration has many benefits, it also has costs, an important one being time. Time is spent in talking about the possibility of research collaboration, planning proposals, putting together a proposal, applying for funds from multiple agencies, attending various meetings in person and online, executing the research objectives, collecting data, travelling, analysing and disseminating. While all these issues require time, the day-to-day running of the network's activities also requires an enormous amount of time. For example, time is needed to keep every member of the network informed about daily activities; collaborators must be well informed about every aspect of their project and able to report in real time. In other words, management of the research project requires a tremendous amount of time for every facet of the project, including detailed administrative procedures (Bindler et al. 2012). The proper administration of projects becomes more complicated as scale increases, given the different management styles, requirements and procedures between departments and institutions from national to international level.

Another cost to research collaboration is consensus-building, a difficult venture in collaborative work. Scholars from different disciplines who have been trained in specific theoretical and methodological approaches may not be familiar with some of the perspectives and epistemologies the collaboration relies on. Thus, sufficient time is necessary to negotiate consensus among the varying and divergent interdisciplinary frameworks and methodologies (Grey and Connolly 2008). This requires negotiation and interpersonal skills in order to avoid the collapse of the research collaboration and network. In the context of our participatory collaboration, consensus is the key to our successes, despite requiring us to expend a tremendous amount of time.

Role of ICT in Our Collaboration

The success of research collaboration is the dream of collaborators and network partners. However, the reality is that a multitude of collaborations collapse for a plethora of reasons. The success rates of different forms of collaboration are mixed. For example, while interdisciplinary and within-discipline collaborations in the same institution for the most part report success, collaborations across universities often have negative results. The latter are more likely to succeed when collaborators interact face to face (Cummings and Kiesler 2005).

With our collaboration being interdisciplinary and across universities, communication among collaborators is key. However, being on different continents makes face-to-face contact infrequent. The following questions are therefore pertinent: Can ICT provide the means to meet face to face in the virtual world, help the planning and coordination of research activities and thereby improve research productivity? Can ICT be the tool we need to manage and track research tasks, ensure ongoing and spontaneous conversations, support consensus-building and decision-making, and schedule and hold meetings across huge geographic expanses (Cummings and Kiesler 2005)? Since geographic proximity promotes collaboration (Abramo, D'Angelo, Di Costa and Solazzi 2011), we need tools that will enable us to navigate problems that arise and sometimes worsen due to a lack of or inadequate communication.

ICT has been shown to be successfully used in research, instruction, learning and assessment and is considered a powerful tool in educational change and reform (Kent and Facer 2004). In fact, in instances where ICT is used appropriately, it can raise the quality of education and connect learning to real-life situations (Lowther, Inan, Daniel Strahl and Ross

2008; Weert and Tatnall 2005). ICT has also challenged how organisations are structured and how networks, including research networks, function, bringing about enormous changes to the world. ICT is not static but continually evolving, breaking new barriers, defining new horizons and bringing new dimensions to research networks and partners.

Learning and teaching environments can be transformed into learner-centred ones when affected role-players have access to the resources and knowledge that can be acquired on the internet, for example through video clips, audio files and visual presentations (Castro Sanchez and Aleman 2011). Additionally, Shan Fu (2013) shows that through ICT, learning can occur anywhere and at any time given the twenty-four hour, seven days a week accessibility of online courses and research materials. Furthermore, teleconferencing classrooms allow learners and teachers to interact simultaneously with ease and convenience. These merits of ICT are not only applicable in educational contexts but in other sectors as well.

However, due to a range of external and internal factors, the adoption, success and operation of ICT is uneven across space (Liu and Qianli 2015). External factors that influence the effectiveness of technology integration in research include technology availability, accessibility of ICT equipment, time to plan for instruction or research activities, technical and administrative support, the curriculum, institutional climate and culture, faculty teaching load, and management routines (Al-Ruz and Khasawneh 2011; Lin, Wang and Lin 2012; Tezci 2011). Internal factors include a user's understanding of ICT; beliefs, which may conflict with the application of ICT; attitudes toward technology integration; perceptions, including intentions or motivations, in respect of using ICT; self-confidence and knowledge; technology skills; readiness to use ICT and technology self-efficacy (Al-Ruz and Khasawneh 2011; Chen 2008; Lin et al. 2012; Sang, Valcke, Van Braak, Tondeur and Zhu 2011; Tezci 2011).

Of importance to us and this collaboration is the role ICT can play in ensuring our success. Research and development (R&D) experts around the world consider the use of ICT to be one solution to the problems arising out of widening international research networks. Howells (1995), however, observes that although communication within R&D has been visualised as crucial to research and innovation performance, most of the emphasis on the use of ICT in research has until recently focused predominantly on improvements to productivity. To deviate from this norm, Howells explored some of the ways that organisations are using computer-mediated

communication systems as a way to improve communication and information flows among researchers in distant and isolated locations who are engaged in emerging types of work and research.

Obioha (2016) examined awareness, use, exposure to ICT and improvements in ICT tools among research officers in research institutions in Nigeria. She found that ICT plays an important role in information sourcing, generation, processing, storage and retrieval, and dissemination of research findings. This justifies calling for librarians and information science professionals to take the lead in efforts to inform the user community of the utility of ICT features – for example, exploring the process of activating the email alert system for online databases to aid researchers, customising a home page, selecting favourite journals, reviewing search history, and searching alerts for journal issues and citations. These skills are crucial to enhance research output (Munnolli 2005).

Given the preceding discussion, how has ICT aided our research network and collaboration? How has it facilitated our activities? We also looked at the future prospects and the challenges of using ICT in support of the network's research.

ICT-Use Experiences for Research Collaboration

We illustrate the extent to which ICT facilitated our activities using four main milestones:

- Planning, revising and submitting research proposal to CODESRIA;
- Preparing for a methodology workshop organised by CODESRIA in Nairobi, Kenya, and incorporating suggested revisions prior to the workshop;
- Post-Nairobi methodology workshop before the network project launch in Accra, Ghana; and
- Recent events after project kick-off.

Table 1 shows results for the number of times participants in the research network used different ICT tools to accomplish tasks related to planning, revising and submitting the final copy of the research proposal to CODESRIA.

Table 1: Role of ICT in revising and submitting final network proposal to CODESRIA

ICT type	Number of attempted interactions	Number of successful interactions	Number of unsuccessful interactions	% success
Email	80	80	0	100
Skype	16	12	4	75
WhatsApp	150	125	25	83
SMS	45	45	0	100
Google Hangouts	3	3	0	100
Phone call	45	30	15	66
Total	**339**	**295**	**44**	**87**

Note: Computer and Microsoft Office use (Word, Excel, PowerPoint) were ubiquitous.

Eighty email messages were successfully exchanged among network partners. Of the 16 Skype calls placed, only 12 resulted in successful engagement of network partners. In the same period, 125 of the 150 WhatsApp interactions were successfully received and feedback provided. Additionally, 45 SMS messages were successfully exchanged among network partners, as were 3 Google Hangout interactions and 30 phone calls out of a total of 45 calls placed among network partners. Altogether, network partners were 87 per cent successful in their engagements.

Table 2 shows results for the number of times research network participants used different ICT tools to accomplish tasks related to the preparations for attending a methodology workshop in Nairobi, Kenya, from 12 to 15 October 2015.

Table 2: Role of ICT in preparing for the methodology workshop in Nairobi

ICT type	Number of attempted interactions	Number of successful interactions	Number of unsuccessful interactions	% success
Email	30	30	0	100.0
Skype	8	5	3	62.5
WhatsApp	85	80	5	94.0
SMS	15	15	0	100.0
Google Hangouts	1	0	1	100.0
Phone call	13	8	5	61.5
Total	**152**	**138**	**14**	**86.0**

Note: Computer and Microsoft Office use (Word, Excel, PowerPoint) were ubiquitous.

Thirty email messages were successfully exchanged among network partners. Of the 8 Skype calls placed, only 5 resulted in the successful engagement of network partners. In the same period, 80 of the 85 WhatsApp interactions were successfully received and feedback provided. Additionally, 15 SMS messages were successfully exchanged among network partners; the only Google Hangout call placed was not successful. Of the 13 phone calls placed, only 8 were successful. Overall, network partners were 91 per cent successful in their interactions. Table 3 summarises ICT use to facilitate preparation for the network research project launch.

Ninety-five email messages were successfully exchanged among network partners. Of the 15 Skype calls placed, only 10 resulted in successful engagement of network partners. In the same period, 145 of the 155 WhatsApp interactions were successfully received and feedback provided. Additionally, 10 out of 12 SMS messages were successfully exchanged among network partners. Of the 2 Google Hangout calls placed, 1 was successful, and 14 of the 17 phone calls placed were successful. Overall, network partners were 93 per cent successful in their interactions.

Table 3: Role of ICT in the network research project launch in Accra

ICT type	Number of attempted interactions	Number of successful interactions	Number of unsuccessful interactions	% success
Email	95	95	0	100
Skype	15	10	5	67
WhatsApp	155	145	10	94
SMS	12	10	2	83
Google Hangouts	2	1	1	50
Phone call	17	14	3	82
Total	**296**	**275**	**21**	**79**

Note: Computer and Microsoft Office use (Word, Excel, PowerPoint) were ubiquitous.

Table 4: How ICT was used to facilitate network research project kick-off

ICT type	Number of attempted interactions	Number of successful interactions	Number of unsuccessful interactions	% success
Email	35	35	0	100
Skype	10	7	3	70
WhatsApp	25	23	2	92
SMS	12	3	0	100
Google Hangouts	0	0	0	–
Phone call	5	3	2	60
Total	**78**	**71**	**7**	**84**

Note: Computer and Microsoft Office use (Word, Excel, PowerPoint) were ubiquitous.

Thirty-five email messages were successfully exchanged among network partners. Of the 10 Skype calls placed, only 7 resulted in successful engagement of network partners. Twenty-three of the 25 WhatsApp interactions were successfully received and feedback provided. Additionally, 3 SMS messages were successfully exchanged among network partners out of 12 SMS messages sent. There were no Google Hangout interactions, and of the 5 phone calls placed only 3 were successful. Overall, network partners were 91 per cent successful in their interactions.

A successful interaction is defined as one that happened between the interacting parties without any hindrance. For example, calls went through the first time and parties engaged, could hear each other clearly and the conversation proceeded successfully to the end of the interaction. Unsuccessful calls, on the other hand, were unanswered, did not go through or, if they did, conversations could not be sustained because speakers could not hear each other clearly and the calls were terminated midstream.

Discussion

As the four tables indicate, various technologies were used by the research network partners to communicate successfully: word processing; email; social media (WhatsApp); Skype; computer communication network (Google Hangouts); phone calls; and SMS messages. Word processing, WhatsApp, email and telephone communication were by far the most commonly used tools; Skype, SMS text messages and Google Hangouts were also used but not to the same extent.

In the experience of the network research partnership, electronic storage and retrieval of information was found to be extremely beneficial and helpful as it facilitated information storage at reasonable costs. It also facilitated the quick and easy transfer and retrieval of information. Between September 2015 and January 2016, 240 email messages were successfully exchanged (100 per cent success rate) among the three network research partners in Ghana and the United States. During the same period there were 49 Skype calls, 415 WhatsApp interactions, 84 SMS messages, 6 Google Hangout calls and 80 telephone calls. With Skype engagement, 34 calls were successful (69 per cent success rate); 373 WhatsApp interactions were successful (90 per cent success rate); 73 SMS interactions were successful (97 per cent success rate); 4 Google Hangout calls were successful (66 per cent success rate); and 55 phone calls were successful (71 per cent success rate). On average, 82 per cent success rate was achieved for all forms of interaction or engagement employed.

A great deal of time was spent nurturing, growing and maintaining the network and collaboration. ICT was invaluable to our enterprise at every step. This study does not, however, account for time spent contemplating major ideas and reconsidering them, or reviewing and editing the content of proposals. The amount of time spent in meetings and communicating using ICT is a testament to the amount of time needed, especially in the context of our collaboration's egalitarian structure. Moreover, the time difference between Ghana and the east coast of the United States presented its own challenges.

Meetings were scheduled outside of usual working hours and the collaborators and research network partners agreed that ICT helped us to work more efficiently. The use of virtual meeting places effectively ameliorated the geographic and time differences and features such as screen sharing greatly enhanced our virtual conferences, thus creating a more productive face-to-face experience.

Our use of ICT was not without limitations, however. Although difficulties with ICT, such as incompatibility between different text and data processing systems and between network protocols, are common (Institute of Medicine and National Research Council 1989), such challenges were not profound in our case. Of importance were network limitations of the various ICT tools. When one network was down, unavailable, limited or unreliable, the alternatives were employed to facilitate research communication, allowing our work or scheduled plans to continue unhindered.

The improvements brought about by introducing ICT into research network environments are not without potential problems, such as those related to cost – the price of electricity and the cost of the internet are

forever rising in Ghana. In addition, for ICT to be used optimally, a steady and regular power supply is necessary, as well as a workable and stable infrastructure, and the provision of more ICT tools and centres. While working towards the four milestones outlined earlier, there was erratic power supply in Ghana. That meant rescheduling meetings and relying on other forms of ICT than initially planned.

Conclusion

This article shared the experience of a research network by defining collaboration in general and our collaboration in particular; sharing the main stimuli of collaboration, with a focus on our own; looking at the benefits and costs of collaboration; and exploring the role of ICT in our collaboration. Research collaborations are variegated and endowed with a multiplicity of meanings. We suggest that for any collaboration to be successful, it has to be well defined. Therefore, understanding both the idiosyncrasies of a collaboration and its diverse steps is essential to a favourable outcome.

We distinguish between our research network and collaboration. Our collaboration is an individual-level collaboration which has the blessing of our institutions. Organisationally, we adopted a participatory collaboration model with an egalitarian structure. The major collaboration stimuli for us include: collaborators' expectations that this network and collaboration will contribute to knowledge in the area of our research goals, and will have remarkable output and impact; seed funding received from CODESRIA; the use of ICT; and perceptive and astute network partners and collaborators.

This collaboration has both benefits and costs. We anticipate that, as with many research collaborations, diverse knowledge, skills and competencies will be brought to bear on our research goals. Additionally, through bonding, bridging and linking social networks, the collaboration will expand and so will the network. With an egalitarian organisational structure and its consensus-building feature, our major cost is time. However, it is a necessary sacrifice to ensure that the collaboration does not collapse.

The use of ICT helped the collaborators and research network partnership in several ways. We demonstrated how social media (WhatsApp), Skype, a computer communication network (Google Hangouts), phone calls and SMS text messages helped in achieving four major milestones of our collaboration: planning, revising and submitting a research proposal to CODESRIA; preparing for a methodology workshop organised by CODESRIA in Nairobi,

Kenya, and incorporating suggested revisions prior to the workshop; running a post-Nairobi methodology workshop until the network project launch in Accra, Ghana; and events after project kick-off.

On the whole, it can be said with confidence that ICT led to improvements in the work of this research collaboration and network. It is evident from this experience that new ways for research collaboration and scientific exploration have opened up. Now the possibility of including additional researchers, collaborators and network members has become a reality. With the range of research expertise, interests and experiences among the network members and collaborators, and the potential for network growth, there are possibilities for these overlapping interests to lead to more interdisciplinary projects.

Finally, prime components of our collaboration include a clear sense of the nature of the collaboration and the type of organisational structure best suited for sustaining the collaboration; a firm idea of the vision, hence keeping focus on the benefits and minimising the impact of the costs; and intensive use of ICT to keep the process of achieving our goals afloat.

References

Abramo, G., D'Angelo, C.A., Di Costa, F., and Solazzi, M., 2011, 'The Role of Information Asymmetry in the Market for University–Industry Research Collaboration', *The Journal of Technology Transfer*, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 84–100.

Adams, J., 2013, 'Collaborations: The Fourth Age of Research', *Nature*, Vol. 497, No. 7451, pp. 557–560.

Adams, J.D., Black, G.C., Clemmons, J.R., and Stephan, P.E., 2005, 'Scientific Teams and Institutional Collaborations: Evidence from US Universities, 1981–1999', *Research policy*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 259–285.

Al-Ruz, J.A., and Khasawneh, S., 2011, 'Jordanian Preservice Teachers' and Technology Integration: A Human Resource Development Approach', *Educational Technology and Society*, Vol. 14, pp. 77–87.

Beaver, D.B., 2001, 'Reflections on Scientific Collaboration (and Its Study): Past, Present, and Future', *Scientometrics*, Vol. 52, No. 3, pp. 365–377.

Bindler, R.C., Richardson, B., Daratha, K., and Wordell, D., 2012, 'Interdisciplinary Health Science Research Collaboration: Strengths, Challenges, and Case Example', *Applied Nursing Research*, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 95–100.

Bozeman, B., Fay, D., and Slade, C.P., 2013, 'Research Collaboration in Universities and Academic Entrepreneurship: The-State-of-the-Art', *The Journal of Technology Transfer*, Vol. 38, No. 1, pp. 1–67.

Castro Sanchez, J.J., and Aleman, E.C., 2011, 'Teachers' Opinion Survey on the Use of ICT Tools to Support Attendance-Based Teaching', *Journal of Computers and Education*, Vol. 56, pp. 911–915.

Chen, C.H., 2008, 'Why Do Teachers Not Practice What They Believe Regarding Technology Integration?' *Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 162, pp. 65–75.

Chompalov I., Genuth, J., and Shrum, W., 2002, 'The Organization of Scientific Collaborations', *Research Policy*, Vol. 31, No. 5, pp. 749–767.

Cummings, J.N., and Kiesler, S., 2005, 'Collaborative Research across Disciplinary and Organizational Boundaries', *Social Studies of Science*, Vol. 35, No. 5, pp. 703–722.

D'Este, P., Guy, F., and Iammarino, S., 2012, 'Shaping the Formation of University–Industry Research Collaborations: What Type of Proximity Does Really Matter?' *Journal of Economic Geography*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 537–558.

Gazni, A., and Didegah, F., 2011, 'Investigating Different Types of Research Collaboration and Citation Impact: A Case Study of Harvard University's Publications', *Scientometrics*, Vol. 87, No. 2, pp. 251–265.

