Editorial

CODESRIA entered the year 2012 with a new Executive Committee, a new President and a new Vice President, all of whom were elected during the 13th General Assembly of the Council held in December 2011 in Rabat, Morocco. The new President is Professor Fatima Harrak of the Institute of African Studies, Mohammad V Souissi University in Rabat, and the Vice-President is Prof. Dzodzi Tshikata of the University of Ghana, Legon. The full list of members of the new Executive Committee follows this editorial.

As the 13th President of CODESRIA, Prof. Harrak took over from Prof. Sam Moyo of the Africa Institute of Agrarian Studies in Harare. CODESRIA, with the guidance of the Executive Committee, achieved quite a lot, including the launching of new research and policy dialogue initiatives, the publication of many good books and the launching of a new journal of social science research methodologies, the adoption of new internal regulations, the revamping of the CODESRIA website and, indeed, almost the entire CODESRIA communications system, making effective use of the new social media to the extent of being ranked in the 2011 Go To Global Think Tanks Report of the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program of the University of Pennsylvania (USA) among the top 30 think tanks in the world "with the best use of the internet or social media to disseminate information and knowledge and engage the public". In the same report, CODESRIA also featured among "the top 30 international development think tanks in the world".

The new Executive Committee is already at work, managing an evaluation of CODESRIA, and a Strategic Planning process, while continuing to perform its normal oversight and leadership roles. Although the Council still has many challenges to overcome, the good news is that the results of the evaluation are positive.

The theme of the scientific conference of the 13th General Assembly was "Africa and the Challenges of the 21st Century". The General Assembly brought together about 600 people, mostly scholars from the continent and its Diaspora. Rabat also confirmed a trend that began earlier on; the General Assembly is becoming a great scientific attraction for scholars around the world. The debates on climate change, global knowledge divides, higher education leadership, the "Arab Spring" / "African Awakening", China-Africa relations, land grabbing, the future of multilateralism, the meaning of pan Africanism today, international migrations, and other major issues were extremely rich, as can be seen in the summary of the report of the General Assembly published in this issue of the Bulletin. The full report will also soon be published. Most of the 200 or so papers presented at the Assembly are already on the CODESRIA website, and revised versions will be published in special issues of CODESRIA journals and in the Book Series, as a way of extending the debates that started in Rabat to the wider scholarly community. In an attempt to enable the community to follow the debates in Rabat live through the internet, the plenary sessions were actually all streamed, and many people were able to follow the discussions. Video recordings of the keynote lectures and some of the roundtables are being re-formatted for uploading on the website.

In this issue of the *CODESRIA Bulletin*, we publish two of the papers that were presented during the General Assembly; addressing issues such as higher education, the knowledge systems and the question of how prepared Africa is to face the challenges of the second decade of this century, and the African Diaspora (Africa's Sixth Region).

This issue also carries the reports from the conferences of CODESRIA Journal Editors and the Deans of the Faculties of Social Sciences and Humanities of African universities, both of which were held in Rabat on the back of the General Assembly. The keynote address at the editors' conference, entitled "Equitable Higher Education, Inclusive Development and the Commercial Academic Publishing Industry", was delivered by Professor Adam Habib of the University of Johannesburg. He described the current journal industry, involving the

multinationals of the journal publishing industry, as a bizarre one 'in which the authors of journal articles are paid by the public purse, those that painstakingly review the quality of the product are also paid by the public purse, and then the product is sold by a private European or North American company back to public institutions at a huge profit…' The effect of this is that the not-so-well-endowed universities 'do not have access to a quality academic journal base which is an absolute necessity for quality higher education…' This is part of the strategic issues the African academy needs to address; otherwise, how are we going to develop a high quality education system that is capable of producing high profile scholars and professionals needed for the continents development and building a new generation of scholars to sustain our academic institutions? In his address (the text of which was published in issue 3&4, 2011 of CODESRIA Bulletin), Prof. Habib also explains how countries like Brazil and South Africa are trying to address this global challenge about which even some of the universities of the North that have huge endowments are beginning to express serious concern.

The Deans' Conference was organized around the theme "The Place of the African University in the Building of a Global Higher Education Space". The keynote address, delivered by Professor Mahmood Mamdani, decried the prevailing 'culture of consultancy' that was taking space and resources at the expense of teaching and research, the primary responsibilities of universities. The missing link is the ability of African young researchers to theorise and define Africa's problems, a very possible task if these skills can be inculcated into the new and upcoming doctoral students. In addition to discussing this topic, the Deans also addressed three other issues: (i) "African Universities and Globalization"; (ii) "African Universities and the Implementation of the BMD Reform" and; (iii) "Rethinking Humanities and Social Sciences in a Global Higher Education Space".

Featuring also in this edition are announcements of new activities and scientific reports, including that of the 2011 Gender Symposium, held in Cairo 1st to 3rd November, 2011, written by Brahim El Morchid. The theme of the symposium was "Gender and Media in Africa". Among other issues, this forum emphasises the role of women as agents of change in the economic, political and social struggle and development of African states; and discourages social structures that militate against women empowerment and recognition. Some of the major issues discussed included how to discourage traditional stereotypes and reductionist representations of women in the media in favour of empowerment, positive projection and greater recognition of women, as well as diversification of gender roles.

Ebrima Sall
Executive Secretary

Alex Bangirana
Head, Publications

New Executive Committee Members

President of CODESRIA

Fatima Harrak is a Historian and Political Scientist. She is a Research Scholar at the Institute of African Studies, Mohamed V Soussi University, Morocco.

Fatima Harrak

Vice-President of CODESRIA

Dzodzi Tsikata is the Director of the Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy (CEGENSA) and an Associate Professor at the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research (ISSER), University of Ghana.

Dzodzi Tsikata

Cláudio Alves Furtado is a Sociologist. He is an Associate Professor at the University of Cape Verde. He is also a visiting professor of African studies at the Federal University of Bahia, Brazil.

Claudio Alves Furtado

Jessie Kabwila is the Head of the English Department, Chancellor College, University of Malawi. She is a committed academic unionist, serving as the Acting President of the Chancellor College Academic Staff Union (CCASU).

Jessie Kabwila-Kapasula

Puleng LenkaBula is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Systematic Theology and Theological Ethics at the University of South Africa.

Puleng LenkaBula
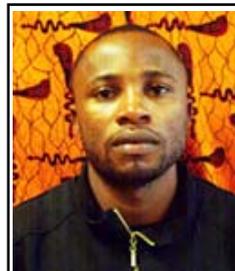
Etanislas Ngodi is a Lecturer and Researcher at Marien Ngouabi University, Democratic Republic of Congo.

Etanislas Ngodi

F.E.M.K. Senkoro is currently an Associate Professor, and Head of the Centre for Literature and African Oral Traditions at the Institute of Kiswahili Studies, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

F.E.M.K. Senkoro

Mohamed Helmy El Sharawy is currently the Vice President at the Arab and African Research Center in Cairo, Egypt, and was its Director from 1987 to 2010.

Mohamed Helmy El Sharawy

Kenneth Inyani Simala is an Associate Professor of Language and Cultural Linguistics at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology (MMUST), Kenya.

Kenneth Inyani Simala

Emmanuel Yenshu Vubo is a Professor of Sociology and Demography at the University of Buea, Cameroon.

Emmanuel Yenshu Vuboh

Africa and the Challenges of the 21st Century

13th CODESRIA General Assembly, 5 – 9 December 2011, Rabat, Morocco

Introduction

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) held its 13th General Assembly on 5 - 9 December 2011 in Rabat, Morocco. Held every three years, the General Assembly is one of the most important scientific events on the African continent. More than 600 participants from various disciplines and from about 30 African countries took part in the 2011 edition, during which partners and donors of the Council were also present. This triennial event offered African researchers the opportunity to reflect together on the main challenges of the world and, in particular, those confronting Africa and the social sciences. The theme for was *Africa and the Challenges of the 21st Century.*

The 13th General Assembly was also another occasion to elect new Executive Committee members and President of CODESRIA for the next three years

The General Assembly took place in a context characterized by a series of global, continental, regional and institutional events, out of which three stood out:

- The effects of the financial crises of the last three years have shown the limits of the classical theories and analyses defended by international financial institutions and the majority of Western countries. The crisis did not spare African economies.

- Beyond the economic aspect, 2011 also marks the 50th anniversary of the Casablanca Conference that set the foundation for the Organization of African Union and for the independence of many African countries. However, 50 years later, the continent is yet to overcome the violent conflicts that characterize its political and social development. So, many issues face the continent: what are the lessons of this historic moment? What are the challenges facing the African continent today?

- The so-called Arab spring has been one of the major events on the continent, and the end of the year 2011 has been marked by changes that run deep in the affected part of North Africa.

The major moments of this great scientific event were the opening ceremony, the keynote lectures by Amadou Makhtar Mbow (Inaugural Lecture), Souleymane Bachir Diagne (Leopold Sedar Senghor Lecture), Jomo Kwame Sundaram (Cheikh Anta Diop Lecture) and Sam Moyo (Claude Ake Presidential Lecture). Following these were the major roundtables on thinking the future, the evolution of the multilateral system (particularly the UN systems), the World Social Science Report, the ongoing democratic revolutions, and higher education leadership; as well as sessions on Samir Amin and Thandika Mkandawire, the celebration of the 1961 Casablanca Conference (which was one of the most important moments in the process that led to the

Brahim El Morchid
University Cadi Ayyad, Marrakech
Abderrahmane Ngaïdé
Cheikh Anta Diop University
Abdon Sofonnou
CODESRIA

creation of the OAU/AU) and the endnote lecture during which Professor Jayati Gosh succintly spelt out the state of the global economy and the ways out of the global crisis for, not only Western countries, but also for those who seem to be the most affected.

The opening ceremony was chaired by His Excellency Nizar Baraka, Deputy Minister of Economic and General Affairs of the Kingdom of Morocco, and attended by members of the diplomatic corps,representatives of various international and regional organizations and a great number of eminent researchers from Moroccan institutes and universities. Among other speakers at the ceremony were Professor Sam Moyo, outgoing president of CODESRIA, Professor Radouane Mrabet, President of Mohamed V-Souissi University, Rabat (the host institution) Professor Yahia Abou El Farah, Director of the Institute of African Studies, Rabat, Dr Ebrima Sall, Executive Secretary of CODESRIA, Professor Iba Der Thiam, Vice-President of the National Assembly of Senegal and Professor Amadou Mahtar Mbow, former Director of UNESCO.

This report contains the major discussions held during the General Assembly held at theEcole Mohamedia d'Ingenieurs, Mohamed V-Souissi UniversityRabat..

The Inaugural Lecture

In his inaugural lecture, Professor Amadou Mahtar Mbow recalled the link between the Europeanization of the world and the challenges of the African continent, which began in the fifteenth century and continued until the late twentieth century, with the globalization phenomenon. Africa has been both a victim and a source of the gradual Europeanization of the world, and itis through the resources of the African continent that the development of Europe was partly accomplished. But Africa has not received sufficient returns on the investment. It is in this context of domination and capital accumulation that we must examine the challenges that have been confronting Africa for decades. Professor Mbow thinks that, to have a voice in the current world order, Africa must overcome five major challenges - political, economic , technological and intellectual, as well as that of integration. By way of conclusion, Professor Mbow urged African researchers to encourage the development of the social sciences and especially to understand that they are the most qualified to rethink the modalities of the continent's development.

Thinking the Future, Reinventing our Future

This roundtable, organized in honour of the great African intellectual and eminent Professor, Samir Amin, was chaired by Thandika Mkandawire, former Executive Secretary of CODESRIA and Professor at the London School of Economics.

Seven scholars shared their views on the future of Africa. These included Alioune Sall, Director of the African Futures Institute in Pretoria; Leonard Harris, Professor at Purdue University; Pierre Sane, former Deputy Director of UNESCO; Elisio Macamo ofthe University of Basel in Switzerland; Rene Otayek of the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Bordeaux, Yusuf Bangura of UNRISD, Geneva; and Mohamed Dowidar of the University of Alexandria, Egypt.

In his introductory remarks, the chairperson, Thandika Mkandiwire, gave a brief testimony on the intellectual and human qualities of Samir Amin. According to, Professor Amin has always shown extraordinary thought and unequaled intellectual curiosity. Anembodiment of the committed intellectual who has left his mark on a generation of researchers, Samir Amin has made a considerable impact on knowledge production in Africa and the world at large. In this regard, his works must be published and translated into several languages so that they can be of immense use to future generations.

In its response to the various presentations, Professor Samir Amin emphasized that the reinvention of Africa would not be easy, as new and more complex challenges ones have been added to old ones. According to him, for Africa to play its part in the comity of nations, it mustresolve some basic issues such as integration, citizenship and acceptance of differences. Some of the central questions addressed by Professor Samir Amin were the in-depth democratization of societies, the socialization of economic management as a process combining all dimensions of social life, the active coexistence of different peoples. In his view, as he has always written and defended, the process of disconnecting the imperialist system must be reinforced to achieve national, regional and international autonomy. Amin thinks that we must instill a culture of daring, and that "CODESRIA has not lacked courage in the past and must show the same boldness in the present and the future." As usual, he did not conclude his without criticizing the current foundations of capitalism. In this regard, he asked whether we are on the eve of the decline of capitalism or simply of the de-Westernization of capitalism with the arrival of China, Brazil and India on the global financial market.

The roundtable was an opportunity for members of the audience to questions that they thought deserved urgent attention from researchers and policy makers on the continent. These included the issue of good governance, political instability and conflict, dysfunctions in international relations, the fight against racism and the management of new identities that have become increasingly complex, and exclusion, among others.

Higher Education and University Leadership in Africa

Chaired by Professor Akilagpa Sawyerr, former President of CODESRIA, this session was a forum for reflection on leadership in higher education in Africa. The speakers included Professors Adam Habib of the University of Johannesburg, Paul Tiyambe Zeleza of the University of Illinois at Chicago, Ndri Assie-Lumumba of Cornell University, Adele Jinadu of the Advanced Social Science Centre in Nigeria and Teresa Cruz e Silva of Eduardo Mondlane University of Mozambique and former President of CODESRIA. The roundtable re-visited the question that has continued to worry many African researchers: "How to efficiently manage the African university in an environment of a multifaceted crisis".

One issue that recurred in all presentations and the discussions that followed them was that of the interactions between the various levels of education: primary, secondary and tertiary. According to the discussants, the issue of education should be considered holistically if we really want the African education system to become the desired catalyst for the development of the continent and its peoples. For several years now, we have witnessed the 'commodification' of higher education in Africa, a gradual decline in the quality of teaching and 'massification', all of which are detrimental to the academic and socio-political environment on university campuses. This situation of near impoverishment has resulted in the decline of African universities in world rankings. The unfortunate trend that consists in filling the lower ranks of academic positions is due to lack of attention to quality research. Indeed, competition for positions in university governance, the fight for grades and low funding have undermine the fundamental foundation on which the African university should have been based.

Finally, all the speakers agreed that the accelerating processes of globalization are destroying the autonomy of African universities.

What Role for Multilateral Institutions in a New Africa?

This roundtable was chaired by Professor Carlos Lopes, Executive Director of the United Nations Institute for Training and Researchand member of the Scientific Committee of CODESRIA. The other speakers included Professors Adebayo Olukoshi (Director of IDEP and former Executive Secretary of CODESRIA), Thandika Mkandawire, Gita Welch (UNDP Resident Representative and UN System Coordinator in Dakar), and Marema Toure (Senior Programme Officer, UNESCO / BREDA, Dakar). To Carlos Lopes, the future of Africa is the responsibility of Africans and of African institutions. Africans must remain the principal architects of development. The speakers recalled that at the beginning of independence, relations between Africa and international institutions were more successful. The difficulties really started in the '80s and '90s. The economic downturn has contributed to the questioning of heterodox approaches to development, withan ideological reversal leading the Bretton Woods institutions to take a more neoliberal stance on development issues while donors began funding agencies that served their own interests.

The speakers recalled that development ideas were never imposed on Africa by the West. Rather, they were inherited from the Bandung Conference. To reverse this, the continent's development requires knowledge. Therefore, Africans need to bring to the forefront the debate on higher education in Africa and work towards lifting the resistances that impede equal access to the UN system.

The Casablanca Conference

Chaired by Professor Radwan Mrabet, President of the Mohamed V-Souissi University, Rabat, this session was attended by a host of eminent personalities, among whom were Professor Amadou Mahtar Mbow, former Director General of UNESCO; Bourita Nasser, Secretary General of the Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Cheikh Tidiane Gadio, former Senegalese Minister of Foreign Affairs; Helmi Sharawi, Director of AARC, Egypt; and Kofi Anyidoho, Professor at the University of Ghana, Legon.

Down the memory lane, the objective of the conference was to ensure that legitimately elected governments were not overthrown by foreign neocolonial forces as was the case with the Lumumba Government of Congo in 1960. Although the conference had not fully accomplished its mission, that of ensuring the political and economic integration of the continent – the founding of OAU – greatly contributed to the completion of the liberation of the continent and to the fight against apartheid in South Africa. Despite these efforts, we are still far from an integrated market as suggested by the Abuja Treaty, and even though Africa is now home to a billion people, with a third of the world resources, 60 per cent of young people and the ownership of oil reserves moving from Asia to Africa, the continent is being further fragmented instead of being united, as evidenced by the breakup of Sudan. The events that took place in Ivory Coast and Libya are also strong political illustrations of the disunity of Africa.

The 50th anniversary of the Casablanca Conference was an opportunity to pay tribute to Morocco which, since its independence, has always been at the forefront of issues concerning African unity. But it is incomprehensible that the kingdom now finds itself outside of the African Union. All seemed to say that Morocco has to find its place within the African Union because Africa is incomplete without Morocco. It would be a pride to see African countries hold a second conference in Casablanca to take stock of African integration and prepare the continent for the future.

The Social Sciences and the Challenges of Africa: Research Priorities in the Aftermath of World Report 2011

Organized in collaboration with UNESCO, the roundtable was chaired by Professor Adebayo Olukoshi, Director of IDEP and former Executive Secretary of CODESRIA.

The World Social Science Report 2010, presented by Françoise Caillods, emphasizes the importance of social sciences in understanding the trends in human societies. The number of social science students and teachers has increased at a faster rate than in other sciences. Today, there are a number of important scientific productions on this area and increasing collaboration between researchers in these disciplines. Research results are widely disseminated in books and articles, and increasingly through new communication channels such as the Web. Added to this is the existence of a strong demand for expertise in social science from policy makers, the media and the public in general.

Despite these positive achievements, great inequalities continue to hit regions, countries and institutions worldwide. But, knowledge production, measured by the number of publications in scientific journals, is still very unevenly distributed between countries. North America and Europe hold the record in publishing and the dissemination of research results. Four countries produce two-thirds of scientific journals in social sciences in the world (the US, the UK, the Netherlands and Germany). Developing countries occupy the last positions. Many social science research on issues of local interest and written in national languages are invisible. These works are not cited at international level, nor taken into account in global studies. A gap therefore exists between local and global knowledge. Moreover, English is confirmed as dominant. It is deplorable that some productions in Arabic, such as literature, law and philosophy are still inaccessible or even unknown. The drastic decline in public funding affects both institutional capacity and the quality of research. This is observable, not only in low-income countries, but all around the world

The fragmentation of knowledge and the limitations in the evolution of disciplines show a trend towards a proliferation of sub-disciplines and a growing hyper-specialization. But to fulfill their functions and to meet global challenges, the social sciences have to become more inter-and trans-disciplinary than they are today. The report highlights a wide range of issues as important as the impact of information technology on diffusion, dissemination of results, dissemination of social science and the potential of open access journals on the Web.

Françoise Carillons drew attention to the proposals made at the end of the report to improve the visibility of social sciences in the world and enable them to cope with current and future global challenges. The report recognizes that there is growth in the social sciences, but because of changes in the world, debates have focused much more on market reforms and the survival of the capitalist system.

After the presentation, members of the audience stressed the need to forge a new epistemology of the social sciences, and the role of CODESRIA in this process is very important. It is therefore essential for social scientists in Africa to 'be bold' in meeting the many challenges facing the continent. Finally, CODESRIA must react to this report, so as to ensure that the issue of knowledge fragmentation is not used as a hegemony and domination tool.

Agrarian Issues in Contemporary Africa, Asia and Latin America

This roundtable was chaired by Professor Sam Moyo, Director of the African Institute of Agrarian Studies, Zimbabwe. Several scholars in this area use the opportunity to present their ideas on how to better understand the changes underway in the use of agricultural land.

The objective of this roundtable was to discuss the problems of peasant struggle and mobilization campaigns in the process of democratization, human relations issues, uneven production, the exploitation of peasant labor, issues related to the problem of the agrarian struggle, and the inadequate responses of governments to the agrarian crisis, among others. According to the speakers, the agrarian crisis in Africa stemmed from the lack of infrastructure, the selfishness of some rural populations and very low dynamics on agrarian transformations. In addition, liberalization has so much paved the way for acquisition and transfer of land to new financially buoyant players that it is necessary to conduct an audit or mapping that can help us see more clearly what is happening to African lands

The discussions that followed the different presentations highlighted the need to properly lay the conceptual foundation of the concept of 'rural society' and that of the 'agrarian question'. Some discussants suggested an increased presence of the African state in the agricultural sector (state ownership of the industry) while others opt great attention should be focused on meeting the challenges of food sovereignty. Other areas on which discussions were held were the nature of agricultural production, as to whether it is important to continue encouraging the small-scale farm production or to shift to large-scale production, and the liberalization of the agricultural sector.

Africa and the Promise of a New Democratic Revolution

This session was chaired by Professor Shahida El-Baz, Director of the Arab and African Research Center, Cairo. Speakers' focus was mainly on understanding the changes taking place on the continent and especially in its northern part.

In his speech, Samir Amin criticized Sadat and Mubarak for dismantling the productive system of Egypt, and substituting an inconsistent system linked to the imperialist monopolies. For him, the 'Egyptian revolution' illustrates the possibility of the announced end of the 'neoliberal' system, a movement which is in line with three active components: the young 're-politicized' by their own will, the forces of the radical left and the middle classes. The Muslim Brotherhood only belatedly accepted the movement. So, it is a social revolt that is a carrier of alternative choices, which may in the long run be part of the socialist perspective.

Another speaker, Helmy Sharawy, submitted that the Egyptian revolution was the product of an accumulation of frustration and injustice of a patrimonial power grabbing by, not only the clan of the president, but also by his family.

Frej Stambouli blamed the real problems of Tunisia on youth unemployment, corruption, strong social and regional inequality, and particularly the lack of freedom and dignity. These factors have led to demands for change. The peoples have questioned the idea of the 'end of history' by challenging the dictatorial powers that have long undermined the workings of the republic. It is noteworthy that these popular movements were essentially secular, and had no Islamic claim, as these were ordinary people who have acted as real agents of change, forcing the dictator to resign.

The case of Libya appears more complex because the 1969 revolution originated from challenging Western intervention after the second war to dominate the Arab world. The 2011 revolution was a reaction of people yearning for freedom. It should be noted what happened in Libya should be interpreted as a tragedy which showed the extent of fear in peoples living under dictatorship.

The role of civil society in all these revolutions and changes on the continent on issues of state accountability on its obligations to its citizens, was underscored by Mshai Mwangola in his presentation, using Kenya as case study.

In total, the 13th General Assembly featured 13 plenary sessions, 33 parallel sessions and 24 roundtables organized by independent scientific institutional partners such as the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa (HSRC), the Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA), The Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD), the Nordic Africa Institute (Uppsala, Sweden), Africa-Europe Group for Interdisciplinary Studies (AEGIS), Comparative Research Programme on Poverty (CROP), the African Studies Centre in Leiden (Netherlands),and the Institute of African Studies at the University Mohamed V Souissi (Rabat). These sessions served as good fora for the the participating scholars to exchange ideas on major challenges facing Africa in this second decade of the 21st Century, such as climate change, the China-Africa relations and a multi-polar world, particularly with the emergence of BRICS (the so-called emerging big countries), international migration,

the impact of new information technologies and communications on the development process, governance, poverty, the evolution of gender relations, and the place and role of the youth.

Administrative Sessions

The business sessions were held in three phases. The first was devoted to the presentation and discussion of the reports of the outgoing president, the executive secretary and the chairman of the Scientific Committee; the second was a discussion on the CODESRIA Charter, while the last phase the election of the new Executive Committee, during which Professor Fatima Harrak of the Université Mohamed V-Souissi, Morocco, and Professor Dzodzi Tshikata of the University of Ghana, Legon, emerged as President and Vice-President, respectively. Other members of the new Executive Committee for the next three years, on regional basis, are:

- Central Africa: Etanislas Ngodi (Congo Brazzaville) and Emmanuel Yenshu Vubo (Cameroon); with Joseph Gahama (Rwanda) as alternate
- East Africa: Kenneth Inyani Simala (Kenya), Fikeni E.M.K. Senkoro (Tanzania); With Husain Adam (Sudan) as alternate
- North Africa: Fatima Harrak (Morocco), Helmy Sahrawy (Egypt); with Hispania Chablis (Tunisia) as alternate
- Southern Africa: Puleng LenkaBula (South Africa), Jessie Kabwila Capasula (Malawi); with Solofo Randrianja (Madagascar) as alternate
- West Africa: Claudio Alves Furtado (Cape Verde), Dzodzi Tsikata (Ghana); with Abderrahmane Ngaïdé (Mauritania) as alternate

Conclusion

In choosing the theme "Africa and the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century" for the 13th General Assembly of CODESRIA, the Executive Committee wanted to share not only concerns but also the hope of building a better Africa in a better world. In conclusion, five key lessons can be drawn from by this General Assembly: diversity, commitment, recognition, in-depth scientific debate and the culture of audacity.

The diversity aspect was manifested in five dimensions:

a. The geographical dimension: the participants came from thirty African countries, but also from Europe, Asia, North and Latin America;

b. The multidisciplinary dimension: all relevant disciplines of the social sciences and humanities were represented – History, Anthropology, Philosophy, Sociology, Literature, Economics, Management Science, Information Science, Political Science, History, etc;

c. The linguistic dimension: besides English and French, Portuguese was also used, and Arabic was introduced for the first time. This was a good sign towards connecting all the working languages of African researchers;

d. The generational dimension: In addition to the presence of renowned scholars and researchers both from within and outside Africa, the 13th General Assembly registered a strong presence of young researchers of the third and fourth generations. This diversity promises to bridge the

gap between all generations of researchers in Africa, with the new learning form the aged and experienced, and vice versa. Young researchers were therefore encouraged to invest more in developing new ideas for a better Africa; and

e. The gender dimension: the 13th General Assembly of CODESRIA was also marked by a presence of female participants and, more strongly, the emergence of two females as new President and Vice-President of the Council Commitment has always characterized the community of social scientists in Africa. The 13th General Assembly was an opportunity for African researchers to further demonstrate commitment to their creed to complete the work of the forerunners of social science research and development in Africa.

Through the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Casablanca Conference and the tributes to eminent professors produced by the continent, the African social science research community has demonstrated its gratitude, not only to the first generation of African leaders of thought who had worked for the independence of the continent, but also to the scientific community through its leaders who were at the forefront of research on the continent and the world.

The depth of the scientific debates at the General Assembly is also worthy of commendation.. Media reports from far and near have shown that the debates during the plenary sessions were very lively and intense, with a rare combination of scientific analysis social activism and intellectual commitment. Also, most papers presented at parallel sessions were rated as well written.

The final lesson to learn from the 13th General Assembly is in relation to the culture of audacity in a world facing a financial crisis, with adverse effects on African economies. Although the rhetoric of the participants was very critical of African realities, it ended on a note of hope. Indeed, for many researchers, the twenty-first century will be 'the century of Africa' if only Africans can continue to cultivate the courage to face all the challenges facing the continent.

CODESRIA Ranks High Again among Global Think Tanks

Early in 2011, the Global Think Tank Index, an annual rating of the leading public policy research organisations in the world conducted by the Think Tank and Civil Societies Program (International Relations Program) of the University of Pennsylvania (USA) released its ranking for the Year 2010, with CODESRIA coming 9th in sub-Saharan Africa. A total of 548 organisations from Africa – and 6,480 across the globe – were listed in the ranking (pp. 24 & 25).

Ebrima Sall
Executive Secretary
CODESRIA

According to the report, a panel of over 250 experts from around the world, across the political spectrum and from every discipline and sector, were assembled to help nominate and select public policy research centres of excellence that they felt should be recognized for producing 'rigorous and relevant research, publications and programs in one or more substantive areas of research'.

More interestingly, barely a month after its 13th General Assembly in Rabat, Morocco, the news came again on January 19, 2012 that CODESRIA has ranked higher in 2011 to the 4th position (p.44) out of a total of 550 from Africa and 6,545 worldwide (pp. 31-32). CODESRIA also ranked among the top 30 'international development' think tanks in the world (p.50); and finally, featuring among the think tanks with the best use of the Internet or social media to engage the public (p.61).

The objectivity and value of this kind of ranking is, as we know, debatable; but it still gives an idea of how CODESRIA is perceived, particularly with regard to the policy relevance of our work. As we can all see, the visibility of the Council has continued to increase in recent times and of course, this implies additional challenges.

We should always remember that CODESRIA was not built in one day, nor was it built by a small number of people working in a small secretariat in Dakar. It took the African social science community, and the many friends of Africa located in various parts of the world, many years of work to bring CODESRIA to where it is today. We would therefore like to express our sincere thanks to all of you, and congratulate you and ourselves. We know how much work there still is, and how much improvement is needed. We also know that the best is yet to come, if we can reaffirm our commitment to Africa and CODESRIA, and redouble our efforts to take the social sciences in Africa to higher levels of quality, relevance and engagement with the local, regional and global issues that our continent and people are confronted with.

We should therefore take this new ranking as an encouragement to keep excellence in all spheres as the only objective to pursue.

Who Will "Save" Africa?

Neither the "Western Saviour" nor the "African Messiah"

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On March 31, 2012 I attended a conference at the University of Illinois, Chicago. The theme "The Congo: Reclaiming its Destiny," captured my imagination when I saw a flier on a notice board at Northwestern University's Program of African Studies. The conference brought together scholars, students, journalists, and human rights activists, both Congolese and other nationalities, to reflect on the continuing crises in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, a country which, to be sure, is neither democratic nor a republic.

The eminent Congolese political scientist, Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, a professor of African Studies at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, delivered a powerful and impassioned key note address, calling on the people of Congo to take matters into their hands and urging the so called international community to take the Congolese seriously as capable of turning around their troubled country. Professor Nzongola remains one of the most important contemporary African scholars and a true citizen intellectual with an illustrious professional career, plying his trade in the American academe but remaining firmly engaged in the political processes of his homeland.

Nzongola's talk, "Elections and the Future of Democracy in the DRC," tackled head on the 2011 fraudulent election in which the incumbent Joseph Kabila was declared Winner over his main challenger Dr. Etienne Tshisekedi wa Mulumba. Since rejecting the election result, the latter remains practically under house arrest at his home in the capital Kinshasa. According to Nzongola, Tshisekedi, a veteran opposition politician, was by far the most popular candidate and Kabila had no chance, at all, of defeating him in a free and fair electoral contest. Nzongola, needless to say, has been closely asso-ciated with the opposition in Congo and has served as an advisor to Tshisekedi and other opposition politicians.

Responding to Nzongala's presentation was renowned journalist and author, Mvemba Dizolele, visiting fellow at the prestigious Hoover Institution at Stanford University. He has been one of the most outspoken Congolese intellectuals, stressing the role of neighboring states like Rwanda and Uganda in abetting inter-ethnic and fratricidal bloodletting in the eastern part of the country, and faulting the Western powers for being complicit in the never ending ghastly plunder of resources from the Congo.

Mvemba hardly disagreed with Nzongola, and perhaps was not the right person to respond to the latter's presentation. But both raised two points that speak to two sides of the same coin. First, apparently, when asked what he planned to do in the aftermath of the stolen vote, the opposition leader Tshisekedi said he was waiting for the outcome of a US Senate committee promised by Secretary of State for African Affairs, Johnnie Carson! Mr. Tshisekedi was counting on the Obama administration, through Carson and a promised committee, to investigate the electoral fiasco and supply solutions for the people of Congo!

Second, Mvemba spoke of his indi-gnation, while in Congo last fall doing election monitoring for the Carter Center, seeing Tshisekedi's aids and supporters treating their man as a messiah. Many were awed, Mvemba told the conference audience, that he could talk to the old man in a candid and no-holds barred conver-sation. Interestingly, the savvy and perceptive Mvemba found this messianic opposition leader remotely inspiring. These two stories were my take home from the conference. I went away persuaded, more than ever, that the task at hand for most of Africa is to liberate both the intelligentsia and the masses from the bondage of believing in "Western saviors" and "African messiahs."

The messianic post-independence politicians delivered most of the continent to anything but the promised land of socioeconomic transformation and genuine democratic governance. The second wave of reformist messiahs like Uganda's Yoweri Museveni (in power for 26 years and still counting), Burkina Faso's Blaise Campaore (25 years), Ethiopia's Meles Zinawi (21 years), et al, have presided over autocratic regimes that largely serve the interests of transnational capital and the security interests of the US with its European allies while the majority of Africans continue to wallow in abject poverty.

Fortunately many an African intellectual increasingly realizes the folly of hankering for foreign saviors and domestic messiahs. The speed and swiftness with which Ugandans and other African commen-tators caustically responded to the viral "Kony 2012" film may have sent a signal, one hopes, to those "good intentioned" humanitarianists in the West, looking for African victims to save, that they need to change the narrative about this continent of victims. There is no gainsaying the dire conditions in most of Africa, but only if those with good intentions of "saving" Africa went about their activities with some measure of humility, may be, just may be… But alas, the hubris and arrogance if not ignorance, is simply bewildering.

While Africans can do only so much about the excesses of "Western saviors" and transnational forces in a country like Congo, they can do a lot, I think, to resist the misdeeds of domestic messiahs and coteries of power seekers: mustering the temerity to say no to misrule. That the people of Senegal could stand up against a stale Abdoulaye Wade, in spite of state repression, attests to the power of a people reclaiming their destiny.

The people of Congo have been reduced to being the subject of every bad statistic, and aid agencies don't tire in informing the world that Congo is the worst place on earth on almost every socioeconomic, and even political, indicator. But as founding Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, stated in a letter to his wife more than four decades ago, the people of Congo are caged and are looked at "outside the bars, sometimes with charitable compassion, sometimes with glee and delight."

When anything positive is said about Congo, it's to repeat an old and tired line of a country rich in minerals and other natural resources. Not many remember (or do they know?) that this country has also produced some of the finest thinkers on the continent as well as big names in the world of sport, in the NBA, European League Football, etc.

Not just the people of Congo, but the entire African citizenry must reclaim the destiny of the continent.

Fractal Complexity in Cheikh Anta Diop's *Precolonial Black Africa*: A Pluridisciplinary Analysis

Introduction

Precolonial Black Africa: A Comparative Study of the Political and Social Systems of Europe and Black Africa, from Antiquity to the Formation of Modern States (1960/trans. 1987) is the first of Cheikh Anta Diop's five major works. The other four works that followed are *The Cultural Unity of Negro Africa* (1962), *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth and Reality* (1974a), *Black Africa: The Economic Basis for a Federated State* (1974b), and *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology* (1981/trans. 1991).

Divided into a preface, ten chapters, a "postface" and a bibliography, *Precolonial Black Africa* is Diop's first attempt to reconstruct African history and the contributions of Black people to the foundations of Western civilization. The book compares the political and social systems of Black Africa and Europe from antiquity to the formation of modern states. Diop's intent is not necessarily to provide a history, but to provide guidelines for other scholars seeking a scientific comprehension of pre-colonial African societies, the Mediterranean and Europe, and their links with the earliest stages of human development. As the doyen of African American history, John Henrik Clarke, eloquently puts it, "Those who read this book seriously are in for a shock and a rewarding experience in learning. This is a major work by a major Back historian. At last, the renaissance of African historiography from an African point of view has begun, and none too soon" (Diop 1960/trans. 1987: back cover).

While my extensive search yielded 289 scholarly citations of *Precolonial Black Africa*, I found no scholarly book review or systematic analysis of the text, even though such potential exists (though I found one Blog post review by Chez Gangoueus 2008). This is a major gap in African Studies because Diop's text is the first systematic analysis to challenge the Eurocentric postulate that "African political life before the advent of the white man was virtually a miserable affair of tribal chieftains, primevally vicious, locked in primitive power struggles over deadly forest and savannah lands and sluggish streams that constituted their only sources of existence" (Awoonor 1990:1). This study is an attempt to fill this gap. Specifically, given the preceding postulate, I employ the mathematical concept of Fractal Dimension and Complexity Theory to explore the idea of spectrum progressing from more orderly to less orderly or to pure disorder in the text. This called for the utilization of the Pluridisciplianry approach that helped me to mix linguistics and mathematical approaches – more precisely, Linguistic Presupposition and Fractal Methodology. The results generated after the MATLAB computer runs suggest that the combination of negative and positive feedback loops, which form the basis of several African knowledge systems, also form a key mechanism of general self-organizing systems discussed in *Precolonial Black Africa*. Before discussing the results generated from the MATLAB computer runs, it makes sense to begin with an expose of the research methodology employed in this article.

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Research Methodology

The major challenge for me was how to transform the linguistic pragmatic or deep-level meanings in Diop's literary text for mathematical modeling. As I stated earlier, this called for the utilization of a pluridisciplianry approach that helped me to mix linguistics and mathematical approaches: more precisely, Linguistic Presupposition and Fractal Methodology. The following is a discussion of these techniques.

Pluridiciplinary Methodology

Pluridisciplinary Methodology can be generally defined as the systematic utilization of two or more disciplines or branches of learning to investigate a phenomenon, thereby in turn contributing to those disciplines. Noting that Diop had called on African-centered researchers to become pluridisciplinarians, Clyde Ahmed Winters (1998) states that a pluridisciplinary specialist is a person who is qualified to employ more than one discipline – for example, history, linguistics, etc. – when researching aspects of African history and Africology in general.

The history of the Pluridisciplinary Methodology can be traced back to the mid-1950s with the works of Diop and Jean Vercoutter. The approach was concretized by Alain Anselin and Clyde Ahmad Winters in the 1980s and early 1990s. A brief history of this development with brief backgrounds of these four pioneers is retold in the rest of this section.

G. Mokhtar in his book, *Ancient Civilizations of* Africa (1990), traces the development of Pluridisciplinary Methodology to the works of Diop and Vercoutter. Diop was born in Senegal on

December 29, 1923 and died on February 7, 1986. He was a historian, anthropologist, physicist, and politician who investigated the origins of the human races and pre-colonial African culture. His education included African history, Egyptology, linguistics, anthropology, economics and sociology. He is considered one of the greatest African intellectuals of the 20th Century. Jean Vercoutter was born in France on January 6, 1911 and died on July 6, 2000. He was a French Egyptologist.