Gordan, M.D., 1980, 'A Critical Reassessment of Inferred Relations between Multiple Authorship, Scientific Collaboration, the Production of Papers and Their Acceptance for Publication', *Scientometrics*, Vol. 2, pp. 193–210.

Grey, M., and Connolly, C.A., 2008, '"Coming Together, Keeping Together, Working Together": Interdisciplinary to Transdisciplinary Research and Nursing', *Nursing Outlook*, Vol. 56, pp. 102–107.

Hicks, D.M., Isard, P.A., and Martin, B.R., 1996, 'A Morphology of Japanese and European Corporate Research Networks', *Research Policy*, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 359–378.

Hoch, P.K., 1987, 'Migration and the Generation of New Scientific Ideas', *Minerva*, Vol. 25, pp. 209–237.

Howells, J.R., 1995, 'Going Global: The Use of ICT Networks in Research and Development', *Research Policy*, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 169–184.

Huang, M.H., and Lin, C.S., 2010, 'International Collaboration and Counting Inflation in the Assessment of National Research Productivity', *Proceedings of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, Vol. 47, No. 1, pp. 1–4.

Institute of Medicine and National Research Council, 1989, *The Responsible Conduct of Research in the Health Sciences*, Washington D.C.: The National Academies Press. https://doi.org/10.17226/1388

Katz, J.S., and Martin, B.R., 1997, 'What Is Research Collaboration?' *Research Policy*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 1–18.

Kent, N., and Facer, K., 2004, 'Different Worlds? A Comparison of Young People's Home and School ICT Use', *Journal of Computer Assisted Learning*, Vol. 20, pp. 440–455.

Kodama, F., 1992, 'Technology Fusion and the New R&D', *Harvard Business Review*, July–August, pp. 70–78.

Kuhn, T.S., 1970, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Liao, C.H., 2011, 'How to Improve Research Quality? Examining the Impacts of Collaboration Intensity and Member Diversity in Collaboration Networks', *Scientometrics*, Vol. 86, No. 3, pp. 747–761.

Lin, M.-C., Wang, P.-Y., and Lin, I.-C., 2012, 'Pedagogy Technology: A Two-Dimensional Model for Teachers' ICT Integration', *British Journal of Educational Technology*, Vol. 43, pp. 97–108.

Liu, S.M., and Qianli, Y., 2015, 'The Evolution of the Information and Communication Technology in Public Administration', *Public Administration and Development*, Vol. 35, No. 2, pp. 140–151.

Lowther, D.L., Inan, F.A., Daniel Strahl, J., and Ross, S.M., 2008, 'Does Technology Integration "Work" When Key Barriers Are Removed?' *Educational Media International*, Vol. 45, No. 3, pp. 195–213.

Mattsson, P., Laget, P., Nilsson, A., and Sundberg, C.J., 2008, 'Intra-EU vs. Extra-EU Scientific Co-Publication Patterns in EU', *Scientometrics*, Vol. 75, No. 3, pp. 555–574.

Munnolli, S., 2005, 'Harnessing the Online Resources: A Case Study of ScienceDirect in India', *The Information and Library Review*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 353–363.

Obioha, J., 2005, 'The Role of ICT in Information Seeking and Use amongst Research Officers in Research Institutes in Nigeria: The Nigerian Institute for Oceanography and Marine Research Institute Experience', *International Information and Library Review*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 303–314. DOI: 10.1080/10572317.2005.10762688

Sang, G., Valcke, M., van Braak, J., Tondeur, J., and Zhu, C., 2011, 'Predicting ICT Integration into Classroom Teaching in Chinese Primary Schools: Exploring the Complex Interplay of Teacher Related Variables', *Journal of Computer Assisted Learning*, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 160–172.

Shan Fu, J., 2013, 'ICT in Education: A Critical Literature Review and its Implications', *International Journal of Education and Development Using Information and Communication Technology (IJEDICT)*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp. 112–125.

Smith, M., 1958, 'The Trend toward Multiple Authorship in Psychology', *American Psychologist*, Vol. 13, pp. 596–599.

Subramanyam, K., 1983, 'Bibliometric Studies of Research Collaboration: A Review', *Journal of Information Science*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 33–38.

Tezci, E., 2011, 'Factors that Influence Preservice Teachers' ICT Usage in Education', *European Journal of Teacher Education*, Vol. 34, pp. 483–499.

Weert, T.V., and Tatnall, A., 2005, *Information and Communication Technologies and Real-Life Learning: New Education for the New Knowledge Society*, New York: Springer.

JHEA/RESA Vol. 16, Nos 1&2, 2018, pp. 95-114

(ISSN 0851–7762)

Moving beyond Poststructural Paralysis: Articulating an Ethic of Diaspora Collaboration

Nelson Masanche Nkhoma*

Abstract

Scholars in African higher education agree on the importance of collaboration with scholars in the diaspora. Despite this agreement, two major obstacles affect the implementation of collaboration: the politics of identity and difference and the common view of ethics as power. Literature on diaspora and collaborations tends to gloss over fundamental issues on the ethics of collaborations. In this article I reflect on how these two points of paralysis can be overcome by adopting an African humanist ethic that can drive the building of functional institutions to foster collaboration between and among scholars in Africa and those in diaspora. The article argues that in order to contribute to meaningful development in Africa, scholars need to move beyond the politics of identity and ethics as oppressive power.

Keywords: diaspora, Africa, higher education, poststructuralism, collaboration, ethics

Résumé

Les savants dans l'enseignement supérieur africain, conviennent de l'importance de la collaboration avec les savants de la diaspora. Malgré cet accord, deux grands obstacles affectent la mise en œuvre de la collaboration : les politiques de l'identité et de la différence et la conception commune de l'éthique en tant que pouvoir. La littérature sur la diaspora et la collaboration a tendance à minimiser les questions fondamentales sur l'éthique de la collaboration. Dans cet article, je réfléchis à la façon dont ces deux entraves peuvent être surmontées en adoptant une éthique humaniste africaine qui peut motiver l'établissement d'institutions fonctionnelles pour encourager la collaboration entre les savants en Afrique et ceux de la diaspora. Cet article fait valoir que pour contribuer au développement véritable de l'Afrique, les savants doivent dépasser la politique de l'identité et de l'éthique en tant que pouvoir oppressif.

Mots-clés : diaspora, Afrique, enseignement supérieur, poststructuralisme, collaboration, éthique

* University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. Email: nnkhoma@uwc.ac.za

Introduction

The power of the global diaspora is a critical issue in African higher education. According to Aikins and White (2011), education is one of the strategies through which states can draw from the diaspora. An important aspect of the diaspora in education is the debate on how to facilitate collaboration and tap resources from the diaspora for local higher education in Africa. The general attitude, however, toward the political economy of diaspora involvement in African higher education institutions seems to be one of ambivalence. As Mahroum (2001) indicates, diaspora collaboration raises ethical questions of competition for a skilled workforce due to brain drain and brain gain. The concept of the diaspora adds to this uncertainty because of its negative connotation of forced resettlement of groups of people. When it comes to scholars in Africa collaborating with scholars in the diaspora, ethical issues raised by power and intellectual and cultural differences have been major causes of concern.

Nonetheless, an ethic of collaboration[1] is important but it can also create roadblocks to achieving set goals. The importance of ethics in collaborations comes from the need for equitable, fair and just projects that produce a common good. The major challenge with an ethic of collaboration is how to find a common mechanism to achieve the common good. This has, to a certain extent, resulted in abandoning discussions about ethics and avoiding diasporic collaboration among African scholars altogether. Diaspora collaboration with local scholars is avoided in African higher education because of the entrenchment of poststructuralism as a prevailing intellectual ethic in academia.[2] For instance, the poststructural ethic as it affects diaspora collaborations was shown by Ho, Boyle and Yeoh (2015), who question policies that view diaspora actors as having essentially pragmatic and instrumental efforts to incubate, reinforce, connect and transfer resources from/through diaspora territories to homelands. They argue that diaspora strategies are ethically problematic because they take the diaspora–homeland relationship as utilitarian. The ethic of collaboration that they propose, however, is exactly what might limit collaboration. They advocate for a feminist care ethic to nurture collaborative relationships for the public good (Ho et al. 2015). I will demonstrate that this cultural politics of identity and view of power in collaboration does little to promote collaboration as it emphasises the divisive ethic of difference, an unnecessary paralysis that comes with poststructuralist scepticism.

Kagan's (1991) definition of collaboration, although she used it in a different educational context, can serve better to describe what I mean by diaspora collaborations. She refers to it as organisational and inter-organisational structures where resources, power and authority are shared and where people are brought together to achieve common goals that could

not be accomplished by a single individual or organisation independently (Kagan 1991). The key issues here are decentralisation of power, authority and structures to accomplish common goals. Examples of objectives of local African scholars and those in diaspora collaboration include: exchange of scientific information; exchange of personnel such as scientists and technical staff for training under the projects; combined accomplishment of project goals; and organisation of education sessions, scientific meetings, symposia, seminars, workshops and conferences to identify, understand or deal with critical problems (Ionescu 2006). General observation, however, shows that usually these goals do not play out in neutral ways. The exchange can be stated as follows: local collaborators provide information while the diaspora partner extracts information from locals. Diaspora scholars provide technical and scientific staff, while the local African scholars are recipients. It is this understanding of power differentials in collaborations that makes it challenging for scholars to move forward with meaningful projects.

In this article, I argue that two major problems have paralysed collaborations and partnerships between African scholars and those in the diaspora. To elaborate this problem further, this article conceptualises two stumbling blocks that obstruct the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa's (CODESRIA) diaspora support initiative and its desire to promote collaboration: the stumbling block of seeing ethics and knowledge as power, and the stumbling block of a culture of politics of identity. I address each of these in turn. This article asks: Can collaboration be conceptualised beyond these roadblocks? If so, what kind of ethic follows from such a rethinking? The article suggests a way of moving forward by adopting an ethics of ubuntu in collaboration.

Stumbling Block of Cultural Politics of Identity and Difference

Who is a scholar in the diaspora? How does one become a scholar in the diaspora? Is the diaspora gendered? How long does one continue to be in the diaspora? What ethical values do those in the diaspora follow? All these questions arise in defining a multifaceted reality of diaspora, a term that is riddled with cultural, political, economic, social, religious and identity differences. Disputes and conflict that arise from these issues make the diaspora ethic of collaboration a complicated one. Ionescu (2006) shows this stumbling block first by noting that there is no single accepted definition[3] of the term 'diaspora'; neither is there legal recognition of the term, which has consequently given rise to many different meanings and interpretations. The term 'diaspora' conveys multiple, complicated characteristics that raise many issues, among them:

- The idea of transnational populations living in a host land while still maintaining relations with their homelands;
- Different ways countries refer to their 'diasporas': nationals abroad, permanent immigrants, citizen of X origin living abroad, non-resident of X origin, persons of X origin, expatriates, transnational citizens;
- Issues of time, place of birth and citizenship, as well as subtle questions of identity and belonging (e.g. when does a 'migrant' cease to be one and become part of the 'diaspora'?);
- Identity and belonging: being part of a diaspora implies a sense of identification with a group or the feeling of belonging to a certain identity; and
- Symbolic inclusion and actual inclusion (legislative and institutional realities.

The concept of diaspora unravels even further when concepts of higher education and Africa are attached to it. It is still unclear what one would refer to when talking about the African academic diaspora. This conceptualisation has a direct impact on the formulation of academic institutional policies of collaboration. It is precisely for this reason that Zeleza (2010) states that the incorporation of very different groups in a common identity addressed as 'diaspora' may lead to a dilution of the concept. Although Ionescu (2006) and Zeleza (2010) highlight the contextual dimension of diaspora collaboration and call for flexible definitions that take into account both concrete (citizenship, length of stay, rights) and intangible matters (feeling of identity, perceptions and trust), they do not fully address the question of ethics. Under what ethical framework would diaspora–local collaborations operate?

The question of ethics brings to the fore another set of complexities that can explain the problems African scholars face in instituting collaboration with the diaspora. Most of what we know today about ethics and their implications comes from Western philosophy. Aristotle, for example, thought of ethics in the form of virtue. He divided virtue into two kinds: moral virtue and intellectual virtue. These typologies are crucial in discussing collaboration because they highlight the complicated link between individual and group ethical acts. Apart from considering virtue in general, Aristotle also considered the particular moral or ethical virtues of courage, temperance and justice. In addition, he dealt at length with such characteristics as liberality, magnificence, pride and ambition. Aristotle also created a separate category of virtues: art, prudence, science, understanding (intuition) and wisdom.

Plato, however, did not distinguish between moral and intellectual virtues. He suggested four cardinal virtues: courage, temperance, justice and wisdom. Of these, Aristotle regarded the first three as moral virtues and the fourth as an intellectual virtue. What we learn from Aristotle and Plato is that ethics can be looked at in multiple ways. For example, we can focus on individual or group ethics and how they interrelate for the common good. From other scholars of ethics and philosophy of law and jurisprudence, such as Kant, Hegel, Lacan and Marx, we learn about the complexity of ethics, their variability and arbitrariness.

Although there is a general acknowledgement of the contested nature of ethical approaches, very little consideration has been given to alternative ethical thought. It is important to point out, as succinctly stated by Molefi Kete Asante (1987), that Western standards of science, politics, culture and, most importantly, ethics have been imposed as interpretative measures on other cultures, making collaboration even among African scholars difficult. Asante (1987) rightly observes that proponents of the logic of scientific discovery as a leading intellectual thought on several topics, ethics included, are reductionist and often incapable of adequately dealing with a broad range of subjects of collaboration. He emphasises the need for an accommodating, flexible frame of ethics that permits this dynamic. He proposes using Afrocentricity (the theory of social change), which denotes the Afrocentric study of African concepts, issues, behaviours and problems. Afrocentricity involves the systematic exploration and consideration of relationships, social codes, cultural and commercial customs, and oral traditions and proverbs. It also includes interpretation of communicative behaviours as expressed in discourse, spoken or written, and music. Afrology, it may be inferred from Asante (1987), deals with the variability and contested nature of ethics by focusing on three postures that one can take with respect to the human condition: feeling, knowing and acting. Afrology recognises these three stances as interrelated, not separate. As exemplified by Plato and Aristotle in European or Western approaches to ethics, these are normally recognised as affective, cognitive and conative. According to Asante (1987), the affective component deals with a person's feelings, of liking or disliking, about an object or idea. The cognitive refers to how an object is perceived and its conceptual connotation. Conative is the person's behavioural tendencies regarding an object. The importance of Afrology to ethics in collaboration is that it calls for a rejection of a totalising and oppressive ethic that devalues anything non-Western.

While taking an Afrocentric approach may help deal with the issues of Western ethics as a dominant guideline, it does not solve the problem of variability and the contested nature of ethics in collaboration. Reinhold

Niebuhr's (1932) contribution to social theory explains this quandary better than most. In his book *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, he argues against the moralistic idea that good individuals filled with love for others and driven by ethical characteristics and virtue could change the world and enable justice to prevail and hence promote effective collaboration. Rather, he asserts that nations or people, which in this case can refer to institutions and their actors driving collaborations, are concerned with power and control and thus are motivated by selfish interests. In politically contested environments people strive for what may appear to be justice for them but not for others, which makes collaboration a challenging endeavour. While this observation might be true, it is crucial to point out that even prominent cultural appraisers of injustice such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Marcus Garvey, Chinua Achebe and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, among many others, still believed in the possibility and potential of people to act kindly, justly and ethically and saw the need to harness the collaboration potential between local and diasporic Africans. In actual fact, Niebuhr believed in the goodness of people and love fostering justice or ethical acts, but recognised the difficulty of achieving this in the context of powerful institutions and nations.

The impediments of the cultural politics of identity and difference, at least as they may relate to the current problem of collaboration, are better articulated by Cornel West (1990) in 'The New Cultural Politics of Difference'. Martín Alcoff's (2011) article 'An Epistemology for the Next Revolution' made similar observations. Both West and Martín Alcoff suggest that identity politics has entangled scholars in a tornado of identities that make it nearly impossible to find common ground towards a struggle for liberation. West (1990:19) describes the entanglement as follows:

> The distinctive features of the new cultural politics of difference are to trash the monolithic and homogenous in the name of diversity, multiplicity and specific and particular; and to historicize, contextualize and pluralize by highlighting the contingent, provisional, variable, tentative, shifting and changing. Needless to say, these gestures are not new in the history of criticism or art, yet what makes them novel – along with the cultural politics they produce – is how and what constitutes difference, the weight and gravity it is given in representation and the way in which highlighting issues like extremism, empire, class, race, gender, sexual orientation, age, nation, and region at this historical moment acknowledges some discontinuity and disruption from previous forms of cultural critique.

In no other area than feminist critiques of social reality has this polarisation in collaboration been observed so well. Haraway (1991:154), a prominent feminist scholar, articulates this observation succinctly:

> It has become so difficult to name one's feminism by a single adjective or even to insist in every circumstance upon the noun. Consciousness of exclusion through naming is acute. Identities seem contradictory, partial, and strategic. With the hard-won recognition of their social and historical constitution, gender, race, and class cannot provide the basis for belief in 'essential' unity.

What this means, for example, is that there is nothing about being scholars, either from Africa or from the diaspora, that one can imagine to naturally bind them together under the same ethical construct.

Lemert (1999) highlights eight important conceptions of postmodern epistemology that have to a great extent characterised current intellectual thought, which, as I argue, has made it hard for collaboration among African and diaspora scholars. These are:

- Understanding current transitions in epistemological terms or as dissolving epistemology altogether;
- Focusing upon the centrifugal tendencies of current social transformations and their dislocating character;
- Seeing the self as dissolved or dismembered by the fragmenting of experiences;
- Arguing for the contextuality of truth claims or seeing them as 'historical';
- Theorising powerlessness which individuals feel in the face of globalising tendencies;
- Seeing the 'emptying' of day-to-day life as a result of the intrusion of abstract systems;
- Regarding coordinated political engagement as precluded by the primary or contextual and dispersal; and
- Defining postmodernity as the end of epistemology, the individual and, most importantly, ethics.