According to Mokhtar, Diop and Vercoutter were in total agreement on the point that it is necessary to study, in as much detail as possible, all the genes bordering on the Nile Valley which were likely to provide fresh information. Mokhtar notes that Vercoutter considered it necessary to give due weight to the palaeoecology of the Delta and to the vast region which had been termed by other researchers as the 'Fertile African Crescent'. Mokhtar points out that Diop advocated tracing the paths taken by peoples who migrated westwards from Dârfur, reaching the Atlantic seaboard by separate routes, to the south along the Zaïre Valley and to the north towards Senegal, on either side of the Yoruba. He adds that Diop also pointed out how worthwhile it might be to study Egypt's relations with the rest of Africa in greater detail than had been done, and that he further mentioned the discovery, in the province of Shaba, of a statuette of Osiris dating from the 7th Century before the Christian era. Similarly, argues Mokhtar, a general study might be made of the working hypothesis that the major events which affected the Nile, such as the sacking of Thebes by the Syrians, or the Persian invasion of -522, had far reaching repercussions on the African continent as a whole (Mokhtar 1990:55).

Furthermore, according to Winters, two major scholars who have advanced the pluridisciplinary approach by combining anthropological, historical and linguistic methods to explain the heritage of African people, constituting a third school of Africancentric researchers (the first and second schools being the African American and the French-speaking African and African Caribbean, respectively), are Anselin and himself (Winters 1998). Anselin teaches ancient Egyptian linguistics at the University of Guyana Antilles. He is an anthropologist and also the founder of the *Journal of Caribbean Egyptology*. Winters is a lecturer at Governors State University in Illinois where he teaches curriculum design and research methods courses.

Anselin is the author of three important pluridisciplinary Africancentric books – (1) *Samba*, (2) *La Question Puele*, and (3) *Le Mythe d'Europe* – and numerous articles. In *Samba*, Anselin demonstrates how the corpus of Egyptian hieroglyphics explains both the Egyptian civilization and the entire world of the Paleo-Africans. He also makes it clear that Kemetic civilization originated in the Fertile African Crescent and that Black African and Kemetic civilization at its origination was unified from its foundations in the Sahara up to its contemporary manifestations in the languages and culture of Black Africans. In *La Question Puele*, Anselin examines the unity for Egyptian, West African and Dravidian languages, political traditions and culture. He also provides a detailed discussion of the "Black Ageans." The findings comprise a thorough representation of the affinities between the Agean and Dravidian civilizations (Winters 1998).

Winters is the only African American that attempts to confirm Diop's theories in relation to the genetic unity of the Egyptian, Black African, Elamite, Sumerian and Dravidian languages. Winters is mainly concerned with the unity of the ancient and new worlds' Black civilizations and the decipherment of ancient Black writing systems used by these Africans. This interest had led him to learn many languages, including French, Tamil, Malinke/Bambara, Chinese, Arabic, Otomi, and more (Winters 1998).

Winters had used Diop's genetic model in his research by combining anthropological, linguistic and historical methods to confirm that the center for the rise of the originators of the Egyptian and Manding civilizations, the Magyar or Hungarian civilization, the Dravidian civilization, and the Sumerian and Elamite civilizations was the Fertile Crescent of the highland regions of Middle/Saharan Africa. He also explains how Blacks founded civilizations in the Americas and East and Southeast Asia. A major finding from Winters' work is that the ancestors of the Dravidian and Manding-speaking people seem to have left Africa at the same time, around 2600 BC, and that these people founded civilizations in Europe, Elam, India and ancient China (Winters 1998).

Like Diop before him, Winters also discusses the African sub-stream in European languages, the conflict between African people and Indo-European-speaking people, and the loss of early African settlements in Europe to the contemporary European people due to natural catastrophes and wars around 1000 BC. Winters provides valuable source material for the elaboration of the African influence on European languages and those of East and Central Asia (Winters 1998).

Winters had discovered that the Proto-Saharan people used a common writing system. He also was able to read the ancient inscriptions left by these people in the Sahara, dating to 3000 BC. He was able to confirm this development by comparing the Manding and the Elamite languages, and the Sumerian and Dravidian languages. The evidence of a genetic relationship between the Manding languages, which Winters used to decipher the earliest Proto-Saharan writings and other languages spoken by the founders of civilization in India and Mesopotamia, led him to hypothesize that the writing systems used by these ancient founders of civilization could be deciphered. The utilization of Diop's linguistic constancy theory allowed Winters to confirm his own hypothesis and read the common signs used to write the Harapant, Minoan and Olmec scripts (Winters 1998).

Winters' most significant finding is the cognate language of Meroitic. By employing the evidence presented by the classical sources that the Kushites ruled empires in Africa and Asia, Winters is able to show that the cognate language of Meroitic was the Tokharian language spoken by the Kushana people of Central Asia. He has been able to decipher many Meroitic inscriptions by using the Kushana/Tokharian language (Winters 1998).

According to Dani Nabudere (2003), Pluridisciplinary Methodology involves the use of open and resource-based techniques available in an actual situation. Thus, it has to draw upon the indigenous knowledge materials available in the locality and make maximum use of them. Indigenous languages are therefore at the center of the effective use of this methodology.

What all this suggests, according to Nabudere, is that the researcher must revisit the indigenous techniques that take into consideration the episte-

mological, cosmological and methodological challenges. The researcher must be culture-specific and knowledge-source-specific in his/her orientation. Thus, the process of redefining the boundaries between the different disciplines in our thought process is the same as that of reclaiming, reordering and, in some cases, reconnecting those ways of knowing, which were submerged, subverted, hidden or driven underground by colonialism and slavery. The research should therefore reflect the daily dealings of society and the challenges of the daily lives of the people.

Towards this end, following Nabudere, at least the following six major questions should guide pluridisciplinary research (2003:13):

1. How can the research increase indigenous knowledge in the general body of global human development?

2. How can the research create linkages between the sources of indigenous knowledge and the centers of learning on the continent and in the Diaspora?

3. How can centers of research in the communities ensure that these communities become "research societies"?

4. How can the research be linked to the production needs of the communities?

5. How can the research help to ensure that science and technology are generated in relevant ways to address problems of the rural communities where the majority of the people live and that this is done in indigenous languages?

6. How can the research help to reduce the gap between the elite and the communities from which they come by ensuring that the research results are available to everyone and that such knowledge is drawn from the communities?

The truism that indigenous knowledge is critical to Africa's development prompted a workshop titled "Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Intellectual Property in the Twenty-First Century: Perspectives from Southern Africa" convened at the University of Botswana from November 26 to 28, 2003 which culminated into a book with the same title published in 2007 by CODESRIA. The tenor of the workshop and subsequent book is that the twin themes of indigenous knowledge systems and intellectual prop-

erty rights have moved to the center of academic discourse within the context of innovation and the commercialization of knowledge. This is because wealth is no longer reckoned in terms of physical assets alone. Unfortunately, the traditional imbalance between the North and the South, which has for long manifested itself mainly through trade, is replicated even in tapping intellectual property given to residents of the developing world who remain largely unable to define their property rights. Once again, the West exploits Africa and the rest of the developing world by expropriating indigenous knowledge systems and patenting them in the West (Mazonde and Thomas 2007).

Various scholars have suggested many major concepts to underlie the Pluridisciplinary Methodology, but it is Dan Nabudere (2003) who has provided the most succinct definitions and discussions for most of these concepts. They are as follows:

(a) African Spirituality refers to those aspects of people that have enabled them to survive as a human community throughout the centuries. It transcends European classical humanism with its class, socio-economic and geographical limitations based on Greece and the Athenian city-state, which is based on a system of slavery. African spiri-tuality leads to enlarged humanities and recaptures the original meaning of humanity which Western scholars, beginning with Plato, in their hollow and lopsided search for material progress, have abandoned (Nabudere 2003:3-4).

(b) Contemporary African Philosophy is a critique of the Eurocentric "idea" and "general philosophy" in its meta-physical perception that European-humanism is superior to that of the African people. This falsehood, which has been perpe-tuated by Europe to this day, hinges upon the belief that the rest of humanity has to be *forced* to believe like Europe in order to be "humanized" into a singular humanity. Contem-porary African philosophy seeks to "de-structure" this European pretext and emphasize humankind's "shared humanity" (Nabudere 2003:4).

(c) The African Renaissance is the initiative to recapture the basic elements of African humanism (*ubuntu,* 'eternal life', and 'immanent moral justice') as the path to a new humanistic universalism. This initiative, according to

Chancellor Williams, "is the spiritual and moral element, actualized in good will among men (and women), which Africa itself has preserved and can give to the world" (Nabudere 2003:4).

(d) The Pan-Afrikan University does not begin in a vacuum, for it has a deep heritage of culture and "civilizational" values that must inform its recreation (e.g., the Sankore University in Timbuktu). These institutions are to be found within Africa's ancient achievements. They must be unearthed and reclaimed. If the Pan-Afrikan University is to respond to this historic challenge and be a part of the correction of its historical distortion and theft of African heritages, it has to provide deeply thought out and well-conceived vision and mission, with a well articulated strategy to achieve its objectives. For it to be successful, it must be a part of the creation of a counter-hegemonic discourse which can enable the "triple agenda of deconstruction, reconstruction, and regeneration" to be undertaken at the same time. Consequently, the Pan-Afrikan University must develop the University as a new institution of higher education, which can help in reshaping the direction of education on the continent toward a more culture-specific and culturally relevant curriculum and pedagogy of liberation. It must draw from those heritages and provide the students, adult learners and the communities with a space in which they can learn as well as carry out their research and be trained by their teachers, community experts, and consultants at the university campuses as well as in the community knowledge sites. Essentially, the Pan-Afrikan University must be people-centered and community-based in which everyone enjoys the freedom to learn and speak (Nabudere 2003:5-6, 14).

(e) African Epistemology and Cosmology imply the development of an all-inclusive approach which recognizes all sources of human knowledge as valid within their own contexts. This calls for the adoption of hermeneutic philosophy in its African essence. This African-based epistemological and cosmological foundation is the prerequisite for the production and development of knowledge (Nabudere 2003:6-7).

(f) African Humanism/*Ubuntu* is a concept from the Southern African Nguni language family (IsiNdebele, IsiSwati/IsiSwazi, IsiXhosa and IsiZulu) meaning humanity or fellow feeling; kindness. *Ubuntu* serves as the spiritual foundation of African societies. It is a unifying vision or worldview enshrined in the maxim *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*: i.e. "a person is a person through other persons." This traditional African aphorism, which can be found in every corner of the continent, articulates a basic respect and compassion for others. It can be interpreted as both a factual description and a rule of conduct or social ethic. It both describes the human being as "being with others" and prescribes what that should be (Bangura 2005 & 2008).

(g) African Languages are at the center of developing the Pan-Afrikan University at all knowledge sites. Language, as Amilcar Cabral correctly pointed out, is at the center of articulating a people's culture. He stated that the African revolution would have been impossible without Africans resorting to their cultures to resist domination. Thus, culture is a revolutionary force in society. It is because language has remained an "unresolved issue" in Africa's development that present day education has remained an alien system. As Frantz Fanon put it, "to speak a language is to assume its world and carry the weight of its civilization". Kwesi K. Prah has argued consistently that the absence of African languages in the curriculum has been the "key missing link" in the continent's development. Consequently, the Pan-Afrikan University must build its curriculum on the basis of promoting African languages at the sites of knowledge and at the same time try to build libraries at those sites in the languages of the people living there. They must be promoted as languages of science and technology. This calls for the complete revamping of the epistemological and cosmological worldview of the current discourse. It also calls for the application of different methodo-logical and pedagogical approaches to learning and research in African conditions (Nabudere 2003:10).

(h) New Humanities is to serve as the core department in the division of the Pan-Afrikan University concerned with research and advanced studies. In the words of Chancellor Williams, the New Humanities "will have the task of enlisting the services of the world's best thinkers of the work of developing a science of humanity through studies expressly aimed at better human relations. It is to be at the heart of the entire education system and, therefore, the nation." Williams believes that the central idea in this philosophy is life. He argues that since neither Western science nor religion has provided satisfactory answers to three questions (From where do we come? Why? And where are we bound?), it is imperative for the Pan-Afrikan University to provide the space for discussing these eternal questions. This approach calls for the reorganization of the disciplines of the social and human sciences as well as the natural sciences into a holistic learning process. The reorganization should lead to a breaking down of the over-compartmentalization and over-fragmentation of faculties, departments and branches of knowledge. It should explore the reunification of allied disciplines (which have been subdivided into sub-disciplines) into unified fields of study (Nabudere 2003:14).

(i) Hermeneutic Philosophy recognizes the basic unity of human endeavor through "discourse" that expresses "the intelligibility of Being-in-the world" (Nabudere 2003:16).

(j) Integrated and Synthesized Knowledge is based on the notion that privileging African-centered curriculum must transcend a narrow conception of what is purely African to include such knowledge within the wider synthesized framework of global knowledge (Nabudere 2003:17).

(k) Afrikan-based Pedagogy draws inspiration and materials for learning from real life situations of the African people, especially in the rural areas, by adopting those pedagogical methods and techniques that inform their philosophy of life, their worldview, and their lived experiences and practices. The key to developing an Afrikan-based pedagogy hinges upon the knowledge specific-sites where African experts of different branches of knowledge are located. These sites will inform both the content and the pedagogy. The pedagogy will incorporate "oracy," which contains forms of art and techniques to which they give expression, which is essential for adult learning. By mainstreaming this form of expression, its agents gain visibility and recognition in knowledge creation and production. This will enable indigenous tales, stories, proverbs, legends, myths, symbols and epics to be resuscitated, for these forms of knowledge incorporate people's philosophies of life, norms, values in a kind of "moving" and "living library" (Nabudere 2003:19).

(l) *Life Long Learning*, which has recently become a mantra of many developed countries and international organizations as a novel approach to learning in the 21st Century, is deeply embedded within African culture and epistemology. Learning and "culturalization" in African societies were considered continuing processes that "took place from birth until death with the family unit, extended family, the village and the entire community participating" (Nabudere 2003:19). Life-long learning will bring adult learners to formal institutions of learning and remove the division between informal, non-formal, and formal education in line with African traditions and culture. It will also provide for the cooperation in research between the Pan-Afrikan University and the communities, in addition to providing for the recognition of learning outcomes gained through their own contexts outside the formal education system (Nabudere 2003:20).

(m) Kemetic Civilization is a Black African civilization whose origination in the Fertile African Crescent was unified from its foundations in the Sahara up to its contemporary manifestations in the languages and culture of Black Africans (Winters 1998).

The favored methodological approach for pluridisciplinary studies is Hermeneutics, an open-ended approach that permits cross-cultural communication and exchange of ideas and opinions to promote understanding between all knowledge systems in their diversities. This African philosophical-pedagogic approach hinges upon the acceptance of pluralism and cultural diversity. It stresses the need for the "fusion of historical horizons" as the best way of transmitting understanding between different lived histories or experiences of different communities as the basis of their

existence. It insists on both the cultural context and the historical contingencies of events as necessities for a true comprehension of the different lived experiences. Furthermore, the approach has its roots in the African/Egyptian mythical figure of Hermes, the messenger of knowledge from the gods to mortals and the interpreter of the divine message to humankind, and that is why Hermeneutics is named after Hermes (Nabudere 2003:7-8).

Hermeneutics is to be employed on the premises that encourage self-directed learning, which engages with the knowledge, interests, and real life situations that learners bring to their learning situations. This notion of site-specific knowledge attempts to offer a corrective to the Eurocentric tendency of universalizing knowledge around Occidental centers and sites of knowledge which are privileged to the disadvantage of others, claiming to be the only sites of "rationality" and "scientific knowledge". Recognizing the other sites and centers leads to a truly multi-polar world of global knowledge culled from all sources of human endeavor (Nabudere 2003:8).

Linguistic Presupposition as the Unit of Analysis

As stated earlier, the unit of analysis for the present essay is linguistic presupposition, which can be defined as an implicit assumption about the world or background belief upon which the truth of a statement hinges. The linguistic presuppositions for this study are drawn out of Diop's topics in the text examined. The writer's topics here are the a priori features, such as the clear and unquestionable change of subject focus, for defining types of linguistic presuppositions found in the text examined. While there are many other formulations of 'topic' from which to chose, the writer's topics are employed for this essay because it is the writer who had topics, not the text. The other formulations of 'topic' include sentential topics, discourse topics, presuppositional pools, relevance, topic boundary markers, paragraphs, paratones, representation of discourse content, position-based discourse content, and story. Thus, the notion of 'topic' in this article is considered as one related to representations of discourse content.

In choosing the writer's topic as the recording unit, the ease of identifying topics and correspondence between them

and the content categories were seriously considered. Guiding this choice was the awareness that if the recording unit is too small, such as a word, each case will be unlikely to possess any of the content categories. Furthermore, small recording units may obscure the context in which a particular content appears. On the other hand, a large recording unit, such as a stanza, will make it difficult to isolate the single category of a content that it possesses. For the current essay, two methods were appropriate. First, there is the clear and uncontestable change of subject focus. Second, topicalization was found to have been used to introduce new characters, ideas, events, objects, etc.

Finally, in order to ascertain the reliability of the coding unit employed for the essay, attempts were made to show inter-coder reliability: that is, two or more analysts, using the same procedures and definitions, agree on the content categories applied to the material analyzed. Two individuals, who had extensive training in discourse analysis and especially topic identification, were given copies of the text studied to identify what they perceived as topics, or more specifically, where one topic ends and another begins. Although there were no differences between the two individuals and I, the identified topics and the texts were also given to a linguist who has done a great deal of work on topic analysis for comments and suggestions. This approach was quite useful for increasing my confidence that the meaning of the content is not heavily dependent on his analysis alone.

After identifying the presuppositions in the text studied in terms of the topics identified, these propositions were placed into two categories ('order' versus 'disorder') based on the bottom-up processing approach common in linguistic analysis for further examination. This involved working out the meanings of the propositions already processed and building up composite meanings for them.

Because the text examined is a representation of discourse in text, the level of analysis is naturally the written text. Text is used here as a technical term – in Gillian Brown and George Yule's conceptualization, "the verbal record of a communicative act" (1983:6).

In order to ascertain the presuppositions in the text examined, the test known as Constancy under Negation Rule was

employed. This test is important because, following Gottlob Frege (1892/1952) and Peter Strawson (1952), presuppositions are preserved in negative statements or sentences. A researcher can therefore simply take a sentence, negate it, and see what inferences survive: that is, are shared by both positive and negative forms of the sentence. But because, as Stephen Levinson (1983:185) is quite correct in pointing out, "constancy under negation is not in fact a rich enough definition to pick out a coherent, homogenous set of inferences", the tests for presuppositional defeasibility (the notion that presuppositions are liable to evaporate in certain contexts) and the projection problem of presuppositions (i.e. the behavior of presuppositions in complex sentences) were also employed.

Consequently, in order not to necessarily presume the conclusions to be drawn, cues to the intent of the author of the text examined are 'deconstructed'. How, then, are these cues mapped out for the present essay? According to Herbert Paul Grice's (1975) characterization of meaning or non-natural meaning (which is equivalent to the notion of intentional commu-nication), intent is achieved or satisfied by being recognized. A sender's communicative intent becomes mutual knowledge to sender and receiver: that is, S knows that H knows that S knows that H knows (and so ad infinitum) that S has this particular intention. So following Roger Shuy (1982), it is necessary to begin by asking "What did the writers (here, Diop) do"? Thus, it is clearly necessary to look at specific topics developed by the author of the text analyzed. This is particularly true because, according to Wallace Chafe (1972) and Carol Kates (1980), the structure of intentions can neither be defined by the grammatical relations of the terms, nor the semantic structure of a text. Therefore, mapping out the cues to the intent of the author contained in the text analyzed called for: (a) identifying communicative functions, (b) using general socio-cultural knowledge, and (c) determining the inferences made.