These foundational precepts of postmodernist thought have, on a positive note, been credited with changing international development and academia. Theories on capacity development and partnerships (collaborations), for instance, which were originally developed to understand and improve North–South cooperation, stress the importance of contextualisation and ownership. This has transformed homogenous university institutions into ones of multiple colours, thoughts, methods, disciplines and ethics founded on diversity and difference (Martín Alcoff 2011). No longer, therefore, can partnerships or collaboration be driven by one dominant and oppressive ethic. An excellent example of this major change within the

academy is in the form of demands for an ethic of liberatory scholarship produced through the creation and institutionalisation of partnership and collaborations of inquiry in women's and gender and sexuality studies, racial and ethnic studies, postcolonial studies, disability studies, diaspora studies and others. However, what is critical is that over time, as West (1990), Haraway (1991), Lemert (1999) and Martín Alcoff (2011) have shown, we have witnessed a slow erosion of the unity that grounded the various collaborations demanding meaningful change. Although various groups of people agree and know the importance of dealing with issues of poverty, war, disease and climate change, we still lack an ethic of cooperation to deal with these challenges meaningfully, especially in the African higher education sector. Martín Alcoff (2011:77) states that:

> The intellectual basis for the demand to decolonize the academy has been eroded by sceptical, postmodern philosophies that have called into question the founding terms such as humanism, identity, progress, truth, and liberation. Postmodernism is a movement that I would credit with opening up new ways to diagnose the causes of oppression and to critique domination, but it has also resulted, particularly in the humanities, in a demoralization and confusion about what unites our diverse constituencies, what language we can use to make demands, and what vision we are working toward, just as it has called into question the ability to invoke any 'we' here at all.

West's (1990) and Martín Alcoff's (2011) insight is crucial for thinking about diaspora and African collaboration in higher education as they assert that identity politics are always thought of as divisive and undesirable in collaboration. Martín Alcoff, like West, questions claims about the divisiveness and undesirability of identity politics. Such a monolithic rejection of identity politics, I argue, is a major impediment to an ethic of collaboration that needs to be avoided. Martín Alcoff shows that there is simply not sufficient evidence for the absoluteness with which the critics of identity politics have assumed that strongly felt identities always tend toward separatism. For collaboration to happen there is a strong need to move past this intellectual tradition and embrace a new ethic of collaboration in African higher education. Moving forward, scholars must move beyond the usually false dualisms that, for example, see all men, Western scholars or scholars in the diaspora as the oppressive other that cannot be ethically trusted or collaborated with. While valuing the disciplines, identities and multiple epistemological differences in African higher education, there is a strong need to move beyond these imaginary boundaries to institute real and effective collaboration practices. This is what Kagan (1989) has expressed as the limits of morality.

In his seminal essay 'The African Academic Diaspora in the United States and Africa: The Challenges of Productive Engagement', Zeleza (2004) demonstrates this poststructural paralysis that makes it difficult to forge an ethic of collaboration. In the essay, he shows the institutional, intellectual, ideological and individual nuances that can be manifested in a diasporic collaboration process. He shows this using history and contemporary diasporic trends in academic knowledge production and linkages with Africa. The essay makes four key points. It begins by trying to define the diaspora to distinguish between dispersal and diaspora and the historic and contemporary diasporas and the connections between them. The second point he makes is to contextualise the academic diaspora to show the institutional, intellectual, ideological and individual dynamics of diasporic knowledge production. Third, he shows how history connected the diasporic academic interface during and after the colonial era in Africa. The fourth point he makes is to question types of the contemporary African academic diaspora. In a true poststructuralist sense, as West (1990) and Martín Alcoff (2011) have shown, Zeleza (2004) historicises, dismantles, differentiates and dehomogenises the diaspora as a concept, process, people, identity, activities and status in relation to collaboration in higher education to show its dynamism and complexity. While helpful in many ways, his analysis makes it almost impossible to think of an ethic of diaspora collaboration as it hardly suggests how amidst these differences a pragmatic strategy could be drawn to institute an ethic of collaboration.

Stumbling Block of an Ethic of Knowledge and Power

Other than the cultural politics of difference, the discourse on power, knowledge and ethics has hampered collaborations between scholars in Africa and the diaspora. The prevailing analysis of knowledge and ethics as variable and conflicting may also be associated with the postmodernist view of reality. This overzealous exposure of so-called multiple truths, variable ethics and superfluous power by Jacques Derrida, Bruno Latour and Michel Foucault, to mention only a few, has significantly impacted the intellectual work of African scholars, especially regarding collaborations. Latour's actor–network theory complicates our understanding of power in collaboration. It exposes a major weakness in Foucault's framing of power, namely, that non-human objects can exercise power over such a group of human action. Of course, some scholars have highlighted, for instance, the influence of technology in facilitating collaborations and diaspora initiatives. As Foucault took the human/non-human object divide for granted, it is a known fact that this

also applies to most social and relational analysis today. Foucault's French compatriots Latour's and Michel Callon's insistence on non-humans as actors suggests that the ethic of diaspora and local African scholar collaboration is an even more complicated process. If the cultural politics of difference makes it so hard to think of a unity of purpose among scholars as actors, the addition of non-human actors leads to further paralysis of an ethic of diaspora collaboration. How do scholars begin to put in place an ethic of collaboration for non-human actors if they find it impossible to find common ground with human beings?

In the analysis of power as knowledge in human relations and institutions, Foucault (1979) suggests that the objective is not to analyse or understand certain forms of knowledge, in our case the ethics of diaspora collaboration, in terms of repression or law, but in terms of a network of relationships which can be seen or unseen, recognised or unrecognised. Foucault (1979) defined power first by explaining the negation of what he meant by 'power'. He viewed power not as a group of institutions and mechanisms that ensure the subservience of the citizens of a given state. Foucault also repudiated seeing power as a subjugation which in contrast to violence has the form of the rule. He also did not consider power as the domination of one group over the other. Foucault thought that it was mistaken to assume that the sovereignty of the state, the form of law or the overall unity of a domination was clearly spelled out. Rather, he argued that:

> Power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly, as the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies. Power's condition of possibility, or in any case the viewpoints which permit one to understand its exercise, even in the more 'peripheral' effects, and which also make it possible to use its mechanism as a grid of intelligibility of the social order, must not be sought in the primary existence of a central power,…: power is not an institution, and not a structure, neither is it certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society. (Foucault 1979:92)

Foucault's (1979) brilliant critique of central power has opened the possibility for many scholars to think critically about the complicated nature of the power dynamics imbued in collaborations and ethics of collaborating.

Foucault's ideas and those of many that followed in his wake have directly or indirectly influenced various methodological, epistemological and ethical approaches that scholars in Africa and the diaspora have heavily drawn from. The social sciences and humanities have been heavily influenced by Foucault's ideas. While not openly referencing Foucault or Latour, Meyer (2001) draws on evidence of case studies on intellectual diaspora networks. His paper tries to show that highly skilled expatriate networks, through a connectionist approach linking diaspora members with their countries of origin, turn the brain drain into a brain gain. His argument is that these persons and groups of diaspora provide original information that questions conventional human capital-based assumptions. He argues that the idea of network opens interesting perspectives for understanding and managing global skills' circulation. Like Foucault's explanation of power being diffuse, he suggests an expanded version of the network approach, referring to actors and intermediaries, of which diaspora traditional kinship ties are part, showing a systematic associative dynamic. While this network approach offers a more interesting way to look at diaspora collaboration, it does not offer a unified ethic of diaspora collaboration other than just showing that a network analysis of diaspora can revert brain drain into brain gain. Having analysed the wide network of actors, how then do we begin to initiate a collaborative ethic? Is it necessary and possible to think of such an ethic?

Foucault states that 'power relations are both intentional and nonsubjective' (1979:93). Thinking of ethics as power similarly presupposes that an ethic of collaboration is driven by objectives and that these objectives are cross-cutting and apply to all involved. Often the challenge within collaborations, especially between African scholars and those from other distant places, be it of African origin or otherwise, is that partners are always ensnared in a form of battle that seeks to identify whose ethics matter and whose ethical principles should count. Usually, we tend to think of scholars from the diaspora in Western institutions as having a just, legally binding and more democratic ethic of collaboration while those in Africa are seen as unjust, corrupt and autocratic. While this might sometimes be the case, it is important to state that what is ethical, good or bad is usually value laden. Therefore, it is very hard to decide which ethical approach to follow and it is itself engulfed in ethical questions. It is usually in this context that one sees the challenge with the current intellectual and epistemological frameworks that drive collaborations of Africans and scholars in the diaspora. This critical awareness of the power of ethics and the sources of ethical practices of collaboration threatens to stifle the quest for collaboration as people get ensnared in the analysis of power. Suffice to

say that in forging collaborations, we ought to take more seriously Asante's (1987:11) Afrological view that 'any interpretation of African culture must begin at once to dispense with the notion that, in all things, Europe is teacher and Africa is pupil'. It does not automatically follow that by being a scholar from the diaspora one is imbued with virtues, morals and an ethic that will make a successful collaboration. At the same time, it does not help to spend energy framing and deciding where power comes from, what we call it and what language to use in framing a collaboration.

Foucault (1979) highlights another important point when thinking about power which may result in misunderstanding ethics as power, hence affecting the drive for collaborations. He states that 'where there is power there is resistance, and yet or consequently, this resistance is never in apposition of exteriority in relation to power' (1979:92). As stated previously, resistance to ethics in collaborations can be due to a number of factors, which may include: lack of clear guidelines, loopholes in codes of conduct, unfamiliarity with social and cultural practices or outright rejection for the sake of rejection. Foucault's elaborations of this nature of resistance to power caution against thinking of power as a mere winner takes all in a zero-sum game of control. This is important in understanding ethics as power in collaborations because of what he calls the relational character of power. As is true for power, ethics can indeed be resisted and more often than not ignored and outright bleached. This equally applies to collaborations where resistance to ethics can take many forms. Foucault points out that resistance to power, just like resistance to ethical conduct, is present everywhere in the power–ethics nexus. He states that there is no single locus of great refusal. Instead, there is a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case.

A misinterpretation of this view then often leads to questioning why ethics should matter in collaborations since we know that there is no central authority to enforce ethics and that these efforts may be outright resisted. Understanding ethics in collaboration as power, with multiple and plural points of resistance, allows us to realise the challenges that come with ethical behaviour. One such challenge is choosing a unilaterally agreed upon framework to follow in the process of collaboration. It also allows us to realise that such a framework does not have to come from one source. Various partners can be sources of resistance – founder, parent institutions, owners of institutions, local collaborators and those in the diaspora. This awareness, therefore, moves actors to realise various points of resistance and move towards targeting the exact places where the particular obstacle to ethical approaches might arise. Similarly, varying points of power or resistance should help to level the playing field by engaging all partners

in a collaborative project. This is particularly critical in trying to avoid collaborations that tend to view some group of collaborators, especially those from the diaspora, as more readily transparent, accountable, ethical and better knowing, resourced and more technically savvy than their local counterparts. Collaborations that tend to position one partner as better than the other already raise ethical questions for the common good.

Although the power–knowledge–network analysis is important in thinking about the ethics of diaspora collaboration, Hartsock (1987) shows us how this postmodernist worldview of diffused power and micro politics might weaken the basis for collaborative action. She highlights how postmodernism, as represented by Foucault and others, tends to weaken the political action of collaboration that seeks to fight injustice because it merely ends at the level of analysis. She adds that postmodern theories' understanding of power does not provide adequate guidance on how to end injustices. This therefore puts African collaborators in a fix. The problems facing Africa today, like in the rest of the world, are enormous: HIV/AIDS, access to basic and higher education, housing, infrastructure, food security, climate change, and many others. To support Hartsock's point, there has been a lot of discussion about these problems at an analysis level but very little action and change has been put in place to end injustice and suffering. Scholars in Africa and those in the diaspora have used higher education as a platform to debate these issues. While efforts have been made in some places to use diaspora and local scholars, including students, there is opportunity to do much more beyond mere academic criticism. Hartsock's Marxist perspective suggests that we need to move beyond this analysis of power, ethics, class, gender, diaspora and so on and start to act to bring about real change. Her pertinent call is that we should take off our philosopher hoods and gowns and put on plumbers' boots and gloves and engage in the common fight for change. While our cultures, identities, politics, nationalities, scholarships, disciplines, epistemologies, methodologies and diaspora histories might be different, contested, partial and multiple, we ought to create a common ethic of collaboration that will bring about real change.

Community-Engaged Scholarship in Malawi Public Universities: A Case of Roadblocks in Collaboration

Case study research provides adequate evidence of this paralysis and lack of action in collaboration between local scholars and those in the diaspora. Here I draw on my personal experiences and my own research conducted in Malawi while studying at an institution of higher learning in the diaspora.

Although my study did not aim to specifically examine collaboration between local African scholars and those in the diaspora, the research findings provide evidence on how the politics of identity and the power–knowledge interpretation impact collaboration in African universities. Between 2013 and 2014, I conducted a study of community-engaged scholarship in Malawian public universities. I used a survey questionnaire and in-depth interviews with 115 faculty members in three public universities. I was interested to learn what drives and motivates faculty to conduct community-engaged scholarship. The latter was defined as the strategic collaboration of African faculty with local, international or global community partners to solve real problems of different kinds. What I discovered was emblematic of the two barriers I have discussed here: the stumbling block of the cultural politics of identity, and the lack of initiative to confront the injustices in a unified and concerted way due to some fixed power–knowledge nexus interpretations.

Although faculty members had various interesting projects in their local communities, ranging from water management, reproductive health and agricultural production to education and legal projects, they were mostly limited in scope. Faculty members pointed out that socioeconomic issues, the pressure for promotion and advancing their academic careers and discipline were some of the driving factors for collaborating with local and international communities.

What characterised most of these projects, however, was a strong mistrust of the university and international donor institutions. This mistrust was primarily due to universities not offering adequate funding for community engagement and research. Funding for major projects depended on international donors. At the same time, universities and donor institutions were seen as interlocked in a complicated power chain, with faculty caught in this inescapable power gridlock in which partners fought for scarce resources. Most importantly, faculty members pointed out that integrating various stakeholder powers and unifying them towards one particular action of change was the most difficult thing to do. Even within the universities, although some faculty members managed to forge some interdisciplinary projects in collaboration with various scholars in the diaspora, it was a challenge for faculty to operate from their departments due to differences in methods and approaches in the different disciplines, as well as issues of accountability and academic transparency. Faculty members also pointed out that it was challenging to win the trust of specific interest groups in the context of identity politics. This was made complex because donors funding community-engaged projects preferred basic science over humanities. Worse still, searching for funds was a real challenge as faculty members had to justify their projects by focusing on one specific

group, such as women or children (Nkhoma 2014). Moreover, there was a conspicuous absence of any systematic collaboration between scholars in Africa and others in the diaspora working on implementing social change through community engagement. In terms of challenges in conducting community-engaged scholarship, faculty highlighted the sense of powerlessness due to the globalising tendencies of funding regimes, considering that they had to look outward to big funding organisations and institutions for support, expertise, resources and collaborators for their projects, which were nonetheless not forthcoming. These findings are supported by studies in other countries that looked at the role of the diaspora in home country education sectors. Studies of diaspora involvement in their countries show that although they combine capabilities from different backgrounds, they continue to distinguish between home and host country, as theories on transnationalism suggest (see Faist 2010; Guo 2013; Vertovec 2010).

These observations raise a number of critical questions as we think about promoting an ethic of collaboration between African scholars and those in the diaspora. What strategies, then, can faculty in Africa use to go beyond identity politics and deal with these diffuse power differentials? What ethics might be helpful and useful in a new approach? The postmodernist view of the ethics of identity and cultural difference and knowledge as power, with multiple loci of control, ought not to merely end in paralysis. Instead, this understanding, informed by a nuanced perspective from various epistemologies, such as standpoint theories of power and ethics, should propel us to seek a new unifying epistemology of the ethics of collaboration. We should not give up on the human cause based on discourse and language. While language and the concepts it constitutes have brought out an oppressive history, we can also draw from the same power to constitute a revolutionary collaboration for the common good. These new frontiers of collaboration will make African higher education humanistic and ethical. I now move on to suggest adopting ubuntu as an ethic of collaboration as a way to overcome the barriers of cultural politics of identity and the assumption of ethics and collaborations as mere hotbeds of bureaucratic power.

Ubuntu as an Ethic of Diaspora Collaboration

What should African and diaspora scholars do? While no one framework is best positioned to resolve the dilemmas this article has highlighted, it is important to propose an alternative ethic that African-based scholars can draw from in collaborating with those in the diaspora. One interesting ethic of collaboration that applies to various sectors and would help strengthen diaspora collaboration is ubuntu (humanity). The ubuntu ethic, when applied

to collaboration in an education setting, presupposes a mutually dependent link involving various actors and the community at large (Muxe Nkondo 2007). Individuals are finite beings, an end in and of themselves; yet, they are also a crucial part of the community and the educational set-up in which they live and thrive. The community might include immediate and distant family members, neighbours, clan and larger society (Coetzee and Roux 2004; Musopole 1994). Ubuntu as an ethic of cooperation also promotes awareness to human and non-human actors. While individuals have an important role, the institutions in which they operate should move beyond divisive diversity frameworks to facilitate collaboration among scholars in the diaspora and Africa.

The matrix of the ubuntu ethic of collaboration contains the primary elements of ubuntu, which include: sharing, sympathy, empathy, tolerance, caring, compassion, solidarity, sensitivity to the needs of others, warmth, understanding and acts of kindness (Prinsloo 1998). While acknowledging that these elements are innumerable, major elements of an ubuntu-based collaboration system would thus encompass factors like communication, consultation, compromise, cooperation, camaraderie, conscientiousness and compassion, with a view to bridging diverse academic views or cultures as an ethic of reciprocity (Mbeki 2006; Chiwoza, 2010).

Strategies in education collaboration with the diaspora, such as research, conferences, seminars, evaluation, projects and others, must be driven by such an ethic for real collaboration to happen. Ubuntu also provides an important way of solving the identity politics and the paralysis over power relations. This is in some part rooted in the concept of forgiveness. This is very important in diaspora relations, which have usually been caused by despotic governments, wars and corruption. While it is acknowledged that other kinds of diasporic movements are positively self-induced and driven by a desire to seek new opportunities, the majority of African diaspora academics were forced out of their home countries because of war, discrimination or violence. Thus, scholars and collaborators come to these relationships with negative memories, mistrust and histories of oppression that need to be dealt with if a real ethic of collaboration is to be forged. Suffice to repeat and emphasise forgiveness, not forgetfulness. This is the initiative that drove, for example, the truth and reconciliation movement in South Africa after the fall of the white supremacist regime. What the ethic of ubuntu did for South Africa was to acknowledge the power differences and multiple identities and horrendous historical acts that came about with the oppression of women, Africans and black people, and to establish a new approach to collaboration through building forgiveness and a background for working together.

This is not to naively suggest that ubuntu is an easy fix of the long list of horrible events and problems historically facing our communities. Rather, ubuntu offers a framework within which African scholars and those in the diaspora can cooperate to deal with the problems that threaten our very existence and avoid being snared by the divisive philosophies of difference and power. By dealing with the evils of the past and instituting a way forward, ubuntu offers a platform for change, not just mere analysis of oppression and continuing with things as they have always been. As noted, diaspora as a concept referring to a group of people is itself problematic. It encompasses a broad range of people who find themselves out of their homelands for various reasons that warrant their valid distrust of returning or collaborating with the people and places they regard as responsible for the challenges they face. With ubuntu as an ethic of cooperation and forgiveness, a peaceful resolution of the past can propel people in the diaspora to reconnect and contribute to solving African problems, especially in higher education and development.

Ubuntu is centred on trust. Due to various academic worldviews and policies, negative perceptions can be real obstacles to diaspora collaboration in African higher education development, given that bitterness, suspicion, reluctance, resentment, stigmatisation or discrimination can arise equally within the diaspora and the home country or governments. With an ubuntu ethic of collaboration, trust is strengthened through positive communication and through particular measures responding to academic diaspora requests (academic freedom, citizenship rights, property rights, telecommunication infrastructure development, etc.). Establishing dialogue through media, virtual networks, websites and visits to diasporas, as well as building a common agenda with diasporas through regular meetings and visits, requires trust and positive communication. However, symbolic inclusion through dialogue and communication needs to be backed up by real inclusion through rights and partnerships; technical arrangements might not be sufficient to build trust and collaboration. These measures will help to overcome the identity walls and power differentials.

Conclusion

Martín Alcoff (2011) rightly invokes the need for a new epistemology of liberation. I concur and equally call for a new ethic of collaboration between and among scholars in Africa and the diaspora. I have argued that this ethic of collaboration must be able to address truth and the normative project of improving the production of knowledge projects aimed at the common good of humanity. Moreover, the normative project itself requires a rearticulating of the relationship between identity, power and knowledge. If we are to

establish that our identities and positions of power make an ethically relevant difference, we must be able to articulate why and how this can be so, yet not abandon collaboration or an ethic of collaboration. Local African scholars and those in the diaspora have so much to offer to higher education, not just in Africa but across the globe. Most significantly, there is, of course, a need to take seriously this reality and act upon it, knowing, as Jürgen Habermas (1976) famously pointed out, that knowledge, and indeed our perception and views of what is ethical or not, is vested with human interest, but the emancipation of all actors, human and non-human, is the most profound.

Collaborations driven by a humanistic ethic should offer a strong foundation for African scholars and those in the diaspora to tackle the problems facing our societies today. In their book *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty*, Acemoglu and Robinson (2013) emphasise the importance of institutions in nation-building. The importance of institutions cannot be understated in cultivating an ethic of collaboration between African scholars and those in the diaspora. While various institutions promoting collaboration exist, promoting a unity of purpose and collaboration among scholars in the diaspora will need deliberate efforts to create new institutions that will lead to such work. I foresee such institutions based in various locations in Africa promoting a mandate of diaspora collaboration. CODESRIA has pushed for an agenda for diaspora collaboration. I suggest that it is time we create research institutes, think tanks, universities, companies and international non-governmental organisations staffed and operated by both locals and African diasporas to deal with various issues facing our communities. Only when such institutions are created can we begin to build an action-oriented humanist ethic of diaspora collaborations.

Notes

1. Ethics in this article refers to a combination of: (i) moral principles that govern a person's or group's behaviour. Synonyms: moral code, morals, morality, values, rights and wrongs, principles, ideals, standards (of behaviour), value system, virtues, dictates of conscience; and (ii) the knowledge that deals with moral principles.
2. For more on poststructuralism, see Lemert (1999). He credits Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault and others for the development of this intellectual tradition that has dominated academia. He points out that one should take seriously key statements that Derrida made in the 1960s which marked the central critique of modernity and the inflow of poststructural thought that focused on difference (which I argue may be contributing to the multiplicity of ethics and even distrust of ethics in collaboration in African higher education). Some of the phrases he highlights are 'absence of center', 'language invades the universal

problematic' and 'a system of difference'. Without diving deeply into Derrida's deconstruction theory, it is fair to say that scholars today and the activities they undertake, in this case collaboration, have taken seriously the three Ds: discourse, decentring and differences. Thus, in the absence of a centre or central power (intellectual or political, religious or academic), one cannot trust any knowledge, ontology or methodology or ethics because everything exists in multiple forms. As such, to avoid the problem of the diversity of ethics, the best solution is to completely abandon ethics and all things that tend to kindle ethical issues and problems.

3. For this article, I adopt the general definition of diaspora as members of ethnic and national communities who have left their homeland but maintain links with the territory they consider their origin.

References

Acemoglu, D., and Robinson, J.A., 2013, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty*, London: Profile Books.

Aikins, K., and White, N., 2011, *Global Diaspora Strategies Toolkit: Harnessing the Power of Global Diasporas*, Dublin: Diaspora Matters.

Asante, M.K., 1987, *The Afrocentric Idea*, Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Chiwoza, B., 2010. *Practical UMunthu Psychology: An Indigenous Approach to Harmonious Living*: Balaka: Montfort Media.

Coetzee, P.H., and Roux, A.P.J., eds, 2004, *The African Philosophy Reader*, London: Routledge.

Faist, T., 2010, 'Towards Transnational Studies: World Theories, Transnationalisation and Changing Institutions', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 10, pp. 1665–1687.

Foucault, M., 1979, *The History of Sexuality*, London: Allen Lane.

Guo, S., ed., 2013, *Transnational Migration and Lifelong Learning: Global Issues and Perspectives*, London: Routledge.

Habermas, J., 1976, 'The Analytical Theory of Science and Dialectics', in Theodor W. Adorno, Hans Albert, Ralf Dahrendorf, Jürgen Habermas, Harald Pilot and Karl R. Popper, *The Positivist Dispute in German Sociology*, trans. Glyn Adey and David Frisby, London: Harper & Row. pp. 131–162.

Haraway, D., 1991, 'A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century', in Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, New York: Routledge, pp. 149–182.

Hartsock, N., 1987, 'Foucault on Power: A Theory for Women?' in L.J. Nicholson, ed., *Feminism/Postmodernism*, New York: Routledge. pp. 158–172.

Ho, E.L.E., Boyle, M., and Yeoh, B.S.A., 2015, 'Recasting Diaspora Strategies through Feminist Care Ethics', *Geoforum*, Vol. 59, pp. 206–214, doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.08.004

Ionescu, D., 2006, *Engaging Diasporas as Development Partners for Home and Destination Countries: Challenges for Policymakers*, Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

Kagan, S., 1989, *The Limits of Morality*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Kagan, S.L., 1991, *United We Stand: Collaboration for Child Care and Early Education Services*, New York: Teachers College Press.

Lemert, C., ed., 1999, *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings*, 2nd ed, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Mahroum, S., 2001, 'Europe and the Immigration of Highly Skilled Labour', *International Migration*, Vol. 39, No. 5, pp. 27–43.

Martín Alcoff, L., 2011, 'An Epistemology for the Next Revolution', *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 68–78.

Mbeki, T., 2006, *State of the Nation Address 2006*. Available online at http://www.anc.org. za/ancdocs/history/mbeki/2006/tm0203.html

Meyer, J.B., 2001, 'Network Approach versus Brain Drain: Lessons from the Diaspora', *International Migration*, Vol. 39, No. 5, pp. 91–110.

Musopole, A.C., 1994, *Being Human in Africa: Toward an African Christian Anthropology*, Vol. 65, New York: Peter Lang.

Muxe Nkondo, G., 2007, 'Ubuntu as Public Policy in South Africa: A Conceptual Framework', *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 88–100.

Niebuhr, R., 1932, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*, New York: Scribner's.

Nkhoma, M.N., 2014, 'Under the Invisible Hand? Market Influences on Community-Engaged Scholarship in Malawian Higher Education', *Reconsidering Development*, Vol. 3, pp. 1–15.

Prinsloo, E.D., 1998, 'Ubuntu Culture and Participatory Management', in P.H. Coetzee and A.P.J. Roux, eds, *Philosophy from Africa: A Text with Readings*, Johannesburg: Thomson.

Ruiz, L. J., 1999. In pursuit of the body politic: Ethics, spirituality, and diaspora. *Transnational Law Contemporary Problems* 9(2), 633-652.

Vertovec, S., 2010, 'Towards Post Multiculturalism? Changing Communities, Conditions and Contexts of Diversity', *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 61, No. 199, pp. 83–95.

West, C., 1990, 'The New Cultural Politics of Difference', in R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T.T. Minh-Ha and C. West, eds, *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. pp. 19–32.

Zeleza, P.T., 2004, 'The African Academic Diaspora in the United States and Africa: The Challenges of Productive Engagement', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 261–275.

Zeleza, P.T., 2010, 'African Diasporas: Toward a Global History', *African Studies Review*, Vol. 53, No. 1, pp. 1–19. Available online at http://www.jstor.org/stable/4086310

JHEA/RESA Vol. 16, Nos 1&2, 2018, pp. 115-133

(ISSN 0851–7762)

Diaspora Collaboration and Knowledge Production in Africa: Reflections on Caveats and Opportunities

Samuel Fongwa*

Abstract

Irrespective of its conceptualisation, diaspora contributes to the development of the homelands through diverse forms of collaboration. The increase in remittances and diaspora involvement in fostering democratic values are obvious examples. A new emphasis, however, is on developing the African academia through various forms of partnership and collaboration between diaspora-based and African-based academics. A number of initiatives, funding opportunities and research partnerships to this effect are emerging. Nevertheless, these partnerships are complex and do not always translate into win-win situations, especially for institutions and academics in the global South. In this article, I reflect on some personal experiences in research collaborations as part of the diaspora and as an African-based academic. In so doing, three possible caveats in maximising the gains of diaspora partnerships in knowledge production are highlighted. I argue that while opportunities for knowledge collaboration abound, ensuring a sustainable win-win relationship in diaspora partnerships demands careful introspection at every turn.

Keywords: diaspora, collaboration, knowledge production, partnerships, Africa

Résumé

Quelle que soit sa conceptualisation, la diaspora contribue au développement des pays d'origine par le biais de diverses formes de collaboration. L'augmentation du nombre d'envois de fonds et le rôle joué par la diaspora pour promouvoir les valeurs démocratiques en sont des exemples probants. Toutefois, un nouvel accent est mis sur le développement du monde académique africain par le biais de diverses formes de partenariat et de collaboration entre les universitaires de la diaspora et les universitaires basés en Afrique. Plusieurs initiatives, possibilités de financement et partenariats de recherche à cet effet émergent actuellement. Néanmoins, ces partenariats sont

* Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), Pretoria, South Africa.
Email: sam4ngwa50@gmail.com

complexes et ne se traduisent pas toujours par des situations gagnant-gagnant dans les pays du Sud. Dans cet article, je réfléchis à certaines expériences personnelles dans les collaborations de recherche dans le cadre de la diaspora et en tant qu'universitaire basé en Afrique. Il convient toutefois, de souligner trois restrictions éventuelles à l'optimisation des avantages des partenariats avec la diaspora dans la production des connaissances. Je soutiens que si les possibilités de collaboration dans le partage des connaissances abondent, il faut constamment pratiquer une introspection méthodique, pour assurer une relation gagnant-gagnant durable dans les partenariats avec la diaspora.

Mots-clés : diaspora, collaboration, production des connaissances, partenariats, Afrique

Introduction

The contribution of the diaspora to developing economies and societies in conflict has been documented in the last decade or more by scholars and major development organisations such as the World Bank, the International Organisation for Migration and the African Union (AU), amongst others (see Vertovec 2005; Rustomjee, 2018). Diaspora contribution to development in sub-Saharan Africa has been largely in the form of remittances (AfDB/OECD/UNDP 2015; AU 2014), job creation through foreign direct investment (Plaza and Ratha 2011), poverty reduction (Newland 2004) and in mediating political unrest and conflicts (Nielsen and Riddle 2010). However, until recently, very little has been done on engaging with the diaspora in terms of developing the knowledge base in Africa from a knowledge economy perspective. Tejada and Bolay (2010) argue that, considering the demands of the knowledge economy, the movement of academic elites from the global South to the North can be seen as a threat, irrespective of the push factors responsible.

However, in addressing this threat, research partnerships and collaborations are being encouraged and supported as a growing trend in stemming brain drain while advocating for new approaches such as brain circulation (Jadotte 2012). With the need to strengthen research capacity in lagging regions such as sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, establishing research partnerships and networks with emigrants in more advanced economies and systems has significantly increased the knowledge-producing capacity of these regions. Boshoff (2010) shows that about 80 per cent of all research papers from Central Africa are produced in collaboration with a partner from outside the region, with close to half of this number published in collaboration with an academic in a European country. This signifies an increase in international collaboration and the potential of the diaspora.

Increasingly, most Western countries and organisations have emphasised the need to strengthen research collaboration through various funding and grant schemes. Some of the major research funding agencies, such as the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), the British Council, the Department for International Development, the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and South Africa's National Research Foundation, now include research collaborations between academics in the global North and the global South as a key prerequisite for successful funding proposals. There is evidence that some of these partnerships are with African academics based in the global North.

With increasing globalisation and common challenges facing humankind, collaboration and partnering in knowledge-producing efforts become vital for developing global solutions. From a diaspora perspective, Tejada and Bolay (2010) argue that the African diaspora has a significant role to play in supporting and promoting development through knowledge generation and application. They argue that:

> Retrieving the value and resources of emigrated scientist and professionals, either through physical or virtual exchanges, along with the strengthening of a country's capacity and infrastructure to support and maintain its elites are comprehensive aspects of a brain-gain strategy for developing countries. (Tejada and Bolay 2010:xiii).

However, caution has been suggested in the process of such exchanges. While appreciating the exponential growth in collaboration and partnerships for research and knowledge production, one must recognise the fact that these partnerships are characterised by complex micro and macro political, social, cultural and contextual realities and challenges (e.g. De-Graft Aikins et al. 2012; Teferra 2009). Therefore, scholars have argued for the importance of adopting a reflexive approach to partnerships between academics in the diaspora and those in developed economies. De-Graft Aikins et al. (2012) call for academics to continuously reflect on and record the dynamics of partnerships and collaborations as both a learning process and an academic endeavour.

Especially for partnerships between African academics in the diaspora and those on the continent, this article presents personal reflections on research collaboration experiences both as an academic in the diaspora as well as one in the continent in partnership with those in the diaspora. The first part of the article provides a broad conceptualisation of the notion of diaspora, situating my understanding of diaspora. The next section presents contextual knowledge challenges facing higher education in sub-Saharan Africa. I argue that African diaspora could fill this knowledge-creation

gap through diverse forms of collaboration and partnership. Based on personal experiences in research collaboration teams as part of the diaspora and part of the African-based academe, the last section captures some of the challenges and opportunities in establishing research collaborations for sustainable knowledge production, identifying possible caveats in such partnerships. I conclude with a word of caution for both sides when designing and implementing such partnerships.

(Re)conceptualising the African Diaspora

Cohen (1997) traces the root of the term 'diaspora' to ancient Greek, formed as a composite word of two elements: *spiero* (to sow) and *dia* (over). However, the word has since gained a more negative connotation and been linked to oppression, forced displacement and an unending search for a place perceived as an authentic homeland. Diaspora as a concept has very often been linked to the traumatic experiences of the Jews (Cohen 1997) and, for Africans, the Atlantic slave trade era (Akyeampong 2000). Most discussions of diaspora, especially in Africa, lean on the works of scholars such as Safran (1991), Clifford (1994) and Cohen (1997).

Mohan and Zack-Williams (2002) have expanded the understanding of the African diaspora and its role in the development of the continent. Their conceptualisation builds on the work of Cohen (1997) and Safran (1991) to develop three understandings of diasporas. Firstly, they show from Cohen's work that not all diasporas are involuntary, thus affecting the conceptualisation of the way diasporas can contribute towards different forms of development of their 'homelands'. Therefore, it becomes important to include more voluntary and proactive movements of people and spatial connections. Secondly, Cohen argues that while Safran sees the diaspora as people who have been displaced from their homeland, to which they or their descendants should ultimately return, based on the Jewish experience, not all in the diaspora have that aspiration. The International Organisation for Migration's 2012 migration policy echoes this conceptualisation, defining diaspora as 'emigrants and their descendants, who live outside the country of their birth or ancestry, either on a temporary or permanent basis, yet still maintain affective and material ties to their countries of origin' (Agunias and Newland 2012:15). The AU emphasises the development need of these ties in its development-focused definition of diaspora as 'any person of African origin living outside Africa who wishes to contribute to the development of Africa' (Plaza and Ratha 2011:3). Diaspora, according to Cohen, therefore 'includes characteristics that see both the imagining of home and its physical well-being and rejuvenation as crucial to defining diaspora' (in Mohan and

Zack-Williams 2002:216). In Anderson's (1991) terms, unlike nation-states, diasporas are very much an 'imagined community'. A third conceptualisation of diaspora according to Cohen is the need to think about the multiplicity of sites of exile or homeland and the connections between them. This approach questions the spatiality of diaspora and rather highlights the role of relationships and networks between individuals, starting from their initial point of departure and across previous places of residence and 'home'.