Fractal Methodology

It is only logical to begin any discussion of Fractal Methodology with a definition of what a fractal is. As I state in my book, *Chaos Theory and African Fractals* (Bangura 2000:6), the concept of fractal remains inexplicably defined. This shortcoming is pointed out by Philip Davis as follows,

albeit he himself does not provide and explicit definition: "I consulted three books on fractals. Though there were pictures, there was no definition" (1993:22). The following is a small sample of the various ways the concept of fractal has been described as provided by Lynn Steen:

> The concept of fractional dimension, or fractals, was developed in order to describe the shapes of natural objects….An interesting property of fractal objects is that as we magnify a figure, more details appear but the basic shape of the figure remains intact (1988:409).

In addition, according to Steen:

> The word 'fractal' – coined by Benoit B. Mandelbrot – is related to the Latin verb *frangere*, which means "to break." The ancient Romans who used *frangere* may have been thinking about the breaking of a stone, since the adjective derived from this action combines the two most obvious properties of broken stones – irregularity and fragmentation. The adjectival form is *fractus*, which Mandelbrot says led him to fractal (1988:420).

Furthermore, as Steen points out, "Fractal dimension (is) a measurement of the jaggedness of an object" (1988:413).

Keith Weeks (in Hargittai and Pickover, 1992) states:

> [J. E.] Hutchinson laid the foundations of a certain concept of self-similarity, the basic notion being that of the object made up of a number of smaller images of the original object, and so on ad infinitum, typically resulting in detail at all levels of magnification, a trait commonly associated with objects referred to as *fractals* (1992:107).

From the preceding descriptions, I venture to offer a general definition of a *fractal* as a self-similar pattern: that is, a pattern that repeats itself on an ever diminishing scale.

As for Fractal Methodology, more popularly referred to as Fractal Analysis, itself, with its applications in the social sciences, Clifford Brown and Larry Liebovitch in their recent work appropriately titled *Fractal Analysis* (2010) published as part of the Sage Publications Quantitative Analysis of the Social Sciences series have a succinct exposé on the subject. The rest of the discussion in this section is based on their work.

Brown and Liebovitch begin by stating that several early applications of fractal mathematics emerged in the social sciences. These works include Vilfredo Pareto's 1897 study of the distribution of wealth; Lewis Fry Richardson's 1948 and 1960, but published posthumously, study of the intensity of wars; and George Zipf's 1949 studies of the distributions of word frequencies and city sizes. Brown and Liebovitch argue that while these ideas were known by experts in the field, they were isolated, quirky concepts until Mandelbrot developed the unifying idea of fractals in the 1970s and 1980s. Since that time, however, in spite of the fact that Zipf and Pareto distributions represent fractal distribution, social scientists have lagged behind the physical and natural sciences in utilizing fractal mathematics in their works (Brown and Liebovitch 2010:ix).

Brown and Liebovitch observe, however, that in recent years, the application of fractal mathematics by social scientists in their studies has grown exponentially. Their variety, they note, has expanded as rapidly as their numbers. They cite the examples that fractal analysis had been employed by criminologists to investigate the timing of calls for assistance to police, by sociologists to investigate gender divisions in the labor force, and by actuaries to study disasters. The surprising range of fractal phenomena in the social sciences led Brown and Liebovitch to call for a comprehensive survey that would investigate the common threads that unite them, thereby leading to a broader understanding of their causes and occurrences (Brown and Liebovitch 2010:ix).

According to Brown and Liebovitch, if a researcher has rough data, strongly nonlinear data, irregular data, or data that display complex patterns that seem to defy conventional statistical analysis, then fractal analysis might be the solution to the researcher. They posit that the non-normal and irregularity of so much of social science data apparently are the result of the complexity of social dynamics. Thus, for them, fractal analysis offers an approach for analyzing many of these awkward data sets. And more importantly, they note, the method also offers a rational and parsimonious explanation for the irregularity and complexity of such data. They insist that the data are not behaving badly; instead, they are simply obeying unexpected but common rules of which we are unaware (Brown and Liebovitch 2010:1).

Brown and Liebovitch go on to conceptualize fractals as *"sets* defined by the three related principles of 'self-similarity', 'scale invariance', and 'power law relations'". They postulate that when these principles converge, fractal patterns form. They note that the statistic called 'fractal dimension' is employed to capture the essential characteristics of fractal patterns. They add that much empirical work in fractal analysis focuses on two tasks: (1) showing that fractal characteristics are present in a particular data set and (2) estimating the fractal dimension of the data set. They also mention that there are various techniques for implementing these two tasks (Brown and Liebovitch 2010:2), the discussion of which is beyond the scope of the present essay. Nonetheless, it is necessary to provide brief definitions of the preceding five italicized concepts based on Brown and Liebovitch's work for the sake of clarity. The significant fact about sets is that almost all data sets can be fractal: that is, points, lines, surfaces, multi-dimensional data, and time series. Since fractals occur in different types of sets, various procedures are required to identify and analyze them, with the approach hinging upon the kind of data (Brown and Liebovitch 2010:2-3).

Brown and Liebovitch define 'self-similarity' as a characteristic of an object when it is composed of smaller copies of itself, and each of the smaller copies in turn are made up of yet smaller copies of the whole, and so on, *ad infinitum*. The word 'similar' connotes a geometrical meaning: that is, objects that have the same form but may be different in size (Brown and Liebovitch 2010:3).

'Scale invariance' for Brown and Liebovitch refers to having the same characteristics at every scale of observation. Thus, when one zooms on a fractal object, observing it at ever-increa-sing scale of magnification, it will still look the same (Brown and Liebovitvh 2010:5).

According to Brown and Liebovitch, 'power law relations' denote the rule that for a set to achieve the complexity and irregularity of a fractal, the number of self-similar pieces must be related to their size by a power law. Power law dristributions are scale invariant because the shape of the function is the same at every magnitude (Brown and Liebovitch 2010:5).

Finally, Brown and Liebovitch characterize 'fractal dimension' as the invariant

parameter that characterizes a fractal set. An analyst uses the fractal dimension to describe the distribution of the data. It is akin to having a "normal" set of data and using the mean and variance to describe the location and dispersion of the data (Brown and Liebovitch 2010:15).

Data Analysis

Before engaging in the fractal analysis of the data generated from Diop's text, I will first discuss the descriptive and inferential statistics employed to analyze them. Before computing the univariate and bivariate statistics to do the descriptive and inferential analyses of the data teased out of Diop's text, a two-dimensional ad hoc classificatory system was developed within which the data were categorized. The first of these categories entails the presuppositions of 'order': that is, presuppositions that suggest a condition of logical or comprehensible arrangement among the separate elements of a group. This type of presupposition is triggered by presuppositional discourse stretches such as "The *gér* comprise the nobles and all freemen with no manual profession other than agriculture, considered a sacred activity," "The néno comprise all artisans: shoemakers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, etc. These are hereditary positions," and "the specific feature of the system therefore consisted in the fact that the manual laborer, instead of being deprived of the fruits of his labor, as was the artisan or the serf of the Middle Ages, could, on the contrary, add to it wealth given him by the 'lord.'" The second category encompasses presuppositions of 'disorder': that is, presuppositions that suggest a condition or place of confusion, mess, disturbance, disarray, or muddle. This type of presupposition is triggered by presuppositional discourse stretches such as "There were, of course, also palace revolutions," "The Almoravides besieged Aoudaghast and Ghana,'" and "the order was scrupulously carried out; the market of the Beni-Asbih was pillaged, as well as the wealth of the Draa region."

After computing the descriptive and inferential statistics, the data were then plotted for oscillations between 'order' and 'disorder' in the book. This technique made it possible to show visually the attractor reconstruction for the text.

As shown in Table 1, a total of 2,139 topic entries were teased out of Diop's texts. Of these, I categorize 1,484 or 69 per cent as presuppositions of 'order' and 655 or 31 per cent as presuppositions of 'disorder'. There are more presuppositions of 'order' than presuppositions of 'disorder' for the preface and eight chapters with emphases on Africa and more presuppositions of 'disorder' than those of 'order' in the two chapters with emphases on Europe. The mean for the 'order' category is about 135 presuppositions, with a standard deviation of approximately 107 presup-positions; the mean for the 'disorder' category is about 60 presuppositions, with a standard deviation of approximately 38 propositions. The range for the 'order' category is 322 presuppositions and that for the 'disorder' category is 133 presuppositions, while the variance for 'order' is about 111,501 presuppositions and that for 'disorder' is approximately 1,458. This means that there are more (in fact slightly more than twice as many) and statistically significant topic entries for presuppositions of 'order' than there are of those for 'disorder'. Moreover there are significant variations among the chapters for each category in terms of topic entries, as can be gleaned from the ranges. Still, given the significant number of presuppositions of 'disorder' in the text in every chapter, it is therefore not tenable to assert that Diop engaged in "romanticizing" about the African past, as some of his critics like Stephen Howe (1999) and Tunde Adeleke (2009) suggest.

From Table 2, it can be seen that there is a statistically significant difference between the topic entries for 'order' and those for 'disorder' at the 0.01 level. It is also evident that there is a statistically strong and positive correlation between the two dimensions at the 0.01 level as well. Even though the 'order' dimension is dominant, but as it increases, so does the 'disorder' dimension.

As can be seen from Figure 1, a log-log plot (or log-log graph) was employed to represent the observed units described by the two-dimensional variable encompassing *order* (y) and *disorder* (x) as a scatter plot/graph. The two axes display the logarithm of values of the two dimensions, not the values themselves. If the relationship between x and y is described by a power law,

$$y = x^a;$$

then the (x, y) points on the log-log plot form a line with the slope equal to a. Log-log plots are widely used to represent data that are expected to be scale-invariant or fractal because, as stated before, fractal data usually follow a power law.

A logarithm is an exponent. It is illustrated in the following definition:

For $b > 0$, $b \neq 1$ and for $x > 0$,

$y = \log_b x$ if and only if $b^y = x$

Thus, since a logarithm is an exponent, it is easy to use exponent laws to establish mathematical generalizations.

Figure 1 illustrates the fractal dimension of the two-dimensionality of the variable. The binary logistic statistics reveal that the relationship between the two dimensions is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. In sum, Diop's text moves halfway across the spectrum – it typically moves from periodic fractal, rather than stretching all the way to pure order or disorder. In essence, the results generated after the MATLAB computer runs suggest that the combination of negative and positive feedback loops, which form the basis of several African knowledge systems – as Ron Eglash (1999:173-4) suggests, also form a key mechanism of general self-organizing systems discussed in *Precolonial Black Africa.*

Indeed, the preceding findings seem to be in line with my inclusion of Diop in the school of thought I characterize as *åtenu* in Ancient Egyptian/Hieroglyphics or *Mapinduzi* in Kiswahili or Revolutionary in English, as opposed to either the *åtenu m'þen* in Ancient Egyptian/Hieroglyphics or *Mapinduzi ya Malazi* in Kiswahili or Revolutionary-Accommodationist in English, or the *khêperu* in Ancient Egyptian/Hieroglyphics or *Kubadilisha* in Kiswahili or Reformist in English, in my paper titled "Pan-Blackist Conceptualizations of the Black Power Paradigm: From Cheikh Anta Diop to Ali Al'amin Mazrui" (2010). In the paper, I define these concepts in the essay as follows: the term *åtenu* was employed by Ancient Egyptians to describe revolutionaries, rebels or fiends who wanted radical change. Such people were perceived as *Mesti*, the divine parents of the God of Sun or Day Râ; *Mesu*, the gods who begat their own fathers or divine beings; and *Mesut*, children of God Osiris or divine beings. The concept *åtenu m'þen* was employed by Ancient Egyptians to refer to those who wanted change but would accept things, listened to, obeyed, or be content with things as long as their burdens were assuaged. The word *khêperu* for Ancient Egyptians described

**Table 1:** Univariate Statistics by Types of Presuppositions in the Text

Chapter	Number of Topic Entries for Presuppositions of Order		Number of Topic Entries for Presuppositions of Disorder	
	N	%	N	%
Preface	6	67	3	33
1. Analysis of the Concept of Caste	87	71	36	29
2. Socio-political Evolution of the Ancient City	55	44	70	56
3. Formation of the Modern European States	30	40	45	60
4. Political Organization in Black Africa	328	71	136	29
5. Political Organization	327	77	98	23
6. Economic Organization	182	65	98	35
7. Ideological Superstructure: Islam in Black Africa	95	66	48	34
8. Intellectual Level: Teaching and Education	141	71	57	29
9. Technical Level	116	81	27	19
10. Migrations and Formation of Present- Day African Peoples	117	76	37	24
Totals Scores & Mean Percents = 2,139 or 100%	1,484	69	655	31
Mean	134.91		59.55	
Standard Deviation	107.244		38.187	
Range	322		133	
Variance	111,501.291		1,458.273	

Source: Self-generated data from the text and computed by using MATLAB

Figure 1: Log-log Plot Order vs. Disorder in the Text Binary Logistic: y = 2.368 + 0.503
$R^2 = 0.711; p = 0.001$
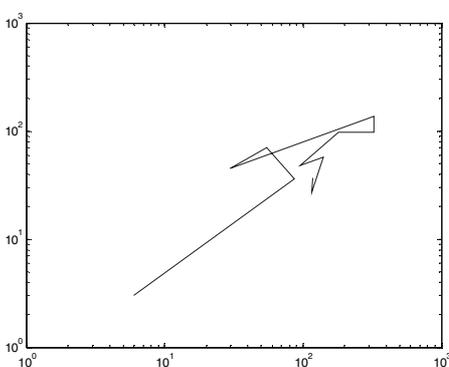
Source: Self-generated data from the text and computed by using MATLAB

The preceding designation is also evident in Diop's book titled *Black Africa: The Economic Basis for a Federated State* (1974b) when he discusses Black Power, which he says hinges upon the origins and history of the Black world. He asserts that in all likelihood, present-day African people are in no way invaders from another continent; they are the aborigines. He notes that scientific discoveries that show Africa to be the cradle of humanity increasingly negate the hypothesis of Africa being peopled by outlanders. He points out that from the appearance of *homo sapiens* – from earliest prehistory until our time – we are able to trace our origins as a people without significant breaks in continuity. In early prehistory, a great South-North movement brought the African peoples of the Great Lakes region into the Nile Basin. They lived there in clusters for millennia. He notes that in prehistoric times, it was Africans who created the Nilotic Sudanese civilization and what we now know as Egypt (Diop 1974b:3).

Diop therefore calls for a Pan-African Union on the basis of historical, psychological, economic and geographical unity. He urges us to complete such a unity and set it on a modern autochthonous cultural base to recreate our linguistic unity through the choice of an appropriate African tongue promoted to the influence of a modern cultural language. He concludes by stating that linguistics dominates all national life; without it, national cultural unity is but fragile and illusory, as the wrangling within a bilingual country, such as Belgium, illustrates the point (Diop 1974b:7-8).

It is therefore not surprising that Diop, the historian, anthropologist and physicist, was also a radical politician. From 1961 until his death in 1986, Diop launched three political parties that formed the major opposition in Sénégal. In 1961, he formed his first political party, *Le Bloc des Masses Sénégalaises.* By 1962, Diop's party, working on the ideas mentioned in his book titled *Black Africa: The Economic and Cultural Basis for a Federated State* (1974b), became a serious threat to the regime of President

Table 2: T-Test: Paired Samples Test and Correlations

Pair 1: Order-Disorder	Paired Differences
Mean	75.36
Standard Deviation	77.801
Standard Error Mean	23.458
95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
Lower	23.10
Upper	127.63
t-Statistic	3.213
Degrees of Freedom	10
Significance (2-tailed)	0.009
Pair 1: Order and Disorder	**Paired Samples Correlation**
Correlation	0.843
Significance	0.001

Source: Self-generated data from the text and computed by using MATLAB

Léopold Sédar Senghor, who got Diop arrested and thrown in jail where he nearly died. The party was shortly thereafter banned for opposing Senghor's machinations to consolidate his power.

Conclusion

The data gleaned from Diop's *Precolonial Black Africa* made it possible to explore fractal patterns embedded in two dimensions: (1) 'order' and (2) 'disorder'. The substantive findings, as stated earlier, reveal that Diop's text moves halfway across the spectrum – it typically moves from periodic fractal, rather than stretching all the way to pure disorder. It can therefore be suggested that the combination of negative and positive feedback loops, which form the basis of several African knowledge systems – as Ron Eglash (1999:173-4) suggests, also form a key mechanism of general self-organizing systems discussed in *Preco-lonial Black Africa*. In essence, Diop's framing of his characters' experiences is reminiscent of African ways; despite the challenges and hardship, their thought processes never became completely chaotic.

Indeed, as Kofi Nyidevu Awoonor (1990) and I (Bangura 2002) posit, the African life concept is holistic – i.e. it is based on an integrative world view. All life to the African is total; all human activities are closely interrelated. This has as its underlying principle the sanctity of the person, her/his spirituality and essen-tiality. This essentialist view of the person confers value to her/his personhood. All else – her/his labor and achievements – flow from this value system. Even personal shortcomings cannot invalidate it.

In addition, Awoonor (1990) and I (Bangura, 2002) point out that for Africans, politics defines duties and responsibilities alongside obligations and rights. All these relate to the various activities that have to do with survival. The survival concept is continuing, dynamic and dialectical. The fundamental principle that is at the basis of this conception is a moral one. Moreover, the African moral order never defined rigid frontiers of good and evil. Good and evil exist in the same continuum. Whatever is good, by the very nature of its goodness, harbors a grain of evil. This is a guarantee against any exaggerated sense of moral superiority which goodness by itself may entail. The notion of perfection, therefore, is alien to African thought. Perfection in itself constitutes a temptation to danger, an invitation to arrogance and self-glorification. The principle of balance defines the relationship between good and evil. As life operates in a dialectics of struggle, so also does good balance evil and *vice versa*.

Thus, the essence of an African-centered approach is that it is imperative and urgent for Africans to be concerned about broader development as well as approaches to development that are undergirded by humanity or fellow feeling toward others. When African-centeredness is considered along with the idea of the socialization effects of develop-mental environments and the possibilities of a reinforcement of these notions and contexts, the implications for an African development process appear vital.

Although compassion, warmth, understanding, caring, sharing, humanness, etc. are underscored by all the major world orientations, African-centered thought serves as a distinctly African rationale for these ways of relating to others. African-centeredness gives a distinctly African meaning to, and a reason or motivation for, a positive attitude towards the other. In light of the calls for an African Renaissance, African-centeredness urges Africans to be true to their promotion of good gover-nance, democracy, peaceful relations and conflict resolution, educational and other developmental aspirations.

We ought never to falsify the cultural reality (life, art, literature) which is the goal of African-centeredness. Thus, we would have to oppose all sorts of simplified or suppo-sedly simplified approaches and stress, instead, the methods which will achieve the best possible access to real life, language and philosophy.

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The Feasibility of the Democratic Developmental State in the South

Edited by
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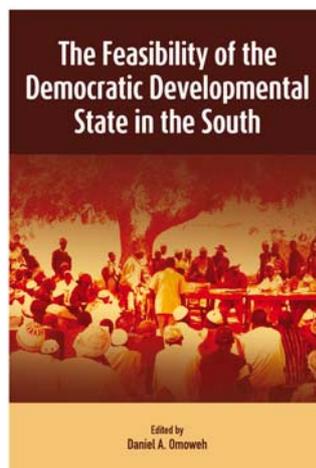
The book examines the prospects of a democratic developmental state in Latin American, African and Asian countries, collectively referred to in this work as the global South. Practically, the state refers to the political leadership. Within this context, it interrogates the politics of the state and the unresolved critical issues it has engendered in the state-development discourse such as the need to re-conceptualize the developmental state, democratization, elections, inclusion, indigenous entrepreneurial and business class, political parties and cooperation among the countries of the South. It looks into the need to re-centre the sought state in the development process of the Southern countries after over two and a half decades of embracing neo-liberal policies and economic reforms that, rather than transform, sank the adjusted economies into deeper political, social and economic crises. It contends that the capacity of the state to overcome the market and democratic deficits resides with its democratic credentials. Finally, it suggests strategies that could lead to the rise of a democratic developmental state in the South.