Furthermore, based on this evolving and changing nature of diaspora identity relating to actual or imagined homeland, Vanore, Ragab and Siegel (2015) propose a typology for understanding diaspora. This typology characterises a number of positionalities and aspirations towards homeland development or change. The typology has been adapted in this article and informs some of the discussion and analysis of diaspora contribution to Africa's knowledge development and research objectives.

Table 1: Two possible constructs of diaspora

	Traditional conceptualisation	**Evolving or constructed conceptualisation**
Emergence of diaspora	Natural results of forced or voluntary migration	Outcome of political transnational mobilisation
Membership	Those who share collective identity and connection to homeland	Those who mobilise to engage in homeland socioeconomic and political development processes
Source of identity	Fixed: ethnic, national or religious	Evolving: multilayered and dynamic; ethnic, national, religious, gender, social class, political affiliation
Institutions and values	Fixed, unified and homogeneous	Dynamic, contested and heterogeneous
Engagement in conflict and development	Either peace maker or peace wrecker; support development or part of the hegemonic	Various in dynamic roles for conflict and development

Source: Adapted from Vanore et al. (2015)

In this article, I lean on Cohen's third notion to conceptualise diaspora dually. Firstly, I perceive the notion of African diaspora to relate to Africans living in parts of the world different from their country of birth or nationality (including the African continent). So, in a broad sense, I define diaspora to refer to a group of Africans (African academics in this case) with a shared sense

of identity and a connection to a real or imagined place or sense of origin and 'home' elsewhere (Chikezie 2011). This could be those living in other parts of the world or in other countries within the African continent. Thus, although being an African living on the African continent, I imagine my relationship to my country of birth as a diasporic relationship. Furthermore, my involvement in research projects with other academics from the global North also informs my experiences of research collaboration using a diasporic lens. Secondly, based on the time spent outside the continent during which I was privileged to be part of various research partnerships, I reflect on my research experience with colleagues in Africa to highlight some of the opportunities and challenges in enhancing diaspora partnerships in knowledge development in Africa. My double positionalities as both part of the diaspora and part of the African academe allow me to reflect from both sides of the spectrum.

Knowledge Production in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Collaborative Approach

As argued by Morgan (1997:493), 'Contemporary capitalism has reached the point where knowledge is the most strategic resource and learning the most important process.' Every successful region has positioned knowledge and learning at the centre of development planning and practice. Knowledge and academic and student collaborations and partnerships can be perceived in three broad ways: firstly, through delivering instructional material in the form of student exchange, visiting fellows, branch campuses and joint degree programmes; secondly, through cross-border research partnerships such as research projects, faculty development or accreditations; and thirdly, through harmonising curricula and operating regulations. In developing the 'Europe of Knowledge', the European Commission has called on higher education institutions to participate more actively in partnerships towards knowledge production and application (Maassen and Olsen 2007). While there are conscious efforts to enhance knowledge production through collaboration with diaspora within the sub-Saharan African region and from those outside the continent, a number of inherent challenges continue to affect the success of such collaborations. I present some of these challenges with particular reference to how they relate to one of the three forms of collaboration or partnership mentioned above.

African Union and New Partnership for Africa's Development In the mid-1990s, regional integration was emphasised by the president of Libya, Muammar Gaddafi. This call was heeded by other African presidents and led to the adoption of the AU charter via the Sirte Declaration. In 2001, the AU and the New Partnership for Africa's Development started, with the former

starting in Zambia. With an interest in higher education, the AU promoted the Plan of Action of the Second Decade of Education (2006–2016) and placed higher education as the highest priority, a shift from the focus on primary education which characterised the discourse of the previous decade. The AU has referred to the paramount role of education in promoting regional integration through inter-university cooperation and the need to mainstream education into its regional initiatives (AU 2011).

This need has been demonstrated in the revision of the Arusha Convention of 1981. The convention provided a framework for recognising studies and degrees across the continent with the view to promoting regional cooperation and the role of the diaspora through the academic mobility of students and scholars (UNESCO 1981). However, about three decades after the adoption of the convention, only twenty countries have become signatories and the expected milestones are far from being achieved. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation and the AU Commission revised the Arusha Convention in 2007 for better ratification and implementation. This necessitated creating new organisations, such as the Association for the Development of Education in Africa, to ensure the implementation of the convention. However, the absence of a functioning Credit Accumulation and Transfer System has limited the level of mobility between students, as well as the level of collaboration and partnerships between institutions.

In 2007, the AU released a draft policy, the Harmonisation of Higher Education Programmes in Africa, which aims at strengthening the capacity of higher education and improving the quality of education provision in Africa:

> The African Union Strategy for Harmonisation of higher education…will facilitate the comparability of qualifications awarded across the continent and help drive quality assurance measures which will ultimately contribute to greater quality of education in Africa. Creating a mechanism for benchmarking and comparison of qualifications will allow for professional mobility for employment and further study, as well as expanded job markets. Developing widely accepted standards for quality will also facilitate creation of centres of excellence. Harmonisation will benefit Africa, since it will allow for greater intra-regional mobility, thereby fostering increased sharing of information, intellectual resources, and research, as well as a growing ability to rely on African expertise rather than skills from elsewhere in the world. It will increase access to reliable and transparent information, and promote greater networking between all stakeholders in higher education… On a broader level, it has the potential to create a common African higher education and research space, and achieve the AU's vision that African higher education institutions become a 'dynamic force in the international arena'. (AU 2007:3–4)

Explicitly, this process is aimed at ensuring qualification portability and mobility, regional development of higher education, and regional development to address what the World Bank (1999) refers to as 'information problems' in African higher education. While there is a policy structure for collaboration, there seems to be more of an ad hoc approach with more individual initiatives.

Association of African Universities

The Association of African Universities (AAU) was established in 1967 to facilitate cooperation between African-based academics and the international academic community. It is the apex organisation and forum for consultation, exchange of information and cooperation among institutions of higher learning in Africa. It represents the voice of higher education in Africa on regional and international bodies and supports networking between institutions of higher education in teaching, research, information exchange and dissemination. The AAU has been at the forefront of initiating and supporting the repositioning of higher education in Africa as an agent for national and regional development. Considering the numerous challenges facing African universities and their limited capacity to respond to these challenges, the European University Association and the AAU argue that:

> one strategic way to address these challenges is through higher education partnerships. If…structured efficiently and sustainably, partnerships can generate research and teaching capacity, empowering universities as economic drivers and agents of knowledge transfer. Furthermore, university partnerships are a strategic means to contribute to the overall capacity development of African universities. (EUA 2010)

The need for more university partnerships between African universities at regional levels and also with European universities has not been fully recognised. This is in line with the AU's Plan of Action of the Second Decade of Education, which confirms the urgent need to revitalise African higher education institutions and promote regional cooperation. However, most members of the AU have remained passive in regards to this agenda. This demands a different approach to enhancing such collaborations. Akyeampong (2000:214) argues that 'Africa and the African diaspora stand fused in ways that have immense political, economic and social possibilities' not only for economic development and enhancing political stability, but also for knowledge-sharing and institutional revitalisation. In the southern African region, the Southern African Development Community's (SADC) Protocol on Education and Training has emerged as a framework to enhance such cooperation.

SADC Protocol on Education and Training

As mentioned, the importance and need for knowledge production has shifted to more regional blocs, as seen with the 'Europe of Knowledge'. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) are similar initiatives to enhance regional development through advancing knowledge, collaborations and competitiveness. Likewise, the signing of the SADC Protocol on Education and Training is an initiative to harness the knowledge role in an African bloc. The protocol provides the policy framework for regional cooperation and integration of the entire education sector. Concluded by SADC member states in 1997, it paves the way for educational institutions in southern Africa to cooperate with one another and to prioritise the admission of SADC students over students from non-SADC regions. This also applies to issues of fees and other aspects of academic engagement.

The establishment of the protocol was based on a number of key assumptions. Significant to this article is the realisation that knowledge and universities have become indispensable for national and regional development and that there is a need for improved and sustained cooperation and collaboration between member states. The Preamble to the protocol states that:

- No SADC member state can alone offer the full range of world-quality education and training;
- Programmes of human resource development should have a national and regional dimension; and
- Concerted efforts in education and training are needed to equip the region with the necessary competencies for the twenty-first century.

The protocol therefore encourages institutions in southern Africa to enhance regional collaboration at higher education institutions through:

- Reserving at least 5 per cent of admissions for students from SADC nations;
- Facilitating the mobility of their staff and students within the region for purposes of study, research, teaching and other pursuits relating to education and training;
- Treating SADC students as local students for purposes of fees and accommodation;
- Establishing institutional partnerships with other institutions of higher learning in SADC; and
- Encouraging the establishment of collaboration agreements between their components (SADC 1997).

The SADC leadership has gone further to establish key frameworks and committees to ensure the implementation of the protocol, including the Technical Committee on Certification and Accreditation, the SADC Qualifications Framework and the Southern African Regional Universities Association. These bodies have been assigned different tasks, all aimed at achieving a regional higher education community in the southern African region.

CODESRIA's Diaspora Programme

Within the framing of knowledge production and collaboration within the SADC region as well as in other regions on the continent, CODESRIA has developed a number of initiatives to not only support knowledge production in Africa, but also to facilitate collaboration across African countries, which has hitherto been very limited compared to collaboration between African academics and Non-African colleagues (Kotecha, Wilson-Strydom & Fongwa 2012). Boschoff (2010:500) shows that, of the research outputs produced in the region between 2005 and 2008, only 3 per cent were co-authored by researchers from two or more SADC countries, and just 5 per cent jointly authored by African academics. This is in contrast to 47 per cent of scientific papers co-authored with academics in the global North. With the objectives of promoting and facilitating knowledge production, strengthening institutions and encouraging collaboration between African academics in the continent and those beyond, CODESRIA is serving a significant knowledge production role as established in the SADC protocol. One of such programmes is the Diaspora Support programme.

With financial support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, CODESRIA has launched a new initiative aimed at strengthening partnerships and collaboration between African academics in the diaspora and those in African universities. While CODESRIA adopts a conceptualisation similar to Safran's (1991) understanding of diaspora as those who have moved from their homeland, Africa in this case, and are now in other parts of the globe, the actual implementation of the partnership has been extended to other Africans on the continent. The initiative, called African Diaspora Support to African Universities, aims, inter alia, to nurture a new generation of African scholars in a culture of excellence, and to revitalise higher education in Africa, especially the social sciences and humanities – a set of academic disciplines that has been less funded over the last decade as emphasis on STEM (science, technology,

engineering, mathematics)-related fields has increased. The programme also aims to strengthen collaborations between academics in the global North and those at African institutions, where most of those in the diaspora were based before migrating.

As many of these academics are willing to contribute to the development and knowledge-producing function of local universities, CODESRIA aims to provide the logistic support needed by these collaboration efforts, such as:

- Facilitating joint thesis supervision between local academics and those in the diaspora;
- Supporting the review and development of more relevant curricula in the social sciences and humanities fields;
- Facilitating the exchange of literature and new pedagogical processes and methods;
- Enabling diaspora academics to take up short-term teaching engagements at African universities; and
- Enabling academics in the diaspora to serve as external examiners for other university departments.

CODESRIA thus serves a leveraging role for enhancing collaboration and academic partnerships between African academics in the diaspora and those in Africa for teaching, research and knowledge-generating functions in African universities.

To conclude this section, a number of observations can be made. Firstly, the role and importance of knowledge and education in Africa's development has been recognised from a policy point of view. This has led to the development of various structures and bodies to enhance the development of knowledge partnerships and skills across the continent. However, other than CODESRIA, very little effort has been made to explicitly engage with the African diaspora.

Role of the African Diaspora in Knowledge Development: Perspectives from the Global North

In the face of forces of globalisation and the weakening of national boundaries, higher education systems must be able to respond to these challenges. As observed in the preceding section, a key aspect of this response has been the development of policies, agreements and academic protocols between multiple countries, aimed at breaking barriers and

challenges which once limited the ability of institutions to maximise their capacities in teaching, research and knowledge production. I argue that the African diaspora can be a possible player in enhancing knowledge production in Africa through effective and sustained ways of linking diaspora and research on the continent.

Recently, the European Commission (2015) acknowledged the role of the African diaspora in supporting the development of higher education on the continent through a number of recommendations. These include, inter alia, 'the institutionalisation of academic diaspora policy in the African countries through the establishment of offices or government structures dedicated to diaspora affairs or the formulation of specific policies and regulations to facilitate their involvement' (European Commission 2015:4).

The Carnegie Corporation of New York's (CCNY) African Diaspora Fellowship Programme aims at enhancing the development of higher education and knowledge production on the African continent through linking African academics in the diaspora and those on the continent. Foulds and Zeleza (2014:16) argue that

> many African diaspora academics have established vibrant, albeit largely informal, engagements with individuals and/or institutions across Africa. Ranging from research collaborations to curriculum development and graduate student supervision, these engagements are often frustrated by institutional and attitudinal barriers, on both sides of the Atlantic.

The CCNY programme aims to facilitate the hosting of academics from the United States and Canada with educational development projects in public or private higher education institutions in a number of CCNY partner countries in Africa. The first two years of the project saw the hosting of more than a hundred America-based African academics in African institutions. The National Research Foundation in South Africa and the ESRC in the United Kingdom have established the Newton Fund for collaborative research. While the fund is not limited to Africans based in the West, it provides an opportunity for Africans and diaspora across the continent to work together in developing knowledge production in African higher education. Furthermore, the fund facilitates the engagement of academics in the United Kingdom with those on the African continent through such research collaborations. According to the project founder Dr Paul Zeleza, the Carnegie Corporation of New York Programme is further being expanded to implement a '10/10' initiative aimed at supporting 10,000 diaspora academics across the world to partner with African universities over a 10 year period (MacGregor 2017).

Potential Caveats in Diaspora Engagement: Personal Reflections

As noted, diaspora collaboration demands constant reflection on the partnership process by all partners involved. In this section I critically assess research partnerships between African diaspora and academics in the African subregion. This reflexive exercise is based on research projects of which I was part as both a member of the African diaspora and of the African academe. I unpack the following three challenges which, if well managed, could enhance the role of diaspora in African higher education development: ensuring fair participation in designing a research agenda, ensuring win-win conditions for partnering, and being cognisant of contextual realities in the home country.

Establishing the Research and Knowledge Agenda: Who Decides and Why?

External partners' proximity to the donor funding organisations often results in a skewed relationship, usually in favour of partners in the diaspora. Donors generally dictate and frequently change their research agendas without considering the views of partners on the African continent; rather, they communicate with partners in the West, who are invariably also the holders of donor funding.

As an African academic in the diaspora, my experience of working with colleagues on the continent highlighted the often-unfair partnerships, with African-based academics largely treated as second-tier academics. My experience was based on a co-supervision project with an African academic. On reflection, I realised that the African-based academic was not involved in the design of the research project. Hence, his opinion regarding core aspects of the research was never sought. Although the research subject was in his area of expertise, his knowledge of the institutional and ethical processes for conducting research in the homeland was largely taken for granted. Furthermore, with most African countries experiencing various levels of political dictatorship or strong political control, the political sensitivity of some research areas needs to be taken into consideration when designing research projects in partnership with African-based academics.

Additionally, there was no clearly established agreement from the outset as to what knowledge **o**utput or benefit the partnership would produce for each member in the collaboration. While the academic in the homeland university hoped for some (financial or non-financial) benefit, such as publication or financial remuneration, such an agreement was not established at the start of the research process and ultimately resulted in the African-based academic or institution being coerced into a partnership in which there was no agreed win-win arrangement.

Reflecting on such experiences of partnership between African academics and those in the diaspora, Teferra (2009) argues that research partnerships and collaborations must be fair and equal. While we cannot deny that Africa's intellectual and financial capacity for research and knowledge creation remains weak and somewhat marginalised (Teferra 2004), both partners should engage in creative ways to ensure fair and equal participation, not only in deciding the area of research but also the process and methodologies involved. Although most funding continues to come from Western partners and funders, African academics need to develop better ways of contributing to the research process conceptually and empirically. Furthermore, African governments have the mammoth task of committing a minimum of 1 per cent of their national gross domestic product to investment in higher education (World Bank 2010), so providing a platform for developing the research capacity of African universities.

While research partnerships and collaborations between Africans on the continent and their counterparts in the diaspora have the potential to advance the quality and quantity of knowledge production in Africa and increase the academic visibility of local institutions, such collaborations need not be paternalistic, thus keeping African scholars and scholarship 'in its perpetual childlike state' (Moyo 2009:32). For this to be achieved, African scholars and scholarship need the required financial, moral and cultural support and confidence to forge productive partnerships with colleagues in the diaspora.

Towards a Win-Win Arrangement?

The significance of who sets the research agenda was observed in another project funded by a major development partner in Africa. In the project, which involved academics across four African countries, it was observed that the process of setting the research agenda resulted in a power interplay between academics in the African diaspora and those on the continent. Whether in the diaspora or on the continent, those who had stronger political and economic leverage with the external funders appeared to exert more influence on the research agenda, authorship, timelines and deadlines, while those with less connections with funders seemed to serve more as data-collecting partners. In another study of diaspora partnerships, Talbot (2011) notes this comparative advantage, stating that those in the diaspora, usually in the global North, feel they have some power over their partners on the African continent. One of the respondents in Talbot's study, based in the global North, observes that, 'Given the fact that we are here and they are there, and the funders talk to us, there will inevitably be some sort of power differential between us' (2011:18). However, Bolay (2010) argues that in linking foreign aid to research partnerships,

especially through diaspora collaborations, the needs of the partners in the South need to be prioritised. I argue further that African-based academics need to understand and assert their roles in such partnerships and not accept the passive roles of being implementers and data collectors.