Development Aid and Higher Education in Africa: The Need for More Effective Partnerships between African Universities and Major American Foundations

Introduction

Since Africa's independence, improving education at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels has constituted a major policy goal for African governments. However, education in general and higher education in particular continues to face many crises that affect the quality of teaching and research in universities and other institutions of higher learning throughout the continent. Due to the series of crises, especially from the 1980s onward, there was a tendency among international donors, the World Bank in particular, to put higher education on the backburner in order to focus more on basic education. The rationale for such a shift was that higher education was a luxury for most of Africa and that African countries would benefit more by investing on the lower levels of the educational spectrum. However, it did not take too long before the same international agencies began to realize that higher education should remain a high priority in Africa's development agenda. As a result of the high costs associated with higher education and the inability of African governments to respond to the multiple challenges associated with it, it is fair to say that higher education has received considerable attention in aid initiatives to Africa. Nonetheless, an assessment of the impact of aid to African higher education is both timely and highly necessary.

This article focuses on the various partnerships between major United States foundations and African universities, and the millions of dollars spent over the last ten years in efforts to support the development of higher education and improve its quality. It is premised on the argument that initiatives for improving the quality of higher education in Africa, whether internal or donor-driven, should be based on more integrated and holistic plans rather than on isolated short-term projects for immediate solutions. In addition, such interventions should not

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lose track of the fact that, as a result of the process of self-criticism and re-organization that occurred within the African continent in the 1990s on, major internal developments occurred from within that sought to bring solutions to the many challenges universities and higher education institutions were confronted with. The article analyses some of the accomplishments that were possible as a result of partnerships between US foundations and African universities. It also examines the extent to which these partnerships have been able to build on African universities' capacities and strengths, their interests and needs. Through an examination of the lessons learned through these partnerships, the study proposes better ways to engage with African universities in order to make partnerships much more effective and sustainable.

Aid Initiatives to Higher Education in Africa: From Nationalisation to Globalization

The origins of higher education in Africa can be traced back to the pre-colonial period and predates western colonization. The continent boasts of a tradition of indigenous, Christian and Islamic higher education institutions that included libraries, museums, monasteries and Islamic mosque universities. Yet, the roots of almost all modern higher education institutions date back to the colonial period, and support for these institutions came entirely from churches, philanthropic organizations, and later from colonial governments. African independence during the 1950s and 1960s was accompanied by great optimism and an urge for self-reliance in development in all areas including education in general

and higher education in particular. In many newly independent African countries, building universities was indeed a symbol of self-reliance. As Zeleza (2006) describes it, despite the fact that colonizers left very few universities and that some African countries did not even have a single university:

> across Africa the growth in higher education after independence was nothing short of phenomenal. The new states embarked on ambitious development programs in which universities were seen as central for training a highly skilled labor force, creating and reproducing national elite, and enhancing national prestige. The new universities were quite diverse and flexible in their structures and models. On the whole, they were much larger in size than their colonial predecessors, broader in their missions, and they expanded their disciplinary and curricular offerings from the arts and social sciences to include professional fields of study such as business, medicine and engineering, and they incorporated graduate programs (p.4).

The massive expansion of higher education was also noticeable in figures. According to a UNESCO survey of 34 African countries, 11 had a university in 1950. By 1962, that number had almost tripled to 28. During the same time, the number of universities nearly tripled, growing from 16 in 1950 to 41 in 1962. In 1960, often referred to as the year of African independence, there was an estimated number of 120,000 students in African universities. The same survey shows that the total number enrolled in higher education institutions grew from 2,270 in 1950/51 to 16,580 in 1961/62, an increase of over 600 per cent. These statistics do not even include North Africa, South Africa, or the former Portuguese colonies (UNESCO and United Nations. Economic Commission for Africa, p. 273). Compared to an earlier period during colonial rule, there was therefore a new context for African higher education whereby an expansion of education laid

the foundation for a stronger institutional base in national universities and provided the impetus for major improvements in human capital and knowledge production. Given the pressing need to replace foreigners in the civil service by qualified Africans in a context when the economic sector was expanding, there was an increase in the demand for higher education. This was an era of optimism and great hopes about higher education and its role in Africa's nation-building and development project. From the 1950s through the 1960s, governments made substantial allocations for higher education because they believed in its potential for national development. This period also coincided with a context in which African governments and policy makers could look beyond their former colonizers to establish new universities and attract more support. Besides former colonial powers, African higher education was opened to and influenced by the wider international community including the United States, the Soviet Union, China, and several countries in Eastern Europe. For the purposes of this article, the focus will be primarily on American foundations' support towards African higher education.

The United States, through the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and three major private foundations, namely Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and Carnegie Foundation, became a major player in African higher education. One of the largest US contributions in the field was the establishment of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka (UNN) in 1960, a USAID project. During this period, support from the US also included the creation of scholarship programs for African students to continue their education in American universities and colleges. For instance, two very influential African political leaders of the time who benefitted from these programs were Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria. Azikiwe was in fact the catalyst for the creation of UNN. The scholarships programs included the African Scholarship Program of US Universities (ASPAU), which awarded 1,594 scholarships and lasted for almost a decade, from 1961 to 1970. Another important scholarship program was the African Graduate Fellowship Program, a partnership which involved 60 American universities. As for the large private American foundations,

their support to university development in Africa focused on four major areas in various African institutions of higher learning: institutional support, faculty development, library development, and setting up of postgraduate degree programs. Each foundation was however to focus on a specific priority based on what they thought were the most pressing needs of new African universities. Rockefeller was to pay special attention to strengthening faculty development in the Social Sciences, Ford had the mandate to focus on Social Science Research and strengthen infrastructure, whereas Carnegie Cooperation was to focus on education more broadly.

Why invest in African higher education? Whether then (1950s-1960s) or now, this question will be a recurring one throughout this article, as external support to higher education in Africa was and is never conceived or provided in a vacuum. Through the years, it has always been tied to and is best understood within the various and evolving US foreign aid policy frameworks.

US support to education in Africa and other developing countries gained momentum from the 1950s onward as a critical priority, and was driven by the need to spread US hegemony after 1945 and in a Cold War context and by the necessity to foster pro-US values, methods and research institutions. This was reflected in the legislation passed in 1950 under President Truman which declared:

> The economic development of under-developed areas was a national policy of the United States. Based upon a mixture of humanitarianism, national security, and economic self-interest, it marked the first formal articulation of the principle of the moral and imperative of development assistance, which rapidly became part of an emergent new international ethic (p.11).

Alliances had to be formed and cultivated abroad, especially in newly independent nations, including African nations. Such an important agenda was pushed forward via a general framework of "support to democracy" and for that matter, education had a key role to play in that mission. In a letter from the president of the American Council on Education to the president of Carnegie Corporation, this was the rationale for supporting higher education in Africa:

> The present all-out world struggle between communism and democracy

surely will soon have Africa as one of its major areas. The nearly two hundred million people in the African countries are a major prize, to say nothing of the as yet untapped and scarcely unknown mineral resources they may possess…Africans in the rank and file may understand the difference between communism and democracy (p. 57-80).

In fact, the primary purpose of the scholarships programs was to train a "rank and file" or an African elite likely to take on leadership positions once back in their home countries. In some instances, aid initiatives to African universities were undertaken thanks to the connections of individuals just as in the case of President Azikiwe who sought support from USAID to build the University of Nsukka, Africa's first land-grant university, modeled after the US land grant system (Samoff and Carroll 2002). However, such a project was a strategic move and was primarily motivated by American interest in Nigeria, and as such, it fell squarely within the framework of US policy abroad of that time. This policy orientation was not just adopted by national aid agencies such as USAID. Even the philanthropic organizations whose support to higher education in Africa had a longer history, had a similar agenda. Ford aid initiatives went primarily to Nigeria, Ethiopia, Zaire and the University of East Africa. Rockefeller and Carnegie also focused on Nigeria and University of East Africa. According to Berman (1983), between1958 and 1969, Ford Foundation spent approximately $25 million in Nigeria. It is quite impressive that this figure represented almost two-thirds of Ford's total expenditure in the entire West African region.

As early as the first years following independence, African leaders had concerns about the missions and objectives of universities in Africa. The notion of a developmental university was pushed forward and there was general recognition that universities had a significant contribution to make in the promotion of economic and social development, and therefore, had to be linked to national development strategies and the perceived needs of newly independent African countries.

At a 1962 joint UNESCO and Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) conference in Tananarive, Madagascar, the focus of leaders and policy makers was on the renewed mission of African universities

and the role of higher education in the social, cultural, and economic development of the continent while maintaining international standards of academic quality. Participants also raised the multiple challenges African higher education was faced with such as problems related to Africanizing African staff and faculty, financing, and the everlasting issue of relevance of the curriculum. On the question of relevance of African higher education, Julius Nyerere came across as one of the strongest supporters of a developmental university that responded to Africa's multiple needs and challenges:

> I believe that a university in a development society must put the emphasis of its work on subjects of immediate moment to the nation in which it exists, and it must be committed to the people of that nation and their humanistic goals. This is central to its existence; and it is this fact which justifies the heavy expenditure of resources on this one aspect of national life and development. Its research, and the energies of its staff in particular, must be freely offered to the community and they must be relevant (Nyerere 1966).

A pertinent question one needs to pose is 'to what extent were African countries able to create institutions of higher learning that would be socially relevant and financially feasible when their survival was so much dependent on international aid and their functioning so tied to donor/client relationships?'. In fact, another important issue on the agenda of the conference was the impact of international aid on African universities. It is actually quite interesting that in much of the literature on higher education in Africa of the 1960s through the 1980s, the term 'international aid' is much more used than the term 'partnership'. In *Creating The African University* (Yesufu, ed., 1973), which was commissioned by the Association of African Universities (AAU) following a workshop on emerging issues in African universities held in Accra in 1972, contributors called for a redefinition of African universities whereby their challenges would be "located, identified, analyzed and solved by Africans…." (Yesufu, p.7). The then Chairman of the Overseas Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education, Carl K. Eicher, strongly advocated a total shift from donor agencies to African scholars and policy makers in the decision making process of

setting up goals and priorities in vital areas of research. He identified three areas of vital importance, namely the imposition of family planning, the imposition of agricultural research systems, and educational expansion in the context of growing unemployment, and argued that African scholars should avoid intellectual dependency by forming a solid base of empirical evidence on a country-by-country basis in order to guide their nations in such vital areas. On the issue concerning the imposition of family planning, he argued:

> During the mid-1990s there was an almost overnight consensus among foreign donors that there was a population crisis in developing countries, and that substantial aid resources should be channeled into population research and family planning. Aid resources for population programmes experienced a quantum increase from a few million dollars per year in the mid-1960s to over one million dollars in 1972. The 'rush to judgment' on the population issue and the over-emphasis on research on a wide range of population problems, may have been counterproductive in Africa (p. 28).

With respect to the imposition of agricultural research systems, he noted:

> Over the past fifty years Africa has been the testing ground for a wide variety of experiments in organizing agricultural research. The national research systems which were set up by the British, French and Belgians in the 1920s and 1930s gave way to the regional systems in the 1940s and the 1950s, such as the West African Institutes for Palm Oil, Cocoa, Rice and Social Science Research. The regional institutes were nationalized in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Over the last five years, several international and regional institutes have again been established in Africa and an International Livestock Research Institute is being considered for Eastern Africa. Throughout this trial and error process, the African University has occupied a residual position in decisions about the design of agricultural research systems and the location of regional and international institutes (p. 29)

As for the question of educational expansion in the context of growing unemployment, Elcher writes:

> Over the past decade, donor agencies have contributed substantial aid to education in Africa. Also during this past decade, my fellow economists have gradually asserted their primacy over educational

decision-making through manpower planning and decision tools, such as benefit-cost analysis. However, most economists will now admit that although the costs of educational investments can be quantified, it is extremely difficult to compute the benefits from education. As a result, decisions on individual investment projects in education are often rather subjective and are justified as 'institution-building assistance' (p.29-30).

In light of Elcher's analysis, it is evident that donor aid initiatives for higher education in Africa, from the beginning till now, came with strings attached. In the absence of a strong empirical research base, African universities and scholars were not able to play a significant role in setting up research priorities and agendas. In some instances, and as Elcher explains, by establishing specialized research institutes on key development questions they deemed important outside of the university, donor agencies were able to maintain control over what was researched and how it was researched. Their focus was really on what was politically expedient in the field of education rather than on what was socially relevant.

If the 1960s or decade of independence was accompanied by real optimism concerning the role of higher education in national development, until the 1970s, it is very evident that there was a narrow approach to higher education and development among donor agencies and policy makers that had really deeply taken root in the field of education. For how long would such an approach prevail? We will now turn to the 1970s and 1980s.

Despite all the challenges associated with Africa's higher education, there is general agreement that the first decade following independence was marked by optimism among African intellectuals and in Africa's higher education circles. According to Mkandawire (2005), this period coincided with the promotion of the first generation of African intellectuals. They accepted the developmentalist agenda of the political elites and joined the nationalist mission to put an end to the continent's numerous challenges. However, views differed as to what should be the paths and means to achieve development, as well as on what should be the focus and priorities of higher education. By the mid-1980s, it was clear among some scholars and within some higher education organizations that the term "development" was nothing but

a buzz word used by states and international donors to justify irrelevant policies and thus overshadow key issues in Africa's development such as human rights, gender, equality, and culture, which forced an organization CODESRIA to remove the term from its programmes and initiatives in 1986. Much of the distrust toward the ideology of development also stemmed from that fact that under its banner, scholars felt silenced, and anti-democratic policies imposed by governments and Western donors easily justifiable. Africa's higher education institutions were seen as still having the potential to carry out the developmental mission. External funds for support of that mission were also seen as being necessary, especially starting from the mid-1970s to the 1980s, when most countries in the continent went through series of structural adjustment policies (SAP's) as a result of deepened economic crises and deterioration accompanied by political unrest and the decline of state structures. The economic distress of SAPs affected African societies in many ways, and universities were not immune to its negative effects and the sharp financial constraints imposed upon them. Public recurrent expenditure per tertiary student fell from $6,461 in 1975 to $2,365 in 1983 (World Bank, 1983, p. 13), leading to a sharp decline in economic and social conditions in university campuses. In fact, universities became arenas of social struggle and protests against government policies. As Samoff and Carrol put it:

> Major student protests occurred in 29 countries between 1970 and 1990, and between 1980-1989, some 25 countries experienced riots. Between 1985 and 1990, there were 46 incidents of riots, strikes and protests by many others. Many governments responded by becoming increasingly hostile towards universities…In contrast to the early independent period when there was widespread support for higher education, many governments, weakened by ongoing economic crisis, came to see universities as a threat to stability (p. 12).

During this period of crises, the World Bank became a major actor in education in Africa in general and higher education in particular. However, the implications for higher education were much bigger than in the lower levels of the educational spectrum. Following the publication of several policy documents commissioned by the Bank, there was growing disillusionment with higher education in Africa and its role in promoting development. The World Bank concluded that African higher education was, in many ways, ill-conceived, over-expanded and a luxury for many African countries. The increasing number of unemployed graduates was used to support such evidence. For the Bank, such evidence was enough to cut back drastically on higher education and invest more in basic education. The Bank's interventions, as well as governments' and other stakeholders' initiatives towards education were often based on isolated short-term projects for immediate solutions, while what was needed were more integrated and holistic interventions that addressed various levels and dimensions of education. The movement for basic education also received considerable international attention and was on the agenda of several international conferences.

In the 1990s, basic education came to the forefront in the development debate, starting with the Education for All (EFA) movement that was launched in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990, where the World Conference on Education was held. Representatives of 155 countries and 150 organizations made the commitment to provide basic education for all children, youth and adults. Human resource development through education and training was recognized by development planners as a vital element in the overall strategy for sustainable development. External support for basic education came at the expense of higher education. Universities continued to be the scene of a series of student and faculty strikes. Libraries were outdated, and buildings were dilapidated. Most academics who stayed at African Universities were underpaid and overworked while others were lost to the brain drain, mainly to countries in the North.

By the mid-1990s, and despite inter-national commitment to basic education, the crisis of higher education in Africa became so pronounced that within the continent, many scholars and institutions felt obliged to go through a process of self-criticism and then reorganization. As Mkandawire (2005) put it:

> There was a great deal of self-criticism among intellectuals. For some this self-criticism called for a re-engagement with society in the light of lessons learned; some

were left unfazed by criticism and simply chose to serve whoever was in power or had money; still others withdrew into a kind of self-preoccupation and navel-gazing. The question of the relevance, appropriateness and meaningfulness of what they were producing touched a nerve among African scholars and was 'a source of considerable soul searching among the social science community' (Bujra 1994). African intellectuals have been under enormous pressure to 'account for themselves' (Mafeje 1993).

Outside the continent, there was also a realization that higher education needed to be put back on the agenda, as it was once again seen as an essential and leading component of the education system and a necessary condition for development. What was seen as a luxury whose rates of social return were supposedly lower than those of primary education, received increasing attention. The revitalization of higher education became a recurrent theme and a high priority for donor agencies. In *A Consultation for Higher Education in Africa* (1991), Trevor Comb notes:

> The universities remain great national storehouses of trained, informed, inquiring and critical intellects, and the indispensable means of replenishing national talent. They have considerable reserves of leadership and commitment on which to draw. Impoverished, frustrated, dilapidated and overcrowded as they may be, they have no substitutes (p. 34).

The same argument was also echoed by the World Bank itself and UNESCO in their report of the Task Force on Education (2000):

> As knowledge becomes more important, so does higher education. Countries need to educate more of their young people to a higher standard – a degree is now a basic qualification for many skilled jobs. The quality of knowledge generated within higher education institutions is becoming increasingly critical to national compe-titiveness (p. 52).

This increasing focus on knowledge as critical for national development was also echoed in debates about higher education in this current phase of globalization. Trends associated with globalization such as the new information and commu-nication technologies, the expansion of transnational provision for higher education, and trade in educational services under the General Agreement on

Trade in Services (GATS) have transformed higher education into a commodity marketed across borders. Higher education in Africa faces serious challenges as the demands of globalization, namely profit considerations and market forces, often take precedence over social expectations, national concerns and priorities. In this context, the challenges facing African universities become more serious, especially as we see a renewed interest by funding agencies in higher education in Africa. We shall now turn to the current US partnerships for higher education in Africa, in particular, the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, 2000-2010.

The Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (PHEA), 2000-2010: Accounting for Its Own Successes and Challenges

The Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (PHEA) was founded in 2000 in an effort to rebuild higher education and support the development of intellectual capital of higher education institutions and scholars in nine African countries, making it one of the largest international efforts towards African universities. Discussions around this major initiative are timely, as the initiative ended just about a year ago. They are also necessary, as it left behind quite a number of accomplishments and drawbacks, as well as lessons to be learned, thus making it extremely important for Africanists to give our assessments of the initiative, reflect on it, and propose strategies for better and more effective ways to engage with African universities.

Literature on the partnership is still extremely limited. Therefore, this paper relies heavily on technical reports produced by the foundations themselves, which constitutes a major limitation. The partnership consisted of seven American foundations that were involved either from inception to end, or sometime during the partnership. They included the Carnegie Corporation of New York (2000-2010), Ford Foundation (2000-2010), The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation (2005-2010), Kresge Foundation (2007-2010), The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation (2000-2010), The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (2005-2010), and The Rockefeller Foundation (2000-2010). PHEA focused support by investing $440 million in nine countries including Egypt, Kenya, Uganda,

Tanzania, Madagascar, Mozambique, South Africa, Nigeria and Ghana. The following is a brief overview of each foundation and some of their key areas of focus, based on the recent joint report by all participating foundations, *Accomplishments of the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, 2000-2010: Report on a Decade of Collaborative Foundation Investment*, 2010.