Relevance of Cultural and Political Context in Research Collaboration

A third caveat in engagement between African-based academics and those in the diaspora is the need for diaspora-based academics to understand the local cultural, political and socioeconomic conditions in which African-based academics operate, both within the higher education system and in the broader sociopolitical context. While the focus is usually on joint research collaborations and partnerships, based on conditions laid down by funders, there is also a need to understand the local context in which the knowledge creation takes place, the political constraints in ensuring academic rigour and the potential implications for African-based academics once their colleagues from the diaspora have left. Especially in repressive political regimes, some research findings, if not carefully managed and communicated, could result in negative personal and professional consequences for African-based academics.

In a collaboration I had with an Africa-based academic, the political context in her/his country was such that research related to political activism was perceived in binary terms: it supported either the ruling regime or the opposition. Being the diaspora partner, I was unaware of this political context and ignorant with regard to the limited autonomy of African academia compared to that in the diaspora, as well as to the linkages between what happens within the university and the broader political terrain. My subsequent analysis and writing up of the data was immediately perceived as aligning with the political opposition, thus potentially attracting negative academic and even socioeconomic repercussions for my collaboration partner. It was thus necessary to rephrase some of the key findings and conclusions to ensure that while the findings were clearly communicated, they did not jeopardise the livelihoods and academic and professional development of local participating academics. Datta and Sigdel (2016), in identifying eight tips for North–South research collaboration, emphasise the need for researchers from the North to understand what is relevant to the South-based collaborator. They show that most researchers from the North fail to consider the constraints that local research teams are under when they write up research reports or provide feedback on such reports. They argue that researchers who take research partnerships seriously need to spend time with local partners to understand the local context, constraints and challenges involved in the process.

Concluding Thoughts

This article highlighted that knowledge production in Africa continues to lag behind that on other continents. However, the quantity and quality of knowledge production in Africa can be greatly enhanced by fostering diaspora partnerships between African-based academics and those in the diaspora. However, a number of challenges exist for both partners in the collaboration. A growing body of research on Western partners' or diaspora-based academics' views on collaborative efforts reveals a significant number of demotivating and limiting factors to effective collaboration. These include contextual challenges related to culture, bureaucracy, lack of academic autonomy, limited resources and the political repression characterising African-based scholarship (Assié-Lumumba 2006; Cloete, Bailey, Pillay, Bunting and Maassen 2011; Teferra 2004). Diaspora-based academics need to learn from earlier successes and challenges to negotiate better forms of engagement with African-based academics to enhance knowledge production, its application and the ultimate development of the African continent. As argued by Zeleza (2002), diaspora-based academics should take academic leave and sabbaticals to develop and create projects that will enable them to spend time in Africa to contribute to supporting local academic efforts while also understanding local contextual realities for successful partnerships.

Some African-based academics may feel frustrated by the way they perceive that their diaspora-based partners approach them or treat them in the research process. The latter tend to assume a superior research culture and rigour, and often have an aura of dominance and control due to their close links to funders, ignorance of local cultural and sociopolitical constraints and lack of a win-win approach to research. African-based academics thus have the responsibility to ensure research agreements and partnerships produce a win-win situation. They also have a duty to educate academics from the diaspora, as well as local authorities and systems, about the importance of healthy forms of partnership built on mutual respect and objectives. African governments need to align with foreign donors and local development organisations such as the AAU, as well as with initiatives for diaspora partnerships such as CODESRIA and CCNY, to acquire the financial and infrastructural resources needed for such collaborations. Unless these challenges are addressed, knowledge benefits from diaspora collaboration will continue to remain ad hoc at best and largely costly to the African partners.

References

Acemoglu, AfDB/OECD/UNDP, 2015, *African Economic Outlook 2015: Regional Development and Spatial Inclusion*, Paris: OECD Publishing.

Agunias, D.R., and Newland, K., 2012, *Developing a Road Map for Engaging Diasporas in Development: A Handbook for Policymakers and Practitioners in Home and Host Countries*, Geneva and Washington, DC: IOM and Migration Policy Institute.

Akyeampong, E., 2000, 'Africans in the Diaspora: The Diaspora and Africa', *African Affairs*, Vol. 99, pp. 183–215.

Anderson, B., 1991, *Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.

Assié-Lumumba, N.T., 2006, *Higher Education in Africa: Crises, Reforms and Transformation*, Dakar: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa.

AU (African Union), 2007, Harmonisation of Higher Education Programmes in Africa: A Strategy for the African Union. Third Ordinary Session of the Conference of Ministers of Education of the African Union (COMEDAF III), 6–10 August, Johannesburg, South Africa.

AU (African Union), 2011, Press Release from AU Meeting of African Education Ministers, Nairobi, 13 May.

AU (African Union), 2014, *Common African Position (CAP) on the Post-2015 Development Agenda*, Addis Ababa: African Union.

Bolay, J.C., 2010, 'North-South Scientific Cooperation: A Challenge for Sustainable Development', in G. Tejada and J-C. Bolay, eds, *Scientific Diasporas as Development Partners*, Bern: International Academic Publishers. pp. 3–20.

Boshoff, N., 2010, 'South-south Research Collaboration of Countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC)', *Scientometrics*, Vol. 84, No. 2, pp. 481–503.

Chikezie, C.E., 2011, 'Reinforcing the Contributions of African Diasporas to Development', in S. Plaza and D. Ratha, eds, *Diaspora for Development in Africa*, Washington, DC: World Bank. pp. 261–282.

Clifford, J., 1994, 'Diaspora', *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 302–338.

Cloete, N., Bailey, T., Pillay, P., Bunting, I., and Maassen, P., 2011, *Universities and Economic Development in Africa*, Cape Town: CHET.

Cohen, R., 1997, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, London: UCL Press.

Datta, A., and Sigdel, S., 2016, *North–South Collaboration: Eight Tips for Working with Local Think Tanks*. Available online at https://onthinktanks.org/articles/north-south-collaboration-towards-a-more-equitable-deal/

De-Graft Aikins, A., Arhinful, D.K., Pitchforth, F., Ogedegbe, O., Allotey, P., and Agyemang, C., 2012, 'Establishing and Sustaining Research Partnerships in Africa: A Case Study of the UK–Africa Academic Partnership on Chronic Disease', *Globalisation and Health*, Vol. 8, No. 29, 1–13.

EUA (European University Association), 2010, Statement by the European University Association in Response to the European Commission Consultation on the Modernisation of Higher Education in Europe.

European Commission, 2015, 'Study on the Contribution of the Alumni and Diaspora to the Joint Africa–EU Strategy', Policy Brief March 2015.

Folds, K. and Zeleza, P.T 2014 The African Academic Diaspora and African Higher education. *International Higher Education, 76,* Pages 1-27.

Jadotte, E., 2012, 'Brain Drain, Brain Circulation and Diaspora Networks in Haiti', UNCTAD background paper for *The Least Developed Countries Report 2012: Harnessing Remittances and Diaspora Knowledge to Build Productive Capacities*, New York and Geneva: UNCTAD.

Kotecha, P., Wilson-Strydom, M and Fongwa, S.N., 2012, *A Profile of Higher Education in Southern Africa – Volume 1: A Regional Perspective*, Johannesburg: SARUA.

Maassen, P., and Olsen, J.P., eds, 2007, *University Dynamics and European Integration*, New York: Springer.

MacGregor, K. 2017 African academic diaspora collaboration drive scales up. *University World News Online publication Issue No. 461 of 24 May 2017*

Mohan, G., and Zack-Williams, A.B., 2002, 'Globalisation from below: Conceptualising the Role of the African Diasporas in Africa's Development', *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 29, No. 92, pp. 211–236.

Morgan, K., 1997, 'The Learning Region: Institutions, Innovation and Regional Renewal', *Renewal Studies*, Vol. 31, pp. 491–503.

Moyo, D., 2009, *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Newland, K., 2004, *Beyond Remittances: The Role of Diaspora in Poverty Reduction in Their Countries of Origin*, Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Nielsen, T.M., and Riddle, L., 2010, 'Investing in Peace: The Motivational Dynamics of Diaspora Investment in Post-Conflict Economies', *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 89, No. 4, pp. 435–448.

Plaza, S., and Ratha, D., eds, 2011, *Diaspora for Development in Africa*, Washington, DC: World Bank.

Rustomjee, C. 2018 Issues and Challenges in Mobilizing African Diaspora Investment. *Centre for International Governance Innovation, Policy Brief No. 130 of April 2018.*

SADC (Southern African Development Community), 1997, *Protocol on Education and Training in the Southern African Development Community*, Malawi: SADC.

Safran, W., 1991, 'Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return', *Diaspora*, Vol. 1, pp. 83–99.

Talbot, R., 2011, *Working in Partnership with Diaspora Organisations*, London: VSO.

Teferra, D., 2004, 'Striving at the Periphery, Craving for the Centre: The Realm of African Scholarship Communication in the Digital Age', *The Journal of Scholarly Publishing*, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 159–171.

Teferra, D., 2009, 'African Research Collaboration Must be Fair and Equal', Science Development Network, 13 January.

Tejada, G., and Bolay, J-C., eds, 2010, *Scientific Diasporas as Development Partners: Skilled Migrants from Colombia, India and South Africa in Switzerland. Empirical Evidence and Policy Responses*, Bern: Peter Lang.

UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation), 1981, *Regional Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Certificates, Diplomas, Degrees and Other Academic Qualifications in the African States*, Arusha, Tanzania, UN Treaty Series No. 21522, UNESCO.

Vanore, M., Ragab, N., and Siegel, M., 2015, *Diaspora and Peace: What Role for Development Cooperation*, background paper.

Vertovec, S., 2005, *The Political Importance of Diasporas*, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, Working Paper No. 13, University of Oxford.

World Bank, 1999, *World Development Report 1998/99: Knowledge for Development*, New York: Oxford University Press.

World Bank, 2010, *Financing Higher Education in Africa*, Washington, DC: World Bank.

Zeleza, P.T., 2002, 'Transnational Scholarship: Building Linkages between the US Africanist Community and Africa', *African Issues*, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 69–75.

JHEA/RESA Vol. 16, Nos 1&2, 2018, pp. 135-155

(ISSN 0851–7762)

Advancing Collaboration between African Diaspora and Africa-Based Scholars: Extracts of Interviews with Selected African Diaspora Scholars[1]

Patrício V. Langa*, Patrick Swanzy**, and Pedro Uetela***

Abstract

A considerable number of African scholars who have migrated to the West have done so due to upheavals in their home country's economy, poor working conditions, political instability, and a lack of academic freedom and autonomy in their homeland's higher education systems, many of which are in the process of decolonisation/indigenisation. Drawing on the experiences of four African diaspora scholars – experts in the domains of social sciences and humanities, engineering and education – who visited and collaborated with the Doctoral Programme in Higher Education Studies at the University of the Western Cape's Institute for Post-School Studies in 2017, this article explores the range of motives for their migration to Western institutions. The article also investigates the importance of the academic diaspora's contribution to teaching and research in both the West and in Africa, concluding that African diaspora scholars and Africa-based scholars are interdependent when it comes to empowering global science.

Keywords: African diaspora, brain drain, brain circulation, collaboration, Carnegie Corporation of New York

Résumé

Un nombre considérable de savants africains qui ont migré vers l'Occident, l'ont fait à cause de bouleversements dans l'économie de leur pays d'origine, de mauvaises conditions de travail, de l'instabilité politique, et du manque de liberté et d'autonomie académiques dans les systèmes d'enseignement

* University of the Western Cape, South Africa & Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, Mozambique. Email: planga@uwc.ac.za; patricio.langa@uem.mz

** Post-Doctoral Research Fellow, Institute of Post-School Studies, Faculty of Education, University of the Western Cape, South Africa. Email: ipssdphes@gmail.com

*** Post-Doctoral Fellow, University of the Western Cape and Eduardo Mondlane University. Email: uetelaha@yahoo.com

supérieur de leur patrie, dont beaucoup sont en cours de décolonisation/d'indigénisation. S'appuyant sur les expériences de quatre chercheurs de la diaspora africaine – spécialistes dans le domaine des sciences humaines et sociales, du génie et de l'éducation – qui ont collaboré au programme de doctorat dans les études supérieures à l'Institut des études postscolaires de l'University of the Western Cape en 2017, cette étude examine les diverses motivations de leur migration vers les institutions occidentales. Ce document examine en outre, l'importance de la contribution de la diaspora académique à l'enseignement et à la recherche dans les pays occidentaux et en Afrique, et conclut que les savants de la diaspora africaine et les savants basés en Afrique sont interdépendants dans le domaine de l'habilitation de la science mondiale.

Mots-clés : diaspora africaine, fuite des cerveaux, circulation des cerveaux, collaboration, Carnegie Corporation de New York

Introduction[2]

Research has shown a strong correlation between the African brain drain to the West and the fundamental constraints that dominate the majority of African states (see Mkandawire 2011; Zeleza 2013). At least four reasons stand out for the intellectual migration from the continent to other areas of the globe. First is the concept of the economy, which creates two geographical localities, the dominant North and the dominated South. The former region comprises most economically wealthy countries whose governments provide basic goods and services (health, education, shelter, security) for their citizens at a low cost (see Sen 2012). However, this does not occur to the same degree in the majority of countries geographically located in the global South (mainly Africa), where access to basic services is generally reserved for the dominant economic elite. The economic perspective sees brain drain from Africa as a conscious search for better living standards. Secondly, political instability and *coup d'états* have shaped African governance and politics. Civil wars in many African countries subsequent to African independence in the 1960s led to many academics based in those countries fleeing Africa in search of more peaceful environments elsewhere. Third, the continent's general lack of intellectual autonomy or academic freedom is an essential push factor in the brain drain to the West. The search for intellectual freedom and tertiary institutions governed by autonomy has motivated scholars from Africa to reconsider their professional futures in Africa and move to the West instead (see Mamdani 1993, 2007; Mkandawire 2011). Fourth, given that modern universities in Africa (and, for that matter, the model of state that African countries pursue) are an inheritance of colonialism, they tend to be associated with the country that colonised each nation-state, and are considered strange and alien to the continent. However, these issues are not all-encompassing

and cannot necessarily account for all cases of migration from the continent. An analysis of the individual views that instigated the mobility of highly respected African scholars in specific countries will add to our understanding of the subject of African diaspora scholars.

Research Methodology

This article systematically conceptualises the African intellectual diaspora and its relevance, with a special focus on the brain drain. It is based on interviews/conversations with four distinguished African diaspora scholars who collaborate in various ways with the Doctoral Programme in Higher Education Studies (DPHES) at the Institute for Post-School Studies (IPSS) of the University of the Western Cape. Three of the African diaspora scholars visited the IPSS/DPHES and directly engaged with faculty and students; one contributed long distance from the United States (US). The face-to-face interviews took place in 2017; the long-distance correspondence was done through an inquiry form via email. The remainder of this article is divided into two parts. We first outline the profile of the academics and their journey into diaspora. Then we offer extracts from the conversations we held with the scholars on various subjects, including:

i) what they think the diaspora contributed to their intellectual development that would not have been the case if they had remained in Africa;

ii) whether being in the diaspora created a social distance from Africa;

iii) what they think necessitated collaboration between African diaspora scholars and scholars in African universities;

iv) what they think should be the most relevant agenda for collaboration between African diaspora scholars and Africa-based scholars;

v) what they think African universities and scholars in the diaspora, respectively, stand to gain from collaborating;

vi) their opinion of Paul Zeleza's (2013) finding that there is tension in the relationship between Africa-based scholars and African diaspora scholars, and how this tension undermines the relationship;

vii) African diaspora scholars' views on the notion that when programmes on collaboration are established, they are usually one-way and bring African diaspora scholars to African universities, while Africa-based scholars have no opportunities to visit their colleagues in Northern universities; and

vii) what they think can be done to enhance collaboration, apart from the African Diaspora Support to African Universities platform created by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA). The African diaspora scholars provided their insights and experiences on these issues and made suggestions for future improved collaboration between African diaspora scholars and Africa-based scholars.

The interviews conducted with the African diaspora scholars aimed to identify knowledge gaps, conceptual challenges, dilemmas and opportunities to strengthen the collaboration between African diaspora scholars and African universities. Overall, the study sought to gain insight into real experiences of academic engagement between African diaspora scholars and those based on the African continent, in an attempt to assess how they can mutually benefit from the exchange of knowledge, skills and financial and social capital. The findings provide policy-makers, researchers and students with new perspectives on the possibilities and means by which different stakeholders can engage diaspora resources.

Profiles of African Diaspora Scholars

African Diaspora Scholar A-1 (ADS-1)

A-1 is a professor of African studies at the University of Basel, Switzerland. He was born on 21 December 1964 in João Belo (now Xai-Xai in Gaza province) in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. He first studied in Maputo and then completed two master's degrees: an MA in translation and interpreting at the University of Salford, Manchester, in 1988, and an MA in sociology and social policy at the University of North London (now London Metropolitan University) in 1992. Subsequently, he completed a PhD (in 1997) and a 'Habilitation' PhD (in 2009) in general sociology at the University of Bayreuth, Germany. A-1 has held various fellowships, including at the University of Bayreuth as a postdoctoral fellow, at the Center for African Studies of the University of Lisbon and as an Agora fellow at the Wissenschaftskolleg (Institute for Advanced Study) in Berlin. Since October 2009, A-1 has been working as an assistant professor with tenure at the University of Basel. He also heads the university's Center for African Studies. A-1 researches and teaches in the sociology of religion, technology, knowledge and politics. His current research deals with the politics of the rule of law and comparative development studies. A-1 participated in the African Diaspora Support to African Universities programme in March 2017. He assisted in developing the curriculum for the new DPHES and runs methodology seminars with the doctoral and postdoctoral research fellows at the IPSS.