The Carnegie Corporation of New York was the largest contributor to the PHEA, with 29 per cent, although it was below the average 15 per cent joint grant-making. Carnegie focused on university revitalization and transformation as well as on gender equity, and invested in the following countries: South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Nigeria and Ghana. "The Corporation also provided leadership in the areas of Next Generation of Academics, Improving Undergraduate Access, and Information and Communications Technology, including the PHEA Joint Initiatives of the Bandwidth Consortium, Bandwidth Management Training, and the Educational Technology Initiative (p.13).

Ford Foundation placed emphasis on advancing social change and "investing on the ground to advance the work of visionaries on the frontlines of social change." 92 per cnet of Ford's grants went directly to universities in South Africa, Egypt and Nigeria. Ford also took a leading role in PHEA's project – Next Generation of Academics (NGA) – and provided initial support for the Higher Education Research and Advocacy Network in Africa (HERANA) and its University World News Africa edition, which later became a Joint PHEA Initiative. In addition, the foundation invested 49m per cent in policy research initiatives, covered 24 per cent of the Bandwidth Consortium investment since 2004 and accounted for 25 per cent of the support for university bandwidth management training (p. 29).

Rockefeller Foundation focused on building African research capacity in several major disciplines, including agriculture, health and economics, and supported regional postgraduate training and research networks. Over $37.4 million was awarded to seven African universities and colleges in Uganda, Kenya and South Africa. Makerere University in Uganda was the foundation's major university grantee, receiving $23.9 million.

The foundation also contributed to the PHEA's joint initiatives, particularly in Information and Communications Technology such as the Bandwidth Consortium, Bandwidth Management and Training, and the Educational Technology Initiative. Besides, $10.1 million of Ford's funds went to Eastern and Southern Africa for two regional networks: the African Centre for Crop Improvement (ACCI) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the Regional Universities Forum for Capacity Building in Agriculture (RUFORUM) (pp.84-85).

Kresge Foundation focused on areas of strategic planning, advancement/fundraising, and infrastructure development through matching grants. South Africa was the only "single-country" beneficiary of Kresge support, receiving investments totaling $9.9 million. It supported strategic advan-cement at five of South Africa's 23 universities: the Cape Peninsula University of Technology, University of Pretoria, University of the Western Cape, University of the Witwatersrand, and the Children's Hospital Trust. Kresge invested $8.5 million in institutional development, representing 72 per cent of its overall PHEA grantmaking and in two sub-areas, namely, Higher Education Management, and Facility & Infra-structure Development (p.51).

The John D. and Catherine MacArthur Foundation focused on institutional strengthening of four universities in Nigeria and one in Madagascar. Among the nine PHEA partner countries, Nigeria was the largest 'single-country' beneficiary of MacArthur support, receiving inves-tments totaling $40.8 million. In the PHEA overall, Nigeria benefited $61 million, making it the second largest 'single country' beneficiary after South Africa. Multiple countries including Uganda, Madagascar, Ghana, South Africa, and Tanzania also received support ranging from 1 - 4 per cent of the total funds. Additional areas of emphasis included conservation and sustainable development, human rights, and population and reproductive health (p. 59).

The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation focused on strengthening South African universities and the production of scholars. Emphasis was placed on academic and research program develo-pment, post-graduate training, faculty development, and the development of

archival collections. South Africa was the largest "single-country" beneficiary of Mellon support, receiving investments totaling $38.3 million (p. 71).

The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation invested in global programs focused on areas of population, education, global development and philanthropy. During its five-year membership in the PHEA, Hewlett invested primarily in training the next generation of African population scientists, supporting individuals' reproductive health rights, and developing open educational resources. Hewlett's Joint grantmaking made up 35 per cent, the highest of the seven partner foundations. 89 per cent of Hewlett's funding went to grantees in multiple countries. African universities made up Hewlett's second highest type of grantee, with the investment totaling $5.9 million to seven institutions. This was made up primarily of support to the African Virtual University ($2.1million) and the University of the Witwatersrand. Countries benefiting from the remaining 11 per cent included South Africa, Ghana and Egypt. In their report, the foundations identified four major PHEA accomplishments over their decade-long partnership with African universities: (a) enduring improvements in African higher education, (b) increased resources for African universities, (c) collectively adding value beyond what individual foundations could do, and (d) enhanced individual foundation efforts.

Under their first major achievement "enduring improvements in African higher education", which seems to suggest that results are sustainable, they listed ten accomplishments: 1) The Bandwidth Consortium; 2) Universities developed the capacity to manage their IT networks; 3) Seven universities implementing action plans to use educational technology to improve teaching and learning; 4) Improved gender equity in enrollment and gradua-tion rates; 5) Strategies to increase university access for marginalized groups are in place; 6) Policy research and advocacy for African higher education expanded and strengthened university physical infrastructure; 7) University physical infrastructure was strengthened: 8) Universities established new and more efficient systems; 9) African institutions were strengthened to respond to development needs and create high level talent; and, 10) Stakeholders are beginning to address the crisis of the Next Generation of African Academics.

Before getting into details about each foundation's program activities and contributions in PHEA, the report proposes future directions and "where they hope others will go":

> As this phase of PHEA ends, we encourage others to join the ongoing efforts of the seven foundations to support the strengthening of African higher education systems, particularly through direct assistance to African universities identifying and designing solutions to their own challenges and opportunities. Top among these challenges is the recruitment, development, and retention of the Next Generation of African Academics. Solving the "Next Gen" problem requires highly trained academics working within functional universities and collaboration through networks and other kinds of academic communities (p.8).

The focus of the foundations' joint report is entirely on their accomplishments. Less emphasis is put on challenges that PHEA faced in the project's conceptualization, planning and execution process.

In "*Lessons From a Ten-Year Funder Collaborative: A Case Study of the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa,*" Parker (2010) goes a step further and outlines some of the challenges the foundations were faced with, based on former participants' experiences such as

- Lack of clarity about the mission of the partnership;

- Cumbersome decision-making and initial lack of strong coordinating body and expertise on specific issues such as the bandwidth;

- Large time commitment from program officers;

- Lack of joint grant-making and "big-picture" grant-making;

- Different cultures among foundations;

- Lack of communication among foundations and to external audiences;

- Lessening interest and changes in leadership from president;

- Limited outside partners including African governments, African leaders, multilaterals, and local non-governmental organizations;

- Lack of data to show collective impact of work; and

- Lack of exit plan when partnership ended.

Evidently, all these challenges as identified by the participants seem to suggest that their assessment is clearly one-dimensional, as they focused exclusively on the foundations and how they ran the process of the partnership and not on their "partners" on the other side, namely African universities. What were the challenges African universities were confronted with? What were the lessons to be learned on their end from a partnership that lasted a decade? If education aid today is actually seen more as partnerships aligned with the recipient countries' policies and programs than as donor-owned and donor-driven activities, how come the role of African universities and their involvement throughout the various stages of the PHEA is given very minimal attention?

What Role for African Universities?

The "Partnership"

As discussed earlier, until the mid-1990s, the role of higher education in Africa's development was seen as an anomaly, with most education development projects focused on basic and secondary education. We have therefore come a long way from a context in which higher education in Africa was considered a "luxury ancillary" to one in which it is seen not just as necessary, but also a sufficient condition for development. There is also no denying that we have come a long way from a time when discussions about Africa's higher education in the donor-aid literature shifted from terms such as "international aid" to ones such as "partnership". The PHEA, it is true, increased the spotlight on the importance of higher education in Africa, as evidenced by the increase in the number of additional funders after the original four foundations and the considerable amount of leveraging they received from major donors such as the World Bank, the European Union, The Swedish International Development, and the Nowegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD). For instance, the initial $13.6 million that established the Higher Education Research and Advocacy Network in Africa (HERANA) was leveraged for an additional $1 million by NORAD. PHEA provided a lot of publicity around higher education in Africa and brought up key issues for

further debate. However, as Samoff and Carrol put it, citing discussions at the 1998 Academic Partnership at Michigan State University:

There are partnerships and there are partnerships. We understand partnership to go beyond technical assistance and external support. To be something other than foreign aid, partnership must involve a collaboration that can reasonably be expected to have mutual (though not necessarily identical) benefits, that will contribute to the development of both institutional and individual capacities at both institutions, that respects the sovereignty and autonomy of both institutions goals, and that it is itself empowering, in that it enables both partners to be better able to specify goals, chart directions, create appropriate governance strategies, employ effective administrative routines, and focus human, material, and financial resources on high priority objectives (p. 67).

Partnerships are never formed in a vacuum, and reasons for establishing partnerships are often based on the interests and agenda of key actors, whether these are explicit or implicit. PHEA provided very little explanation as to how the foundations worked with African institutions to establish a higher education agenda. For example, if surveys were relied upon to gauge areas where support was needed, then sample survey inquiries and responses should be included in the PHEA reports. However, it is clear that for most overseas universities and foundations, partnerships with African universities are driven by their strong interest in internationalization, which has now become a core activity in American universities, and may not always necessarily contribute to the improvement of teaching, research and public engagement. Partnership presumes interaction.

The paucity of substantial information from African universities on their academic partnerships with US foundations is equally frustrating. It is also quite obvious that, from the African perspective, highest priority is placed on building infrastructural facilities than on areas that can be innovative and bring about lasting change. For instance, African universities often get involved in partnerships that do not address critical priorities such as relevant curriculum

development, pedagogical, research and/or institutional innovations, which if sustained beyond the partnerships, are able to bring about lasting and positive changes to higher education in Africa. The reality is that what usually drive partnerships are the interests of key actors from both sides. "Individual scholars may be interested in partnerships to further their individual research projects, private companies may be interested in increasing the market penetration of their products, whereas higher education institutions may be interested in furthering their international reach" (Samoff and Carrol, p. 44).

A clear understanding of the foundations' incentives for providing support to African institutions would presumably improve understanding of project expectations. African institutions and their partners need to define ways to measure the success of their projects. The PHEA report could be much more enlightening by providing additional in-depth data on the status of higher education programs before and after funds were allocated. For example, the report notes that one of PHEA's priorities centered on gender equity in enrollment in higher education. Citing the creation of scholarships for women at Makerere University and the University of Dar es Salaam would have been more effective had the report stated how the universities went about creating the scholarship programs to address female students in particular, and the more explicit strategies they used throughout the stages of female access, retention and completion in order to sustain their participation in higher education.

Despite the inequality in access to resources, partnerships within the academia should be based on mutual learning and mutual benefit, but the reality is that they are also defined and set up as assistance from the poor to the more affluent. Although the assumption is that these academic partnerships will help narrow the gap between them, there is no evidence of funding agencies and their collaborating institutions from the donor side reducing their advantage. Samoff and Carrol argue that "while particular aid projects may well provide important and useful assistance to higher education in Africa, overall foreign aid generally functions to strengthen and entrench patterns of dependence and to foster the internalization, within Africa, of

understandings and institutional arrangements that reinforce and simultaneously obscure those patterns of influence" (p. 35).

As mentioned earlier, there has been some progress in how support to higher education in Africa is labeled. Nonetheless, whether such support is labeled "aid" or "partnership", the patterns of dependence will continue as long as the benefits of aid are always limited to university facilities upgrading, better trained teachers, or more textbooks. This is not to suggest that such improvements are not factors of progress in education, but innovative higher education systems that seek to be relevant to their environment and contribute to development in a meaningful and sustainable way should not be based on short-term projects and only seek immediate responses to immediate problems.

To be more specific, let us turn to research, which plays an important role in the expansion of knowledge and in making the benefits of such an expansion available to society. It also represents a key ingredient for the establishment of new and innovative higher education systems if sustained research programs exist. However, in a foreign aid context, the complexities and vagaries of aid assistance affect both the process and the nature of research in many important ways. Academics from African universities often take minor roles in research projects funded through partnerships whereas donor agencies and their consultants have become research entrepre-neurs whereby research in higher education institutions in Africa becomes increasingly consultancy research, which Samoff and Carrol warn us about in these terms:

> Foreign funding and technical assistance agencies have become research entrepreneurs. Initially to inform and guide, but often in practice to justify and legitimize their support programs, they commission studies on education in Africa. Formally, those studies are expected to reflect the unique circumstances of the research sites. Collectively, however, their observations about diverse settings and their accompanying recommendations are strikingly similar. That should not surprise us. That research reflects the basic understandings and expectations of those who commission it (p. 35).

When research is so narrowly confined within the donor agency realm, the funders' approaches, frameworks and methodologies shape its guiding questions, identify the data to be gathered and where it should be gathered, and influences its analysis and findings. In addition, the same cycle continues as they are replicated in other settings and other funded projects, for their recommendations become the foundation and prime reference for future research.

Some scholars have long pointed to the negative impact of aid programs and have even gone as far as proclaiming the "death of aid" and advocating a "world without aid." The reality is painful, in that for that to happen, Africa's long-standing development impasse would require a totally new level of consciousness and a much greater degree of innovation both from within Africa and from external actors. Development programs in all domains including higher education should not be implemented on non-African expertise, nor should they be approached as "hit or miss" initiatives. What really counts is not the amount of funds funneled to African universities. There should be more systematic ways to improve higher education delivery and better ways to engage with African universities and academics. When African universities are increasingly less able to support research programs and depend more and more on external support, a key question then becomes how do we ensure ways in which they can contribute to the building of a systematic, programmatic knowledge and research base in a foreign

The PHEA initiative, as noted earlier, focused on partnerships with a select list of nine countries, namely Egypt, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Madagascar, Mozambique, South Africa, Nigeria and Ghana. According to the PHEA press release announcing the partnership, the initiative was committed to supporting efforts that were already underway in select African universities to expand and improve the education of the next generation of African leaders in fields which they hoped would contribute to "strengthening higher education in Africa". The project focused on key areas and outlined key dimensions on which they anticipated progress could be made by its completion:

aid environment that would hopefully be replaced with a "partnership" environment in the real sense of the term?

Sustainability of the PHEA Initiative

- Effective use of information and communication technologies;
- A diverse student body;
- Creation of high-level professional talent and new ideas;
- Transfer of skills essential for national development; and
- Strengthened university management and global engagement.

During the first five years, PHEA focused on six sub-Saharan countries, namely, Ghana, Mozambique, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda. These partner-countries were selected based on improved economic conditions, the extent to which they were committed to public policy reform, and whether foundation activity was already underway. Partner universities were chosen depending on whether they were already taking initiatives to reform and strengthen themselves. In other words, to maximize aid effectiveness, PHEA, like most donor initiatives, focused on countries and universities "on the move." Indeed, these countries and the three that joined the partnership later, namely, Egypt, Kenya and Madagascar are neither the least developed countries in Africa nor are they countries with the least developed higher education systems. Top-quality universities in developed countries receiving foundation funds often engage in projects with institutions of comparable quality in Africa.

On the one hand, such criteria for selection make perfect sense, as there needs to be in countries and universities structures and initiatives already in place to sustain partnership accomplishments. On the other hand, a key question that deserves some attention is whether these criteria should be the only ones for determining who should or should not receive academic partnerships. For, when it comes to the issue of sustainability in the African context, a strong government support is not always given.

Most African countries share common core problems including the deterioration of infrastructural conditions, faster increase in enrollments (than the capacity to plan and accommodate them), poor teaching-learning conditions, increasing irrelevance of universities to national needs, and deplorable research facilities. These are challenges that cannot be

solved with international cooperation and partnerships alone, especially in the case of African universities that were established as, and continue to be, public institutions under direct government control. Governments in Africa have authority over how universities function and have control over the curriculum, courses, examination and certification, among other things. In this case, the paramount factor when assessing the sustainability of a project is to ensure, from the planning phase, that the recipient university government is likely to sustain it. In most cases, as soon as the partnership ends, the project ends too, because the government never gave it priority in the first place. Missing from the PHEA joint report and its commis-sioned evaluations is any solid evidence of an exit plan, as well as collaboration with relevant government ministries or officials in partner African countries. Besides, the sustainability of projects becomes even more at risk when there is a change in government. Because funds from partnerships are formally part of foreign aid, academic partnerships are therefore linked to state-to-state relations between the US and African countries. As such, the sustainability of academic partner-ships with African institutions is problematic and rests on shaky grounds too given the many shifts in US foreign policy. For instance, the current US government's growing emphasis on defense and intelligence will drastically change the landscape of US academic partnerships, as what are deemed key priorities in strengthening African uni-versities may not be at all on the agenda of donor agencies in the next decade or so. Sustainability is surely the real and ultimate test of development efforts. Assuming that the PHEA initiative was a success for the various foundations and the African universities involved in it, with respect to objectives set during the ten years of the partnership's life, the benefits it has been able to generate beyond the life of the initiative constitute the real benchmarks for measuring its success.

Besides the necessity of strong government support post-foundation period to ensure continuity in project activities, another key factor from the sustainability point of view is to ade-quately train relevant trainers and thus have skilled personnel in African universities to take over specific projects. In the case of information and commu-nication technologies (ICTs), for instance, training-of-trainers at

host African universities, either within their own countries or at US grantee institutions, is always given a lot of attention in most call for applications. However, most training-of-trainers efforts are often considered 'appropriate' by foundations and grantee institutions if they involve just a few quick workshops throughout the partnership. Such workshops cannot provide the sustained interaction needed to learn new skills necessary to keep a project going. In addition, even if the necessary skilled personnel is in place, when it comes to ICTs, the actual e-learning environment in African univer-sities and the nature and quality of the Information Technology (IT) infrastructure also have a major role to play in the sustainability of ICT-related projects. All of this also boils down to the need for strong institutional support at African universities post-partnership period. If a particular African University finds hiring of faculty or keeping up-to-date with their salaries more pressing than innovating computer laboratories, this would obviously either slow down or put an end to an ICT-related project, despite the investments already made with respect to finances and faculty time commitment.

A Forward-looking Approach to Partnerships with African Universities

Stronger linkages need to be made between African universities themselves, as well as between African universities and research networks based in the continent, especially given the fact that most research networks were established as a response to the serious crises in African universities. It is actually quite impressive that despite the series of crises in African higher education, the continent has gained renewed momentum in the growth and strengthening of continent-wide regional research networks. We will come back to linkages between African universities and research networks and its implications for research. The point here is that just as pan-African and regional integration initiatives are pushed forward to encourage economic integration within Africa as the best way to counter the challenges of economic globalization, African institutions of higher education in the broader sense can also meet new challenges by strengthening their links and the already established pan-African networks. External partnerships via such pan-African networks would be far more

beneficial, far more efficient, and far more sustainable.

Academic partnerships between African universities and American universities and other universities in the North through major foundation initiatives, while often taken as great opportunities by the latter to increase their international reach, on the African side, these partnerships are often looked at as a symbol of prestige and for the realization of short-term projects and opportunities for specific units and a select group of administrators and faculty. There is very little an entire institution can gain from several short-term individual faculty visits at grantee universities and from few consultancies. Instead, these individual privileges have, to some extent, helped reinforce inequalities between univer-sities and between units within the same universities.

Within Africa, the patterns of academic partnerships and exchanges are quite uneven given the varying levels of economic and educational progress. Egypt, Nigeria and South Africa represent the most popular destinations for student and faculty exchanges from other African countries and remained so for several decades, and as early as the 1970s for the most part.