African Diaspora Scholar B-2 (ADS-2)

B-2 is an associate professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's (MIT) Program in Science, Technology, and Society. He was born and brought up in a small village near Harare, Zimbabwe. He did most of his primary and secondary education in Zimbabwe. After completing an MA in history at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) in 1999, he taught at the University of Zimbabwe until 2002. By then he had started a PhD in history at Wits, while also applying to universities in the US. He wanted to study something that would help him answer the question: 'Why, in the scientific and technological map of the world, does Africa not exist?' The narrative of Africa's technology as absence bothered him. He wanted to study how science and technology is studied in the West, while also digging deeper into African history to understand the trajectories of both. His goal was set: he wanted to return to Africa and set up his own institute to reverse the notion that all knowledge is Western and that all Africans know is fable and primitive. He was interested in grassroots, even rural-focused, institutes where making and doing, not written knowledge, are the central examinable components. He was admitted to two universities in the US: Case Western Reserve University in Ohio (history of medicine) and the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (science, technology, and society and African history). He chose the latter. After completing his degree, he received many employment offers, including from Duke and Colgate universities, but chose MIT because of its emphasis on innovation and entrepreneurship, and because he would be teaching humanities and social sciences to engineering students. By then he had already begun working with the Makuleke community in Limpopo province in South Africa to document, photograph and video-record their oral knowledge and indigenous knowledge of plants.

African Diaspora Scholar C-3 (ADS-3)

C-3 is a researcher in science, technology and innovation. He is also a teaching fellow in innovation studies, both positions currently held at the Science Policy Research Unit (SPRU) of the School of Business, Management and Economics at the University of Sussex, United Kingdom (UK). He joined the University of Sussex in 2011. In addition to research and teaching, he supervises PhD and MSc students, and co-convenes the innovation systems module at SPRU. He is the coordinator of SPRU's Africa Engagement Programme. Alongside research and teaching, C-3 is involved in active policy work and also provides consultancy positions. He is currently working with the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in developing training modules for policy-makers. He is also involved in the monitoring

and evaluation of the African Union Commission's Science, Technology and Innovation Strategy for Africa (STISA-2024). He is a senior associate consultant at Techno-policy and was a lead consultant for KPMG. He has also held the position of a senior research associate at the University of the Virgin Islands Research and Technology Park Corporation, providing consultancy services on research, technology and innovation, and public policy. His country experience includes: the UK, Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, US Virgin Island, Kenya, Botswana and Namibia. He is a visiting fellow at the University of the Western Cape and the University of Pretoria, South Africa; TaSTI: Research Centre for Knowledge, Science, Technology and Innovation Studies, University of Tampere, Finland; Centre for Policy Analysis and Studies of Technology, Tomsk State University, Russia; and the Human Sciences Research Council, South Africa. After completing a bachelor's degree in Nigeria, his journey into the diaspora and academia started with the desire to get the best possible postgraduate studies, and work with the best minds in the field. This led him to an MSc in Belgium, an MBA in the UK and a PhD, also in the UK.

African Diaspora Scholar D-4 (ADS-4)

D-4 is an associate professor at the University of Newcastle, Australia. She has been working in the field of education since 1989. D-4 has taught at every level from primary and adult basic education and training to research education programmes, PhD and postdoctoral fellows. Her earliest teaching was during the education crises in South Africa in the late 1980s, working with matric students, many of whom had not attended classes for some time, in a project called the People's Education Programme; the principles of this programme still affect what she does today. D-4's university work has spanned enabling/foundation programmes, English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS), academic language and learning, and lecturing within the School of Education. D-4 has lived and worked in Australia, South Africa, the United Arab Emirates and the Sultanate of Oman and regularly taught programmes in Singapore. Her fields of expertise include all levels of academic literacy development, including academic integrity, teaching English to speakers of other languages, higher education, online learning and English for academic purposes. She has supervised six PhD students in the fields of education, applied linguistics and media. D-4 has held a number of leadership positions, including associate dean of the Faculty of the Professions and director of researcher education at the University of Adelaide, director of studies at two ELICOS centres and numerous coordinator positions. She is currently deputy director at the English Language and Foundation

Studies Centre at the University of Newcastle. D-4 emigrated to Australia in July 2001. She returns every two to three years to visit relatives, attend conferences and present as an invited speaker in the country.

Criteria for Selecting Interviewees

Considering that the interviews were conducted in a conversation format, this study did not follow classic social science research methods for data collection. We purposely selected interviewees from the African diaspora who were visiting fellows and who participated in the design of the DPHES, as well as others with whom we engaged after the implementation of the programme. In 2017, we hosted eight scholars in the IPSS. Of those, four were based in Africa; the remaining four were African diaspora scholars based elsewhere. The conversations cited in this article were with the visiting diaspora scholars. We were not concerned with issues of sampling since the main objective was not to make either inferences or extrapolations, but to share the individual life stories and diaspora trajectories and obtain experiences through dialogue. The conversations took place in an interview format and the four selected scholars shared their visions, experiences and prospects for future collaboration in support of African universities in general and the DPHES in particular. We present significant extracts of the conversations in order to identify knowledge, insights, conceptual challenges, dilemmas and opportunities for strengthening the engagement with African diaspora. Furthermore, the article presents fresh insights into real experiences of academic engagement between Africa-based and African diaspora scholars in an attempt to mutually benefit from the exchange of knowledge, skills, and financial and social capital.

Extracts of the Conversations

> In the diaspora we become professional Africans, or professionals on Africa. (ADS A-1, 2017)

HOSTS: Can you provide us with details on your personal, academic and intellectual trajectory or journey into the diaspora?

ADS A-1: I left the continent many years ago, to be precise in late 1980s for studies first in Britain but then I returned back after my studies to work for the embassy in Mozambique. However, for personal reasons I left the embassy for Germany, where I lived most of the time. I have been in Europe until 2009 when I moved to Switzerland. Now in a sense, my trajectory is not a normal one as a diaspora scholar. I left my country not

because of political persecution or anything like that. I took advantage of the chances which were made available to me by the circumstances of life. I have always been interested in social sciences; I come from a different background, translation and interpretation, so when I was working either as a diplomat or supporting diplomats I studied sociology and social policy and it was on the basis of that master's programme which I pursued in London that made it possible for me to undertake doctoral studies in Germany. Now I think perhaps for the purpose of what we are talking about here, I think especially in the social sciences, if you are an African scholar you are almost like condemned to studying Africa, so there is no way in which you know you could fly higher than that, if I can use that metaphor. You become an expert of your own continent and often your skills in the discipline in which you were trained are not recognised as such unless if you can bring them to bear on Africa. So, I think my experience of being in the diaspora is very much shaped by that, is almost like a frustration that I have, that I do not get recognition beyond my competence, my skills in Africa. Of course I know there are colleagues who value my sociological skills and I know that and we communicate on that basis, but generally speaking most of us in the diaspora are condemned to becoming professional Africans.

> Everything about the diasporic existence is entrepreneurial…the diaspora is not paved in gold and platinum. (ADS B-2, 2017)

ADS B-2: A new window into things. You are able to get up in the clouds and see the world below and up there from above the clouds – more than a bird's-eye view. You land the other side of the oceans, and you begin to see things in a horizontal dimension. The diversity of cultures, how other people do things, what works for them, what is missing. You start adjudicating, comparing home and your new surroundings, which you will also call home while there. You start appreciating how folks here make [the] most out of little. You travel the countryside and appreciate how beneficiation occurs on the farm-little factories, every farmstead. You go camping on July 4th and appreciate how Americans love their country. During Veterans Day you appreciate how they honour their military and veterans. On Memorial Day they descend on cemeteries to honour their ancestors. You read about the witches of Salem, Massachusetts, or the seers or sorcerers people consult in Brooklyn, New York. Then you realise that culture is the cornerstone of every society. Perspectives like that – and the daily struggles of trying to make it in a foreign country – make you stronger. Everything about the diasporic existence is entrepreneurial – you hear the stories

of people without papers, who know that if stopped by a cop that may be the last time they see their son, daughter, wife, husband and lover. You experience men and women who were big people back home – managers, engineers, lecturers, accountants, etc. They come here and cannot get a job. They join the ranks of CNAs [Certified Nurse Aids] working in care work, carrying for the elderly, with all that is associated with that job. The wife arrived earlier, went to school, and became a nurse; the husband arrived later, or for lack of ambition, fails to go to school, remains a CNA. Tables have turned. You have people who have become highly successful farmers – the Makarutsas of Worcester, the Mwanakas of UK, and so on. That is where Africans buy *Chibage chinyoro* [green maize]. Some of us have small plots; we give a good Zimbabwean account of ourselves too. People with inspirational stories, people with depressing stories. Some of us were blessed to come on full scholarship, but as graduate students with a wife and a daughter, living on a maxed-out credit card became a daily existence. I remember one time living in Ypsilanti, as I completed my doctorate at Michigan, we turned the house upside down – including the sofa cushions and those crevices between frame and base springs, looking for that elusive dime [10 cents] to buy bread for our daughter, and finding none. True friends across the colour line, unforgotten heroes like Christian Williams, were sometimes the only place you could turn to. You have relatives, but they are struggling at home, and very well think you should be looking after them, since, after all, you're in America! Talk of those in the mountains asking those in the valley for heath-stones! In short, the diaspora is not paved in gold and platinum. It is a site of struggle. It is easy to see me now and marvel at the success; the untold story is the creative resilience that comes from the diaspora condition, at once the unfolding of survival against all odds that we develop while growing up poor in Africa, and yet also the risk-taking, in the full knowledge that being risk-averse is suicide.

***

HOSTS: What do you think being in the diaspora has contributed to your intellectual academic development that you would not have been able to do if you had been in Africa?

ADS A-1: That is always difficult to answer but first, academic freedom is an issue in Africa, so I think it makes a lot of difference because if you live in a country where people who matter have learnt to accept the legitimacy of criticism then the chances are that they will promote that spirit in society. So, I notice, for example, that when I write anything which is

seen as highly critical about Mozambique, I get sometimes very negative response, not from politicians but from colleagues who are academics like myself. It is a different kind of intellectual environment so I think that it was important for my development having that possibility. The second reason is the chance of being challenged intellectually in a way that I would not have been in Mozambique. You know the history of sociology in Mozambique; so at the time I was growing up intellectually there would not have been many people in Mozambique with whom I could have interacted with and then develop my skills. So, I benefited from the fact that I was working and living in societies where sociology had a much longer tradition and so I could tap into those intellectual resources to develop, but having said that, I need to also clarify, of course you don't need academic freedom or critical mass to develop, it will also depend on the kind of person you are.

ADS C-3: Many, for example, a PhD in science and technology policy studies I obtained in the UK and the experience in STI [science, technology and innovation]/public policy-making; but also exposure that has come with the PhD qualification. I am still not aware of a PhD in Africa focused in science and technology [and innovation] policy studies, of the level and quality of SPRU. SPRU is one of the best in the world, ranked at the same level with Cambridge, Oxford, Harvard and MIT in innovation studies.

ADS D-4: Being in the diaspora has contributed enormously to my intellectual well-being. In South Africa, I worked mainly at a school and technikon level and did not have the time or money to pursue a PhD. Between 2003 and 2006 I had long summer holidays and had the opportunity to work at [the] United Arab Emirates. I then used the savings I made from the salary I earned to pursue a PhD. It has also given me the opportunity to work at Australian universities and attend conferences to meet with scholars from a wider range of countries than if I were in South Africa.

***

HOSTS: Did being in the diaspora somehow create a social distance with Africa?

> You can begin to idealise Africa, and you can begin to essentialise Africa just because you are being pushed into that corner. (ADS A-1, 2017)
>
> Physical departure yes, but the heart has never left…I never came here to settle; I came to see how other nations build successful technological and scientific institutions, with a view to taking that experience and mixing it with my own ancestors' knowledge to emerge with something entirely new and wonderful. (ADS B-2, 2017)

ADS A-1: Oh not necessarily! As I said earlier on, you are forced to be an African so what it does perhaps is to create a special kind of relationship with Africa. It does not necessarily mean it is a healthy one. Right. You can begin to idealise Africa, and you can begin to *essentialise* Africa just because you are being pushed into that corner. You can lose the critical edge which I think as a scholar you need to keep or maintain.

ADS B-2: No. Physical departure yes, but the heart has never left. Perhaps because I lost over half my family – five siblings and a mother – while in the diaspora. How can you forget? You come home and all you find is an entire anthill filled up where just the father you had buried before you left once lay. Without any money, and with the political and economic situation in your country turbulent, you find refuge in your studies. You literally suspend or postpone the pain of mourning and seeking closure to the moment when you finally get home; meanwhile you pay tribute to the dead but churning your pain into the energy that drives you to finish your doctorate well ahead of schedule. That is how I ended up at MIT and beat the financial crisis of 2008 to get a job that might well have been frozen. This particular instance aside, I never came here to settle; I came to see how other nations build successful technological and scientific institutions, with a view to taking that experience and mixing it with my own ancestors' knowledge to emerge with something entirely new and wonderful. I am not defined by my itinerary or physical location in life, but by principles and reasons that caused the itineration to start with. In any case, all these inexpensive new technologies of long distance like Skype, WhatsApp, Facebook and Messenger started after I arrived here in 2003. We strategically deployed them to extend our African kinship networks across the seas, attenuating the tyranny of distance, and participating as sons, daughters, siblings, villagers and citizens back home. We brought our families back there – or those who remained of it – into our homes, their faces smiling at weddings, mourning with us as they buried our loved ones – all via cellular phones.

ADS C-3: Not necessarily for me. However, this could be due to the fact that I have in the diaspora lived in carefully selected multicultural cities, like London and Brussels, with many Nigerians/Africans. Plus, these cities offered relative 'closeness' to home [Nigeria/Africa]. In addition, I travel frequently to Africa for work and family visits.

ADS D-4: I think it is both ways. In Australia or abroad you are viewed as African and in Africa you are viewed as foreign and not belonging. I personally feel much attached to Africa, but recognise that I am viewed as socially distant when in Africa. For me the best experience is working with African scholars in Australia since I feel a strong affinity with them and understand their sense of alienation in the new context.

***

HOSTS: In your view, what do you think has necessitated the collaboration between African scholars in diaspora and African universities?

ADS A-1: I think [it] is perhaps simply the lack of funding on the continent, the constraints faced by universities, governments, states and so on. It is also the realisation that diaspora scholars are [an] untapped resource. We are there but we could do more for the continent, for our colleagues and for the universities and so on. I know that the government of Ghana had a similar programme for Ghanaian scholars based in America. For example, the American academic system is structured in a way that for three months of the year people are not working and are not paid for those months so they would be doing something else. So the Ghanaian government had a programme to bring people to Ghana for those three months to do something useful to help with all sorts of things that universities need help for; right, so that is one thing. Secondly, we belong to disciplines and we have professional disciplinary associations, which have died down. Examples are the African Sociological Association, the African Association of Political Science, and the African Association of History and so on. They are not functioning right and maybe a combination of local engagement and the engagement of the African diaspora can bring those associations into life because scholarship is about debate so we will need to organise conferences and meet at those conferences and then we can organise projects together and so on so that is also something which can be done.

> I applaud what CODESRIA, Carnegie and other organisations are doing to get us to come and fulfil our wishes. But as these programmes become known, fewer and fewer are getting the funding – and we are talking of a per diem and air ticket, not a salary or remuneration. (ADS B-2, 2017)

ADS B-2: The shift from brain drain mourning to brain banking or circulation. Mind you, some of us are products of free education subsidised by our post-independence socialist governments. Some of the loans used to enable our education were borrowed from the exact same countries that now enjoy our services. To Africa this is a double loss. So it is only fair that those who benefited must heed the call of Mother Africa. I applaud what CODESRIA, Carnegie and other organisations are doing to get us to come and fulfil our wishes. But as these programmes become known, fewer and fewer are getting the funding – and we are talking of a per diem and air ticket, not a salary or remuneration. In effect, the diaspora intellectual is applying to come back home to do national and continental service. This is a big opportunity to our governments, our companies, and our wealthy

citizens: We are here, and we are ready to come back and reverse the brain drain. All we ask for is an air ticket, ground transport, accommodation, and a little allowance for food and one or two items to keep the morale high. The universities recognise this – but they are not putting in money or showing enthusiasm to appoint us as adjunct professors, or better yet, entice us back entirely with research chairs. We don't seek preferential treatment; we prefer to return to team up with our home-based colleagues to realise dreams we have long been communicating about.

> The disincentives are just too many. Africa needs to develop a robust framework for 'brain gain' from her diaspora. Brain/knowledge circulation. (ADS C-3, 2017)

ADS C-3: Main driver is personal desire by African scholars in the diaspora to contribute to the development in Africa. There are no incentives for us to do this. Therefore, for someone not personally interested, it is not worth the trouble. The disincentives are just too many. Africa needs to develop a robust framework for 'brain gain' from her diaspora. Brain/knowledge circulation. I am keen to work on this.

ADS D-4: There has been a bit of a brain drain at some African universities, with [a resulting] focus on teaching rather than research; this necessitates collaboration. Also, some African universities are underresourced. However, there are some very well-resourced African universities, mainly in South Africa, which received considerable money under apartheid and still maintain their status.

***

HOSTS: What is the most relevant agenda for the collaboration between African diaspora and African universities?

> I would think in terms of intellectual agenda. We need to establish an intellectual agenda and I think that intellectual agenda should be one that focuses on scholarship. We need to move away from the concerns of applied research, which is very important because our countries need that, but more into the concerns of basic research. (ADS A-1, 2017)

ADS A-1: This is a good question, I personally think. I would think in terms of intellectual agenda. We need to establish an intellectual agenda and I think that intellectual agenda should be one that focuses on scholarship. We need to move away from the concerns of applied research, which is very important because our countries need that, but more into the concerns of basic research. You know what is basic research is conceptual work, is theoretical work, we need to work on that. So the kind of intellectual agenda

I see for us all for the diaspora and for those of us here on the continent is a focus not on Africa as a problem to be solved, but a focus on finding out what knowledge produced about Africa can contribute to science, to our disciplines, to sociology, to political science, to history and so on, so that is the kind of intellectual agenda. I see Africa not as a problem to be solved but Africa as a very interesting object we can study such that we are in a position to improve our theoretical and conceptual tools in the broader social sciences.