Although very limited and its progress quite slow, online and distance education also have the potential to effectively revolutionize various curricular offerings in various disciplines and across universities, as well as promote innovation in curricular content and quality. However, there are multiple challenges associated with online learning which even countries with the most advanced educational systems have to grapple with. African universities have a lot more problems to deal with concerning online learning, including issues around access. The argument here is that if ICTs and some aspects of online learning are increasingly becoming priority areas on the agenda of many funding agencies, more efficiency and more sustainability could be achieved if they were to tap into institutions that are already in place and currently trying to reach out to other African countries. A few traditional universities and colleges and recently new open universities, such as the Open University of Tanzania and the Zimbabwe Open University, are currently slowly attempting to provide instruction outside of their national boundaries. The most well established online education institu-

tion is the African Virtual University, a World Bank-sponsored project that has, from 1997 – when it was established – to 2001, created thirty one learning centers in seventeen African countries and has trained 23,000 people in various professional fields. In addition, various e-libraries and e-books are now available, and have great potential to support research.

African institutions of higher learning face multiple challenges, one of the biggest being the need to establish a solid and innovative research base in Africa. Despite the important role of donor funding in the survival of African higher education, it is crucial that research on and in Africa expands far beyond the realm of consultancy-driven projects. For that to happen, more collaboration needs to be built between universities and research organizations and institutes.

The African continent has gained renewed impetus in the establishment of continent-wide and regional research networks. Organizations such as the Association of African Universities (AAU), the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), and the South African Development Community (SADC) have tremendously helped in broadening the scope of research and strengthen linkages between universities, African scholars, as well as create a real sense of an African intellectual community. Besides, in the context of declining government expenditure on education and the constant shifts in priorities among outside actors, tertiary-level institutions in Africa will experience increasing pressure to ensure institutional capacity building and undertake promising research. In their analysis of the benefits of transnational initiatives in the field of higher education, Koehn and Demment (2010) note:

> Regional partnering can serve as an important stepping stone to additional resources. The World Bank reports that regional and sub-regional networks often provide an avenue for "national tertiary systems and institutions to 'bridge' into the sphere of experiences, best practices, and innovation that exist at the international level, and to use scarce resources more efficiently" (Yusuf, et. al. 2009: 99; Johanson and Saint, 2007:11) (p. 7).

Most transnational African higher education institutions serve as strong platforms, networks, and advocacy groups for the promotion of research, dissemination, capacity building in African higher education, as well as in international cooperation (ADEA 2008). A perfect example here revolves around the creation of *The Journal of Higher Education in Africa* (JHEA), which covers issues concerning higher education in Africa in general, the only other journal being the *South African Journal of Higher Education*, which focuses specifically on South Africa. Interestingly enough, JHEA was one of the two first joint projects of the PHEA funded by the four initial foundations. Following lack of coordination between the PHEA and the two co-grantees, namely Boston College and CODESRIA, which resulted in irregularity in JHEA publication, CODESRIA took over the journal in 2006 and has been publishing two to three issues every year.

Conclusion

Following the mid-1970s and '80s economic crises which resulted in struc-tural adjustment programs, higher education in Africa was hit hard. As a response to the crises of higher education, African institutions and intellectuals went through a process of self-criticism and reorganization. At this juncture, there is a need to return to that process, to avoid what Mkandawire (2002) warned us against:

> If an earlier generation of African scholars was stifled by theobsession with the nationalist project, or by the revolutionary oppositional stance that refused to propose anything before everything else had been challenged, the new generation of African intellectuals runs the risk of operating under the paralyzing auspices of 'post-colonial' pessimism, which suggests that, everything being contingent, there are no more grounds for action (p. 39-40).

This article has addressed key issues related to a major US partnership initiative with African universities that lasted a decade, from 2000 to 2010, thus offering us a great opportunity to rethink the impact of such initiative in the field of higher education in Africa and raise important questions related to foreign aid and education in general. Such an initiative was one among many geared towards improving the quality of higher education in several African countries following a general recognition that African universities can contribute in a meaningful way to Africa's development project. This initiative was also already underway when the current global economic crisis hit. Thus, in our attempts to propose a forward-looking approach to partnerships with African universities, we do so bearing in mind the likelihood of reduced external budgetary allocations to education assistance in general, and aid towards higher education in particular, although most donor agencies claim they are committed to their aid policies. As far as US foundations are concerned, it is probably true that there may not be cuts in budgetary allocations towards education. What we may see is a major shift in priority areas for that aid as evidenced by current moves by the present administration to put more emphasis on security issues and major military projects such as the US-Africa Command (AFRICOM). Many worry that the current emphasis on security issues will take attention away from international cooperation, democracy, human rights, and sustainable economic development.

It appears that we have now come full circle in debates surrounding the importance of higher education in Africa. As discussed earlier, there was recognition of its importance in Africa's development, then a general attitude towards higher education as being a luxury to be relegated to a secondary position after basic education, to again a renewed interest in investing in it as a necessary condition for development. In the current context, higher education in Africa cannot be left at the mercy of the many whims of international financial institutions and multilateral agencies. The internationalization of African institutions of higher learning is very promising and there is an increasing need for it, as these institutions strive to compete in this new phase of globalization where, more and more, disparities in the distribution of knowledge become a source of inequality between nations. Academic partnerships play an important part in the process of greater internationalization, and as such, this article does not, by any means, suggest that they should be avoided. Rather, it calls for healthy partnerships whereby donor agencies can meet their expectations and contribute in a meaningful and sustainable way to "strengthening African higher education", without adding to the burdens and constraints African universities are already carrying.

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Return of the 6ᵗʰ Region: Rastafari Settlement in the Motherland Contributing to the African Renaissance

In loving memory of Dame Dr. Bernice Lake, QC, champion of people's rights and freedoms

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Introduction

The purpose of university training is to produce people capable of achieving the progress and advancement of the nation. People of such calibre are expected to possess deep insight, high academic discipline and intellectual zeal to crave and search for truth, to know not only the causes but also effective remedies for any ills that affect the society…to know, not only the maladies and how to expound them in vain words but also to present effective solutions and accomplish them (HIM Haile Selassie I at Haile Selassie I University, 1st Graduation Exercises, July 12, 1962).

This article presents a unique opportunity for the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), to contribute to the process of African Redemption as espoused by the Rastafari Nation in its quest, indeed its demand, for Repatriation to the African continent, at the vanguard of the African Renaissance. During his term in office, South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki sought to popularize the African Renaissance but the rallying call for the re-birth of African pride and accomplishment seems to have diminished with Mbeki's demit from office. The Rastafari are supremely confident of their role and ability to realize this new awakening – a Pan-African awakening infused with the principles of self-knowledge for self-determination that draws from African origins and contributions to world civilizations and adds the moral component required for African Redemption.

> But whence and whither this confidence? I would dare say that that confidence, in part, derives from a rediscovery of ourselves, from the fact that, perforce, as one would who is critical of oneself, we have had to undertake a voyage of discovery into our own antecedents, our own past, as Africans. And when archeology presents daily evidence of an African primacy in the historical evolution to the emergence of the human person described in science as homo sapiens, how can we be but confident that we are capable of effecting Africa's rebirth? When the world of fine arts speaks to us of the creativity of the Nubians of Sudan and its decisive impact on the revered and everlasting imaginative creations of the African land of the Pharaohs – how can we be but confident that we will succeed to be the midwives of our continent's rebirth? And when we recall that African armies at Omduraman in the Sudan and Isandhlwana in South Africa out-generalled, out-soldiered and defeated the mighty armies of the mighty and arrogant British Empire in the seventies of the last century, how can we be but confident that through our efforts, Africa will regain her place among the continents of our universe? (Mbeki 1998).

While the foundation and heart beat of the Rastafari Movement, the Nyahbinghi Order, has been adamant in its shout, 'No Migration, Repatriation!' and has been stoking spiritual fires in fulfillment of a return to Africa, a scholarly voice from within the Movement defines Repatriation as:

> the self-actuated, individual or small to large group return of people of African descent to their original homeland – Africa – from various locations in the African diaspora. Specifically, these returnees, or repatriates, are descendants of Africans captured as a result of the Atlantic Slave Trade (Merritt 2006:xii).

The Rastafari demand is therefore couched in the concept of the United Nations Right of Return and it is from this perspective that the matter will be examined, to include the inadequacy of response by national governments as well as regional and international governmental organizations. CODESRIA, through its 13ᵗʰ General Assembly, is being invited into a research partnership with the Rastafari community in Africa and the Caribbean Region to strengthen historical academic contributions to the ongoing lobby primarily of governments in the African Union (AU) and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), which are member states of the United Nations (UN) and the Commonwealth of Nations.

It is not a new demand and, over decades, the Rastafari Nation has used every means at its disposal to bring this matter to attention. In fact, for Rastafari, Repatriation is synonymous with themes of Emancipation, African Liberation and Reparations. The Ethiopia Africa Black International Congress (EABIC), also known as the Bobo Shanti has been a leading voice in this struggle. During its Emancipation Day march from Bull Bay to downtown Kingston, to the Office of the Prime Minister and, finally, to the Emancipation Square in Spanish Town, Jamaica on August 1, 2011, one of its spokespersons, Honourable Empress Esther, halted the drumming and chanting to speak to the press. 'We are here today agitating for freedom, redemption, international repatriation in comme-moration of the 173rd anniversary of Emancipation', she said, indicating that the march was initiated by the EABIC's Woman's Freedom Liberation League as mothers who found it necessary to march with their children to weep for repatriation. Her words were supported by those of Honourable Priest Christopher Morant who explained:

> This march is to commemorate I and I emancipation that has been granted, but not fully given to I and I, the people…This march is to bring about I and I emancipation, and with emancipation is repatriation. And we are here on behalf of I and I cause of right to go home with recompensation and free transportation to take I and I home to Africa (*Jamaica Gleaner*, August 2, 2011).

Empress Esther, *The Gleaner* reported, challenged both the Government and the Opposition to bring reparation to the discussion table now and prepare the way for them to leave Jamaica. The demand is therefore insistent, consistent and current.

"Building Strategic Alliances to secure Reparations for Repatriation" was the title

of the position paper presented by the Caribbean Rastafari Organisation (CRO) to the African Descendants Caucus in Barbados in 2002. In 2010 the CRO was invited to join the CARICOM Civil Society Council and from this vantage point will be continuing its advocacy and lobbying for Repatriation as this seems to be a more feasible option than the organisation's request for the Caribbean governments to establish a CARICOM Working Group on Rastafari populations. The CRO identifies research, diplomatic relations between CARICOM and AU Member States willing to facilitate reparations, and government and civil society relations as elements of an affirmative action lobby.[1] The organisation also agreed to offer the services of its members to participate in the collection of data required in preparation for repatriation. The vision is for the commissioning of rapid, participatory, Action Research and case study documentation that can be presented at the African Union's Diaspora Summit in South Africa in May, 2012. CODESRIA is now being invited into a strategic alliance to provide institutional support and access resources for fieldwork in the Caribbean and in Africa in a very short time-frame.

It is a process in which the academic community may be able to redeem itself. Much ambivalence is expressed in relations between Rastafari and the academic community.[2] The University of the West Indies (UWI) Inaugural Rastafari Studies Conference held in Jamaica in August 2010, to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the report on *The Rastafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica (1960)* provided another significant, albeit controversial, moment in the Rastafari demand for repatriation. During the opening ceremony:

> Honored Rastafari representatives made inspiring statements – all giving thanks for the guidance of His Imperial Majesty. Ultimately, all of their remarks came full circle to emphasize the underlying importance and inevitability of repatriation (Homiak 2011, Homiak & Lutanie 2011:68).

Keynote speaker, Sir Roy Augier, the only surviving co-author of the UWI 1960 report was not well received by the members of the Rastafari community gathered there when he suggested that repatriation with reparations would never happen and that Rastafari should think of Jamaica, not Africa as the 'homeland'.

The Rastafari present erupted in protest! Irrespective of what any individual Rastafari might hold on the issue of repatriation (e.g., that one may be reunited with Africa on spiritual or cultural levels), the public commitment to literal and physical repatriation is widely regarded as an article of faith for the older brethren and sistren in Jamaica (Ibid, 2011:69).

Sir Roy Augier is not alone in his thinking, which echoes the well-known view of Prime Minister Ralph Gonsalves of St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Prime Minister Gonsalves' administration has secured the removal of visa requirements between nationals of his country and Ethiopia and that is an important step. He is a committed Pan-Africanist of Portuguese stock who thinks that the Rastafari should claim the Caribbean as home because our ancestors bled and died to develop their lands of captivity and that reparations are also due to the Portuguese who were brought as indentured servants.

Both Sir Roy and the Prime Minister may be admired for their frankness but their positions must be challenged on the basis of evidence from the frame of human rights and freedoms. So, the purpose of this article is to provide justification for further investigation and to add to the documentation of the challenges of repatriation in the experience of Rastafari in Africa. It is an experience that involves, not only those returning, but also those who never left the Motherland. Finally, the concept is shared for the proposed mapping of Rastafari communities in Africa and the use of case studies for a situational analysis which will influence policies and budgets of AU member states and the CARICOM, address the brain drain and contribute to the African Renaissance in the African Millennium.

The intent is to present the case of people's initiatives worthy of multi-sector support and showing a remarkable degree of resilience in its absence. As the second decade of the 21st Century begins, the Rastafari community of the Caribbean Region is manifesting a new degree of readiness to engage with national governments and international governmental institutions by its participation in major Pan-African gatherings; by renewed attention to internal governance within its centralizing organizations and by continued documentation of the processes in which it is engaged. In this vein, the Caribbean Rastafari Organisation (CRO) has appointed a volunteer

Liaison to the African Union who serves on the executive committee of the African Union Diaspora Network in the Caribbean Region, which is also known as the Caribbean Pan-African Network (the CRO's lobbying interventions are presented in Appendix A).

Why do Rastafari persist on returning to Africa in a climate of the ongoing and new expressions of neo-colonialism, where governance serves to protect foreign interests and food security is not guaranteed? African youth are witness to and victims of peoples' uprisings fuelled by new social media; while child soldiers continue to be recruited and the rape of women is a weapon of war. In the Caribbean, the war is related to gangs, drugs and small arms with a high incidence of youth fatality in relatively small populations. Both in the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and in the African Union (AU) where the absence of mass support for these institutions is visible and audible, there is apparent lethargy regarding the return of the 6th Region.[3]

Nothing in these scenarios detracts from the Rastafari demand for repatriation with reparations which is not apolitical but is issued from a position of non-alignment, as espoused by Haile Selassie I when addressing the OAU Summit in Cairo in 1964. As he emphasizes:

> …Non-alignment is in no way anti-Eastern or anti-Western any more than it is anti-Northern or anti-Southern. It is neither anti- nor pro- in any absolute fashion. It is largely affirmative, not negative. It is for peace and freedom. It is for a decent standard of living for all men. It is for the right of people of any nation to adopt that economic and political system which the majority of them freely elect to follow. It is for the right of men and nations freely to take their stand on the great issues of the day, as their conscience and their sense of right and justice – and these alone – dictate (Haile Selassie I, 1964).

Yet, there is a discernible shift which may be an extension of the third phase of Rastafari 'developmental ideology' in which Rastafari brethren/sistren have begun to seriously consolidate their global linkages through formal organisational structures (Tafari 2001: 343); or it may be a sign of advancement beyond social theory (Semaj 1990:30), to strategic action for repatriation (Christian 2005:21).

Rastafari continue to insist on their Right of Return.[4] From the perspective of

resilient African people drawing on indigenous knowledge systems of cultures suppressed in the most brutal ways and submerged for their survival, Rastafari are creating their own knowledge systems in the processes of re-creating self in transformation from enslaved to the free African heralding in the age of African Redemption. The first government commissioned study of Rastafari provides the backdrop of verification.

The Right of Return

The first recommendation of the report on *The Rastafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica (1960)* was that 'the Government of Jamaica should send a mission to African countries to arrange for immigration of Jamaicans. Representatives of Ras Tafari brethren should be included in the mission' (Augier, Salter, 2010:42). That recommendation was taken and a Government of Jamaica Mission to Africa which included three Ras Tafari brethren from Jamaica visited Ethiopia, Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia and Sierra Leone. *The Majority Report of Mission to Africa (1961)*, verified discussions with '…the Heads of each State about "their migration policies and the possible movement of persons from this island to settle in those countries."'

More significantly 'The Mission found in all the territories a ready acceptance of the principle of 'repatriation of Africans living abroad, to the ancestral land…' (Ibid, 2010:47).

Another report, *The Minority Report of Mission to Africa (1961)* was produced by the three Rastafari brethren, Philmore Alvaranga, Douglas Mack and Mortimo Planno, who were dissatisfied with the process by which the Majority Report was produced and also with what they considered to be its watered down contents. In a letter of complaint to Jamaica's Premier, the Hon. N. W. Manley, QC, they wrote:

> We the Rastafarian brethren claim Ethiopian ancestry in Jamaica years ago and it is principally through us that a mission was sent to Africa: that is why we should all have sat together and compile a report instead of being asked to correct one which was completely short of facts, Sir' (Mack 1999:114).

Both the Majority Report submitted to the Government of Jamaica, and the Minority Report, affirm the blood/family, race, and history ties acknowledged in all five countries as the following references to the former show:

Ethiopia – HIM Emperor Haile Selassie I '… welcomed the members of the Mission as "brothers of one blood and race'.

Nigeria – The Oba (King) of Lagos…declared that West Indians migrating to Nigeria would be welcome, not as immigrants, but as people returning to the 'land of their fathers'.

Ghana – President Dr. Kwame Nkrumah said of the meeting that it was of 'historic significance, not only because we're blood relations, but also because so many attempts were previously made and failed. Marcus Garvey tried and was prevented'.

Liberia – President Tubman told the Mission, "We in Liberia agree on the principle of immigration into Liberia of our fellow members of the African race. The details will have to be worked out".

Sierra Leone – Prime Minister, Sir Milton Margai said that 'the principle of repatriation of West Indians whose ancestors had been forcibly removed from Africa was accepted. There was no question about the desirability of having them nor of the welcome they would receive…' (Majority Report, 1961).

Less than a year later, on the verge of Jamaica's independence from Britain in 1962, the late Mortimo Planno, a leading Ras Tafari personality even then, in a Letter to the Editor of the *Daily Gleaner* dated 3 January 1962, queried:

> What provisions will be made within the new constitution for the desire of those who alienate themselves from the Jamaica way of life? I am thinking principally of those whose desire is to be repatriated to Ethiopia. One of the countries of Africa that already granted lands for the sole purpose of resettling people from the Western world. I as one who is claiming by originality (Ethiopian) would like the world to know that our rights must be respected. Because I am of the opinion that respect for man's right is the greatest achievement of peaceful solution to problems which has a temperature of 100 degrees (Planno *Daily Gleaner* January 3, 1962).

The issue of repatriation is still hot in the Rastafari community, and Planno's reference to the United Nations' (UN) Declaration of Human Rights Charter later in the letter, indicates a clear appreciation on the part of the Rastafarians of the Rights dimension of their demand, though the desire to return to the African homeland is by no means peculiar to Rastafari.

> The imperative of repatriation among Rastafarians reflected trends all over the Americas, as witnessed in both the mythic and the physical return of Brazilian and Cuban Blacks to West Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as in the repatriationist efforts in the United States during the same period (Lewis 1998:151).

Rastafari's invocation of the Right of Return provides interesting metaphorical insights for a people whose exodus is envisioned as a prophetic Biblical parallel with a political counterclaim paralleled by the Palestinian cause.

Unlike the Palestinian cause, however, Rastafari have never accepted definitions of identity other than that of Africans forcibly removed from Africa, desiring to return home. This is reflected in the Caribbean Rastafari Organisation's (CRO) submission for distribution to the 3rd Africa-EU Summit in Tripoli in November 2010 cited as follows:

> The global Rastafari community applauds President Wade and the Government and People of Senegal who recently accepted 160 Haitian students in response to the most recent catastrophe in Haiti, as a sterling example of international morality and African solidarity....This consistent demand [for repatriation], goes beyond a response to disaster or provision for *Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons* and must be appreciated as the demand of free Africans, legitimately claiming the Right of Return, African citizenship and the restitution of lands (CRO 2010).