ADS B-2: Establishing interdisciplinary programmes that bring together STEM [science, technology, engineering, mathematics], the humanities, arts, and social sciences, as well as the university, industry, and society together, not one as a consumer and another as producer of knowledge, or in a partnership between a rider and a horse where one carries the burden while the other enjoys the benefits, but as partners in a commune of knowledge production. Our education system is still very colonial, theoretical, and borrows too much from Western models. The question for relevance that Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o laid out as a challenge for higher education and the African intellectual back in 1986, and the call for society-responsive education that Julius Nyerere made in 1966 when outlining 'The Role of Universities' in 1966 and 1968, both remain elusive. We are no longer even training for employment any more; we are training for unemployment. We have gone backwards when the forward step would have been to not just end with training an employable graduate, especially one who meets the needs of industry, but to train employers or employment creators. The creative resilience of those who stayed and experienced while we were gone, on the one hand, and of those who left and endured the struggles for existence in the diaspora, on the other, must be tied together into a strong note upon which the African university system can abseil into a future saturated with originality, entrepreneurship and value-creation. One without the other is a waste of time. We should look careful[ly] at how the African diaspora and the home front, as comrades-in-arms, confronted the colonial system and won. What became of the project of post-independence nation-building is another matter worthy of discussion, but historical analysis should guide us as we invent the future.

ADS C-3: Personally, I support and collaborate on [the] research agenda set by Africa, for example as outlined in Agenda 2063, STISA-2024, CESA 16-25 [Continental Education Strategy for Africa 2016–2025], or national policies. I do not believe that diasporeans, or international development partners for that matter, should be setting the agenda for Africa or for

African countries. As diaspora, we can/should contribute to shaping or formulating the agendas. However, regardless of whether we, as scholars in the diaspora, were part of the agenda-setting or not, once a continental or national agenda is set, we have to get behind it and support it.

***

HOSTS: What benefits do you think African universities stand to gain from collaborating with African scholars in diaspora?

ADS A-1: I think the benefits are enormous. Like I said earlier, the diaspora is [an] untapped resource, which African universities can rely on. Scholars based in Africa and their colleagues in the diaspora can write grant applications, embark on joint research projects, organise conferences and publish together.

ADS B-2: Several, but that depends on strategy. What does each university really want? Who are they inviting from abroad to think with them? Who are they sending abroad to make partnerships with overseas institutions? What role, if any, are they according the African faculty members or other Africans in those institutions, if any? Should they? What power do African universities acquire when they solicit the opinions of the African diaspora fellow? Do they even care about the African diaspora fellow as a resource for partnerships with overseas institutions, at the very least, or for ideas that these scholars may have based on their travels and everyday life and intellectual experiences abroad? I am rather sceptical, especially for so-called big institutions (I often joke about the fish that thought itself big without reflexively recognising that the pond was very small). Without naming names, some department and school heads, deans and institutional heads are letting down their illustrious individual faculty who are forging links with diaspora intellectuals. I have seen this especially in South Africa, where visiting faculty members send dozens of emails that go unanswered; when you show up at the host institution nobody is there to welcome you except the secretaries; and the best efforts of a host faculty member are sometimes sabotaged – or at least that is the impression one gets from the uncomplimentary reception. And yet at others, perhaps because the countries and universities suffer none of the 'big fish' complex, the faculty member does not have to struggle to get the attention of the chair, heads of schools, deans, and even vice-chancellors or rectors, who personally welcome the visiting faculty and invite advice on what they have learned from their travels and how it may help them meet their mandates. I do not think the bad experiences should be blamed on the institutions; the individuals who do that must be blamed for it. As countries like Mozambique,

Rwanda and Botswana, for example, increasingly seek out African diaspora-based intellectuals of any nationality to come and be part of their higher education initiatives, the individual attitudes of a few may affect the aspirations of an entire institution.

ADS D-4: African universities, especially those with fewer resources, can benefit from some of the facilities that diaspora scholars have, such as database access. Also, in some cases, the diaspora scholars have obtained wider international experience, particularly international publication, which they can contribute to African universities.

***

HOSTS: Paul Zeleza and others have documented the perceived or existing tension in the relationship between Africa-based scholars and African scholars in diaspora, suggesting that this tension undermines a productive relationship. What is your take on this?

ADS A-1: Yes, I think broadly speaking Paul Zeleza is right that there is a tension. Of course, we need to look at what causes the tension. I think the main thing that causes the tension is the structural imbalance. African scholars working outside of the continent benefit from the kind of resources which perhaps African scholars working on the continent perhaps, with the exception of South Africa, do not have access to, so that creates an awkward situation. It actually reproduces the kind of relationship which European and North American scholars entertain with African scholars so it is almost patronage networks and that cannot be conducive to a good relationship. Part of the reason why the work CODESRIA does is really good is that it tries to break those barriers, so, for example, you know there is room for diaspora scholars within CODESRIA but they do not dominate CODESRIA. CODESRIA is dominated by scholars who are based here on the continent. I suppose for me, as diaspora scholar, the challenge is to be humble and not to come to the continent with the belief that I am going to teach people here, that I am going to give things to people. No, I need to be open-minded enough to approach colleagues here as peers with whom I can learn and if we do it in that spirit I presume it can work. I think Zeleza is right in the description, but we need to understand what causes that situation and we also need to know that there are institutions that are doing something about it.

ADS B-2: This may explain the attitude referred to in previous response above. On the one hand, mine is a story of an emerging, strong friendship with a colleague who defies the division of the Africa-based colleague as tethered to Africa and without travel experience. Here is a professor who has appointments at University of the Western Cape (South Africa) and

Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (Mozambique) and teaching in Austria. There is no time to waste when we meet; our shared interest is clear: we need to move speedily but efficiently with training a new cadre of doctoral students to address the deficiencies we see in our education system. Perhaps it is also because we recognise our mutual strengths; Prof. Langa will do something to advance my project of field-based research, problematising and problem-solving; I will return the favour as a guest professor and co-supervisor of doctoral dissertations he runs. Both will eventually become mutually reinforcing within a few years as Prof. Langa seeks to bridge the gap between university and industry, while I focus on bridging that between the two and society. The suspicions Zeleza drew out come out of a false sense of superiority some of us exhibit when we come back home, or when we who have stayed home regard ourselves as either 'closer to the source' or 'more patriotic' because we stayed while others 'ran away'. Or, when internal diasporas (Africans working in another African country) do very well in their collaborations and their 'hosts' [citizens of the host country] put unnecessary stumbling blocks in the way. But, as I indicated, these cleavages could be addressed by laying out departmental, school and university-wide guidelines for engagement, assuming that the success I have had with Prof. Langa is not always possible.

ADS C-3: Yes, tensions do exist. For example, colleagues in Africa, oftentimes, and sadly, see us as threats and competitors; sometimes get envious and jealous and various other tensions. Such treatment of scholars in the diaspora blocks [the] opportunity to collaborate. There are many others.

ADS D-4: I have seen an almost condescending attitude of some African diaspora scholars to their colleagues who have remained in Africa, as if their work is not as 'global' or 'internationally' acceptable. As someone who has worked in research education though, with PhD scholars from around the world, the African scholars are to my mind extremely advanced in research skills and theory by the time they reach the PhD level and far more so than domestic Australian students.

***

HOSTS: Africa-based scholars often complain that in most cases when programmes on collaboration (e.g. CODESRIA) are established, it is usually a one-way direction, that is, to bring African scholars in the diaspora to universities in Africa, with Africa-based scholars having no opportunities for visiting professorships and fellowships in the Northern universities. How do you see this?

ADS A-1: This is a very serious problem and I have been complaining about this but on another level. I have been complaining about how difficult it is for African scholars to travel and attend conferences. Visa regulations in Europe and North America are not favourable to the development of scholarship in Africa. You know, as a scholar based in Europe I can decide spontaneously to attend [a] conference anywhere in Europe where I do not need a visa. Of course, there are countries where I need a visa but in most European countries I do not need one. That is the luxury all European scholars have, with the added advantage that most do not need visas to come to Africa but African scholars need visas to go to another African country and they need visas to go to Europe, and when it is about going to Europe, one is never sure he/she will be able to make it so that is a problem, a serious structural problem. We have been complaining about it; CODESRIA has been complaining about this particular problem. I wish to say I think it would be good if this were a two-way street, that diaspora scholars could come and that our colleagues from Africa could go where we are and work there with us. Of course, there are programmes, I mean in Switzerland, where I am based, there are programmes with resources for that, so we just need to write applications. In the past three years, I had at least three African colleagues spending a year at my university, so that is possible. Of course, I will not expect CODESRIA to make funds available for that but it might be a matter of personal honour for diaspora scholars to use those resources to invite colleagues based in Africa.

ADS B-2: This is correct and unfair. Long-term it is going to affect the good work that CODESRIA is trying to do. There is a way in which CODESRIA can address this: by partnering institutions like MIT, Harvard and [the] University of Michigan – there are many – that do faculty exchanges with African universities. Ironically, some of us have lamented that the MIT programme only brings African faculty to MIT 'to learn mind and hand engineering' but never [sends] MIT faculty to go and learn from Africans. Thus, CODESRIA could work with African diaspora scholars at such universities to persuade their institutions to partner, so that a two-way exchange becomes possible. Personally, a loan of this is informational; CODESRIA could create a position or assign a desk to creating a database of all the universities that bring African faculty abroad. Then, it can link this to its sponsorship of African diaspora-to-Africa programmes, thus addressing this problem.

ADS C-3: This is a complex issue, with various factors at play. Personally, I have never used any of these sorts of programmes [e.g. CODESRIA] and therefore cannot comment on them. If African scholars have problems

with programmes designed in this manner, they have the option of working with the programme owners to refine and improve them, rather than complain. Complaining might imply placing the blame on the scholars in the diaspora. I have personally invited many African scholars to the UK; however, the majority, who were not able to make it, complained of lack of funds to undertake such visits. Where and when there are funding opportunities, for example the UK's Newton Mobility funds,[3] the majority of African scholars I have tried to work with do not know about these funds [or] are not able to make a strong application, or various other factors make it difficult for them – organisational issues at their universities. For example, Prof. D. Walwyn from the University of Pretoria, South Africa, completed a two-month [October/November 2017] research visit to my department, on my invitation.

ADS D-4: Totally agreed. There needs to be an equal two-way relationship. As mentioned above, I see Africa-based scholars as contributing significantly to Northern universities in terms of knowledge and theory and diaspora scholars contributing from the resources available at the Northern universities.

***

HOSTS: What in your view can be done to enhance the collaboration apart from the platform created by CODESRIA and Carnegie?

ADS A-1: Okay! I think I had already said [African] governments must do something about that, like the Ghanaian government did. I think professional associations can do that too. Well, I think scholars here on the African continent need to reach out right like you have done recently; you have invited me. I do not know if all colleagues would want to or would have time to come but I think we need to acknowledge that we are [a] resource for you. I mean maybe Europe does not need as much as you may need us, so maybe you would want to make the move.

ADS B-2: The most obvious starting point is a genuine consideration of questions raised about what benefits I think African universities stand to gain from collaborating with African scholars in diaspora. Once that introspection is conducted, universities will then rechannel their overseas collaborations via scholars of African descent to act as bridges to create transoceanic partnerships that avoid the colonial and neocolonial proclivities that still structure current engagement. We are past the era of saying, 'Come home and build your country.' With ICT-based platforms like cellphones and [the] internet, it is only right that we rethink our strategy as one of brain circulation. African

universities can now approach the best intellectuals anywhere in the world and work with them [regarding] ways of offering service, both while staying where they are and coming when their calendars free up. With platforms like NovoEd, MITx and edX, some components of courses can now be taught virtually from anywhere via video-conferencing or webinar, allowing us to address a problem that stifled co-curricular collaboration, viz., the clash between university calendars and the general institute requirements for credit hours and so forth. The success of such collaboration will depend on flexibility, especially on department and school heads, with a mandate from their university councils and rectors.

ADS C-3: Various. For instance, Africa-based scholars can improve on their ability to secure funds and attend international conferences more frequently. It is at such events that contacts are built and useful networks are created, some of which will lead to joint research grants/funding applications and eventually, more collaborative work, mobility, international exposure and long-term partnerships. I have also highlighted the need for a framework. Others include infrastructure, development of networks, linkages.

ADS D-4: With the ubiquity and power of ranking exercises such as the Times Higher Education World University Rankings, many Northern universities focus only on reciprocal arrangements with other highly ranked universities. This cuts off arrangements with African universities, except those [that are] highly ranked, such as the University of Cape Town. Truly reciprocal arrangements need to be made between African and, for example, Australian universities.

Final Remarks

The conversation excerpts indicate that a strong case can be made for expanding African diaspora initiatives as a means to improve collaboration between Africa-based scholars and African diaspora scholars. However, as these conversations highlight with regard to the challenges faced in engaging with African universities, a more balanced and equal share of opportunities is required between Africa-based scholars and those in the diaspora. This means that the nature of their relationship should not be one of African diaspora scholars patronising their colleagues on the African continent. Rather, Africa-based scholars need more support from their diaspora counterparts. To date, collaborations tend to have been driven by the way funding opportunities and programmes are designed, which invariably promote a one-way flow of ideas, knowledge and movement

– from the global North to the South – with adverse developmental consequences for Africa in many cases. In recognition of this, it would be advisable to promote a new kind of diaspora engagement, mentality and policy, one that promotes two-way mobility and thus the circulation of both Africa-based scholars and African diaspora scholars. These are compelling motives for more investment in truly reciprocal exchanges. We are at a crossroads – today's emerging academic exchange programmes and practices must ensure that Africa-based scholars are not simply hosts of African diaspora scholars; rather, they need to be acknowledged as equal subjects of knowledge generation through research

Notes

1. Interviews were conducted by Patrício Langa and transcribed by Patrick Swanzy and Pedro Uetela.
2. This chapter is based on extracts from interviews with diaspora scholars conducted by Patrício Langa under the CODESRIA programme of providing support from the African diaspora support to African universities between 2015 and 2017.
3. https://www.britac.ac.uk/newton-mobility-grants and https://royalsociety.org/grants-schemes-awards/grants/newton-mobility-grants/

References

Mamdani, M., 1993, 'University Crisis and Reform: A Reflection on the African Experience', *Review of Political Economy*, Vol. 58, pp. 7–19.

Mamdani, M., 2007, *Scholars in the Marketplace: The Dilemmas of Neoliberal Reform at Makerere University 1989–2005*, Dakar: CODERSIA.

Mkandawire, T., 2011, 'Running While Others Walk: Knowledge and the Challenge of Africa's Development', *Africa Development*, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 1–36.

Nyerere, J.K., 1966, 'Inauguration of the University of East Africa', in Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity: Essays on Socialism*, Dar-Es-Salaam: Oxford University Press.

Nyerere, J.K., 1968. The Role of Universities', in Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism- Uhuru na Ujamaa: A Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1965–1967*, Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press.

Sen, A., 2012, *Dependency Theory. A Description of Global Association with Neo-Marxist Theory*. Available online at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JN6LlMY2ApQ

wa Thiong'o, N., 1986, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*, London: James Currey.

Zeleza, P., 2013, *Engagement between African Diaspora Academics in the U.S. and Canada and the African Institutions of Higher Education: Perspectives from the North America and Africa*, Report for the Carnegie Corporation of New York

Notes for Authors

Manuscripts submitted to the Journal of Higher Education in Africa should be typed doublespaced. Electronic versions should be submitted as MS Word or RTF attachments by email. Avoid excessive formatting of the text. Camera ready copies of maps, charts graphs are required as well as the data used in plotting the charts and graphs.

Please use the Havard Reference System (author–date) for referencing, e.g.:

> It is interesting to note that… the word for 'tribe' does not exist in indigenous languages of South Africa (Mafeje 1975:254).

It is essential that the references section lists every work cited by you in the text.

An abstract of 150 to 200 words, stating the main research problem, major findings and conclusions should be sent with the articles for translation into English or French. Articles that do not follow this format will have their processing delayed.

Authors should indicate their full name, address (including e-mail contact), academic status and current institutional affiliation.

CODESRIA adopts the "blind" peer review system for evaluation and manuscripts not accepted for publication will not be returned to authors.

Articles submitted to the JHEA should be original contributions and should not be under consideration by another journal at the same time.

Authors are entitled to two complimentary copies of the issue in which their articles appear and a PDF copy of the article for either printing or distribution.

Avis aux auteurs

Les manuscrits soumis à la Revue de l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique devront être saisis à l'interligne double et envoyés par e-mail au format Ms Word ou RTF. Eviter un formatage excessif du texte. Les cartes, diagrammes et graphiques devront être envoyées sous forme de prêt à clicher. Les données utilisées pour tracer les diagrammes et graphiques devront également nous parvenir.

Veuillez utiliser le système de référence de Harvard (auteur–date) pour ce qui est des références, par exemple :

> Il est intéressant de noter que… le mot pour « tribu » n'existe pas dans les langues indigènes d'Afrique du Sud (Mafeje 1975 : 254).

La liste des références doit répertorier tous les travaux cités dans le texte par l'auteur.

Un résumé de 150 à 200 mots indiquant la problématique de recherche ainsi que les principaux résultats et conclusions doit accompagner les articles en vue de leur traduction en anglais ou en français. Les articles ne se conformant pas à ce format verront leur traitement retardé.

Les auteurs doivent indiquer leur nom au complet, leur adresse (de même que leur adresse e-mail), leur situation académique ainsi que leur affiliation institutionnelle actuelle.

Le CODESRIA a adopté le système d'évaluation des manuscrits dans l'anonymat et les manuscrits non publiables ne seront pas retournés aux auteurs.

Les articles envoyés à la RESA doivent être des contributions originales et ne doivent pas être soumis pour considération dans aucune autre publication au même moment.

Les auteurs ont droit à deux (2) exemplaires gratuits du numéro dans lequel leur article est publié ainsi qu'à la version électronique de leur article au format PDF qu'ils pourront imprimer et distribuer.

Contact

Journal of Higher Education in Africa
Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA)
Avenue Cheikh Anta Diop Angle Canal IV,
P.O. Box 3304, CP 18524, Dakar, SENEGAL; Tel.: (221) 33825 98 22/23; Fax: (221) 33824 12 89
E-mail: publications@codesria.org; codesria@codesria.org

Journal of Higher Education in Africa
Revue de l'enseignement supérieur en Afrique
Volume 16, Nos 1&2, 2018 (ISSN 0851-7762)

CODESRIA

Contents / Sommaire

ISSN 0851-7762