Arguments against the Palestinian Right of Return also show that the case for the Rastafari Right of Return is distinctively different in several ways. The Rastafari have never indicated that their Right of Return is dependent on the elimination of any other Nation or people as there has never been any dispute that the Africans in the Caribbean arrived there in the colonial 'crime against humanity'[5] that was the trans-Atlantic trade in African people. Though Ivan van Sertima (1976) has shown,[6] the presence of Africans in the Americas before the arrival of the Europeans, there is no evidence that the African people who were kidnapped, enslaved and forced to work on plantations in the Americas, were either

homeless or hungry in their African homelands. To the contrary, it is noted that 'Most Africans caught in the slave trade were skilled farmers, weavers, and metallurgists; smaller numbers were herders, hunters, foragers, or city dwellers. Some had been enslaved in their homelands and some were African royalty'.[7]

This is supported by Toney in her article on Africans on Caribbean Plantations published in the *Indigenous People of Africa and America* magazine:

> For the most part the peoples of Western Africa, where most of our ancestors originated, lived in settled agricultural societies....The Western Africans lived comfortable lives punctuated by the usual environmental and ecological problems that one would expect in the 6th century through the 19th century… Actually, it was because of their settled domestic situations that Africans made good targets for slavery and the slave trade. The very similarity of their material existence to the Europeans of that period made it possible for them to function in the plantation economy of the Americas. If they were wild people living in jungles they would not have made good workers (Toney *IPOAA*).

Rastafari religious thoughts and practices add to the rich mix of religious diversity in Africa, and there is no indication whatsoever that Rastafari repatriates have ever wanted to desecrate the holy sites and sacred places of others. The following account by a four man Ras Tafari delegation from the USA visiting Ghana on a networking and repatriation initiative on the 50th anniversary of Ghana's independence[8] reveals a significant show of mutual respect and accommodation of diversity. It describes the plan to enstool a visiting Rastafari elder:

> We were given a list of things to bring which included local alcohol, money, European alcohol, and a ram. We told them that we would reason about it and get forward to them. After reasoning with some of the indigenous Ras bredren about the list, we were informed that is custom for the blood of the ram to be spilled on the feet of the person being enstooled. This caused a problem for InI being Ras because the only sacrifice that we give are joy and thanksgiving unto H.I.M. Because of this we set up a special meeting with the chief's representatives and respectfully explained to them our tradition, and let them know that we would not be able to take part in any ceremony where blood was shed. They explained to us that they would not ask us to do anything against our tradition and that an alternative ceremony could be performed without the blood sacrifice (Atlanta Ras Tafari delegation 2007).

From a Rastafari perspective, the Right of Return is therefore a critical element of the concept of the Blackman Redemption. Bob Marley's lyrics on Blackman Redemption reach into the heart of the Black Africa and reflect the religious political paradox in asserting the authority of the Rastafari demand and the inevitability of its being met:

> Woy-a Natty Congo
>
> A Dreadlock Congo I
>
> Woy-a Natty Congo…
>
> A Blackman redemption
>
> Can you stop it?
>
> Oh no, oh no, oh no
>
> Coming from the root of King David
>
> Through to the line of Solomon
>
> His Imperial Majesty is the Power of Authority (Marley and Perry 1983).

Though Marley embraces, declares and speaks with the 'power of authority' of a Black African God, given the universality of his message, the Rastafari theme of African Redemption is racial but not racist. As the late UWI Professor Barry Chevannes describes it: '… by electing to lead a life based on the affirmation of being black, without at the same time being racist, the Rastafari have seized hold of one of the mainsprings of national development, namely a sense of national identity' (Chevannes, 1998:62). This spiritually grounded Ethiopian national identity sometimes seems out of step with the reality of repatriation, particularly with regard to the Shashmene land grant and Ethiopia's immigration requirements. Though racial consciousness is at the root of Rastafari repatriation, white Rastafari brothers and sisters are among those who have been allowed to settle in the Shashamane community which was meant to facilitate the return of Africa's children. Among the black brothers and sisters who have returned mainly from the Caribbean Region, the issues of elusive citizenship, illegality in terms of immigration status and stateless persons, as well as the challenges associated with daily living are yet to be effectively redressed. (Zips 2005, Merritt 2006, White 2007).

The thrust of the Caribbean Rastafari Organisation's (CRO) lobby for Repatriation is executed in the wider context represented at the UN World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Other Intolerance (WCAR) held in Durban. The CRO which participated in the WCAR therefore welcomed the language of the Durban Programme of Action (POA) which called for the 'Provision of effective remedies, recourse, redress and other measures at the national, regional and international levels'. The last of 19 items listing such measures reads, '… facili-tation of the welcomed returned and resettlement of the descendants of enslaved Africans' who were traded across the Atlantic' (Durban POA Section IV, item 158, 2001). The main point is that the Ras Tafari Return is not so much the Return of the 6th Region of the African Union but the certain knowledge of the Rastafari that theirs is the Return of Africa's Creators.[9]

Rastafaria Knowledge

'… It is one of the central tenets of the Rastafari to spurn the idea of 'belief' and affirm 'knowledge' instead. Rastafari do not 'believe'; they 'know'. (Chevannes in Tafari 2000:xvii).

What Rastafari know can be analyzed within the framework of Indigenous Knowledge (IK), which has been defined as 'knowledge that is unique to a given culture' (Warren 1991:479). It is dynamic, creative and experimental, contributing to communication and decision making (Flavia et al 1995), with defining characte-ristics (Ellen and Harris 1996) interpreted and summed up below. Rastafari knowledge is:

- contextualized by a righting of the historical injustice of colonialism and slavery by Rastafari word sound (often sung) and power to create new realities and ways of being;

- repeated for reinforcement and agency, a characteristic particularly evident in Nyahbinghi *groun-dational* chants;[10]

- enduring to become tradition and culture, negotiating and adapting to change and ensuring survival, progress and transformation;

- grounded in shared spiritual and social experience of everyday life that is subject to varied interpretation while resisting the limited status quo of what constitutes validity;

- able to generate its own authoritative voice, status, symbols, structure and gendered, inter-generational meaning that is not easily investigated;
- peculiar but functions as universal for the wider good of humanity;
- connected to wider fields of knowledge and social constructs while;
- maintaining its own distinctive reason and purpose.

Rastafari know that they will return to their ancestral African homeland, they know that they will return in the vanguard of the African Renaissance and they know that their return is the trumpet call for African Redemption. It is the how and the when, the details that are negotiable. The sphere of negotiation is Pan-African in 'a paradigm based on the idea that African people should re-assert a sense of agency in order to achieve sanity… (Shipale 2010:1).

The link between repatriation, mental and psychological health and empowerment is further explored by Merritt who finds, among the repatriate Rastafari community in Shashemane, the 'shared spiritual essence' that binds the African family together in oneness with our ancestors and our Creator (Merritt 2006). The assertion of Rastafari knowledge of themselves as empowered Africans is reflected in their use of language. Rastafari 'I-words provide an avenue through which Rastas show their total rejection of the values of Babylon while demonstrating their ability to create a new language medium for the liberation of "Jah people" within Western Babylon culture' (McFarlane 1998:107). Edmonds goes further to explain that the Rastafari expression "I-an-I"

> …signifies the divine principle that is in all humanity, "I-an-I" is an expression of the oneness between two (or more) persons and between the speaker and God…"I-an-I" also connotes a rejection of subservience in Babylon culture and an affirmation of self as an active agent in the creation of one's own reality and identity (Edmonds 1998:33).

This writer defines Babylon globally as, '…that worldly state of affairs in which the struggle for power and possessions takes precedence over the cultivation of human freedom and the concern for human dignity' (Edmunds 1998:24).

The sense of agency is also evident in Redemption Song which echoes Marcus Garvey's call of Black Consciousness to 'emancipate yourselves from mental slavery, none but ourselves can free our minds' (Marley 1980), and suggests cognizance that 'The recognition and appreciation of IKS is a source of healing of therapeutic import, in the context of unhealthy imbalances, distortion, trivialization and neglect, as inflicted by eurocentric education and governance' (Emeagwali 2003).

Ideas about Black Consciousness originated in the African Diaspora and were popularly framed by Steve Biko in South Africa's anti-Apartheid struggle.[11] He defined Black Consciousness as, '*the realization by the Black man of the need to rally together with his brothers around the cause of their oppression – the blackness of their skin – and to operate as a group in order to rid themselves of the shackles that bind them to perpetual servitude' (Biko 1971)*. An African rebirth, then, must mobilise African people psychologically, spiritually and politically in order for the continent and its Diaspora to engage in a process of recovery, re-awakening and/or rebirth which would empower Africans to free themselves from the Euro-centricity of neo-colonialism.

> The process of re-awakening and recovery has to be one of historical reconstruction, consciousness raising and restatement by Africans tracing the origins and achievements of their civilizations with a view to developing new epistemologies of knowledge production (Nabudere 2010:1).

Rastafari knowledge, as a strand of African indigenous knowledge is also important for the economic inputs that the Rastafari have been preparing to make as contribution to Africa's development. Among their points of reference are Haile Selassie I's exhortation as he opened Africa Hall, that: 'Our economies must be strong and viable…Cultural and natural resources are the mainstays of the African Economy. Unless progress in these fields keeps pace with development in other areas, a serious obstacle will be created to accelerate growth in any area' (HIM Haile Selassie I on the role of the Economic Commission for Africa 1961); and in his message to the 6th Session of the Economic Commission for Africa, to '…mobilize our resources for our common good and for the good of our great continent' (Haile Selassie I February 20, 1964). Indeed, Repatriation itself has been defined as sustainable development:

Ian'I who really want repatriation learn to love Mother Earth – Nature – while Western society depreciate' her with unnecessary mass production, motivated by greedy men of destruction. When Earth react, her sons and daughters suffer…drought, famine, earthquake, volcano eruption (brimstone), fire, hurricane, long winter, heatwave, pestilence…Repatriation is also a return to the way of life that is friendly towards the Earth (Gayle/Ras Iah C 1995:62).

Knowledge of Rastafari natural *livity* and vast cultural resources has been spread universally through the vehicle of reggae music and the iconic red, gold and green colors of the Ethiopian Lion of Judah flag.[12] The thrust toward self-sufficiency held in common with the goals and principles of Marcus Garvey's UNIA was quite evident in Leonard Percival Howell's first Rastafari commune at Pinnacle. Brother Douggie (Douglas Mack of the 1960 Mission to Africa), offers this vignette of the families at Pinnacle. The details may differ in terms of the application of modern technologies but this description captures the ethos of what a Rastafari community in Africa could look like today:

> They planted plenty of crops such as banana, yam, peas, sweet potato, tampi, cocoa, corn and plantain. Natural herbs were also grown. They reared chicken, cows, goats, horses, and donkeys. The brethren were self-sustained and self-employed. They made slippers from old automobiles tires which they called "Power". The scarves they made were weaved in the Rastafari colors of red, yellow and green (red, gold, and green). They also made mats, baskets, hats and other items from straw. Rope and cord were made from sisal and hem which they planted; and they also burned charcoal. The ware and produce were sold in the surrounding areas of Spanish Town and to frequent Pinnacle visitors (Mack 1999:60-61).

With regard to contemporary Rastafari culture, Rastafari poet, author, publisher, edutainment practitioner and promoter, Yasus Afari, writes:

> …the food and nutrition of the RASTAFARIANS highlight meticulous thought, insight and creativity… RASTAFARIANS make a conscious and natural effort to live close to nature and the environment. Therefore, foods are consumed as close to their natural state as possible and the utensils used are oftentimes made from coconut shells,

calabash, clay, bamboo and other eco-friendly materials… Since the 1970s the clothing and dress code within the community has consciously reflected an "Afro-centric" look, accentuated by RASTAFARIAN colours, motifs, symbols and creative products and designs. Natural beads and other craft items made from bamboo, shells, straw and other natural materials are used to augment the RASTAFARIAN fashion taste…The fashion and culturally uplifting spectacle at a RASTAFARIAN event is a throwback to the former African glory, as well as a vision of the glory and splendor of the African cultural future (Afari 2007:286).

The fact that Rastafari culture supports micro-enterprise is also relevant to this discussion in that the informal sector in the Caribbean is linked to Indigenous Knowledge systems as it is in the Motherland. Emeagwali tells us that this sector accounts, in some cases, for over 50 per cent of total economic growth; and so, in this regard also, Rastafari is prepared to contribute to the African economy. 'The interesting issue here is that many of the agents and agencies associated with the second economy tap into the accumulated skills and expertise, and indigenous knowledge systems, from traditional Africa' (Emeagwali 2003).

It must also be noted that the threat to Rastafari and others engaged in micro-enterprise is evident in the increasing quantity of items now available in the Ethio-Rastafari colors – green, gold and red. The most inexpensive Lion of Judah flags on the Caribbean market are made in China. Rastafari stands therefore to benefit from participation in the manufacturing sector in a significantly larger market than can be found in the Caribbean Region. There is undoubtedly need for the attention that the Rastafari Nation has now begun to pay to Intellectual Property Rights. Hence, the focus on governance within the Rastafari Nation in the most recent centralization initiative in Jamaica – the Ethio-Africa-Diaspora Union Millennium Council (EADUMC, also known as the Millennium Council).

The Millennium Council is seeking to secure intellectual property rights for the wider good of the community and its intent with regard to intellectual property and economic empowerment is made clear in the following excerpt:

> Over the past years, successive governments, anthropologists, music producers, film-makers, artists, tourism operators, businessmen, academic researchers and many other individuals and organizations, have dealt informally with various individuals and groups amongst the Rastafari peoples for cultural and financial gain with none such accruing to the members of the faith as a collective. Rastafari symbols, artifacts, music, art and religious marks have been appropriated by many with no acknowledgement or benefit for the Rastafari. This has resulted in losses to the Rastafari, as well as much confusion in authenticity, and has influenced the decision by the Rastafari leadership to take active steps to manage and control all aspects of their legacy and heritage (EADUMC Position Paper 2009:5).

This is certainly the kind of knowledge that can be mutually beneficial, both to the Rastafari community globally and to the African countries to which they are returning.

We now turn our attention to the experiences of those who have returned.

Repatriation and Experience

This last section of the article contributes to the documentation of the Rastafari experience, as it relates to repatriation in Ethiopia, Ghana and South Africa. It acknowledges the research done by Rastafari scholars like Drs. Leachim Semaj, Dennis Forsythe, Koura Gibson and, more recently, Imani Tafari Ama, Anthony Anta Merritt and Jalani Niaah; and wants to pull together their findings from the fields of Psychology, Anthropology and Sociology, unearthing evidence that the Rastafari homecoming is something that would be of benefit to African embrace. Greatest attention will be paid to Shashemane, Ethiopia, with notes from Ghana and South Africa as repatriation host countries. It must be noted that returning RasTafari are also in countries such as Benin, Botswana, Kenya, Malawi, Uganda and Zimbabwe, some in small pockets, others as lone individuals settling in their new African communities.

The following narrative is based on casual observation and independent reading from the insider/participant perspective of a recently repatriated Rastafari woman. It shares some of the notes exchanged between those who have always been there, the pioneers and the new wave of arrivants. The experiences are mainly those recounted by women, women on their own, women with families, women who left men and children to go home and open the gates.

While the history of the Shashamane settlement is well documented, Rastafari of the EABIC (Bobo Shanti) who share the black star in their flag, have always had their eyes set on Ghana, not as the Gateway to Ethiopia but as fulfillment of the promise of Marcus Garvey's Black Star Line. The Bobo Shanti community in Ghana is therefore most prominent but one of the leading community administrators in the Shashemane settlement is EABIC Priest Paul whose advice and assistance with land matters is crucial for those wanting to repatriate to Ethiopia now. One can more easily speak of Rastafari settlement in these two countries than is the case in South Africa where small communal type beginnings are being initiated by homegrown Rastafari, with one element of the development being preparation for repatriation.

In all the three countries, it is evident that repatriated individuals and families are in constant touch with the West, all having access to cell phones, computers and other information and communications technologies (ICTs). This is critical when one considers that repatriating parents are sometimes apart from their children. Children of school age in these families become self-reliant when their mothers are required to travel, whether to Africa or to the Caribbean. Adult children who voluntarily stay behind are not always accepting their parents' calling and repatriating grandmothers feel the continuous pull to return to enjoy short encounters in the growing up of their grandchildren, whom they regale with their experiences in Africa. Increasingly adult children are visiting and some are deciding to stay when opportunities for further education or family employment become apparent and ways are found around legal obstacles. In the context of Repatriation, the following observation made primarily in relation to the Rastafari in the music industry, is also apt:

> …the emerging encounters with laws create kaleidoscopic confrontations in an evolving new field of legal pluralism for which not all of the actors involved are well prepared.

> For many, it will even be difficult to discern the various sources of law and their unique interpretations and transformations, much more to explore legal ways of dissolving contradictions…Yet, the Rastafari claim for repatriation and their various legal and political activities to put it into practice will hopefully provide

some insights into the creation of new multi-legal fields in which some actors seek to transform and implement international law, such as (their interpretations of) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Zips 2005:71).

The issue of the holy sacrament, cannabis sativa (herb, ganja) still requires discretion and major problems seem to be encountered (as they are in the lands of exile) mainly with large scale cultivation and failed export attempts. One very interesting account from a small Rastafari settlement in South Africa is that the police one day brought them some herb confiscated from neighborhood youth because they recognize the settlement to be one of 'real' Rastas. Repatriated Rastafari are also pivotal points for South-South remittance flows, depending on the economic status of families left behind. These remittances are not yet recognized on either side in the same manner as the North-South flow is counted in the GDPs of the Caribbean islands and African countries. The remittance flows do not provide personal support only. They also build institutions that benefit entire communities, and the absence of reciprocity or facilitating policies from the governments of receiving African countries is another aspect of the injustice. Among the parents, both males and females volunteer in the provision of education, health, other social services, sports and music. Food and music are also fields in which some find informal employment with others. Despite climatic differences, those who have come from the Caribbean are engaged in some level of farming, and learning about healing plants in the new environments is just as important as propagating familiar Caribbean remedies. In this manner, the Rastafari health and healing traditions also return home with them. To some extent, the Rastafari community in Addis Ababa is part of the market for agricultural produce from Shashemane; and among the repatriated Rastafari in Ghana, one may have difficulty remembering that one is in Ghana and not Jamaica, as the environment is similar and familiar foods are grown and prepared as they were in the islands of captivity.

In addition to the hand crafted items usually associated with Rastafari micro-enterprise, other businesses that could be categorized as small and medium sized are now beginning to emerge. Businesses built around food, craft, clothing, music and entertainment are found and these include formal and informal imports and exports. One Rastafari brother who repatriated from the USA has, in partnership with others, established private primary and secondary schools in Addis Ababa and elsewhere and provides employment for others as appropriate. In all three countries, there are individuals who have returned and are supporting themselves, though, in the absence of specific immigration regulations designed to accommodate Rastafari, immigration issues continue to affect their progress. The ability to travel freely is enhanced for those who have kept current, the passports of their former countries of residence. A number of enterprising middle-aged Rastafari women have come to attention. One owns a home and two stores in Shashemane and a store in Jamaica. Similarly, one owns a house and a store now run by her adult son in one community in South Africa, while she lives in another home purchased more recently in another community. She too supplies her shop in Jamaica with African goods. Most well-known is Nana Rita Marley, Bob Marley's widow who has been quietly making sterling contributions to several community initiatives in Ghana. Another sister in Ghana is an itinerant healer who moves between Accra, the Eastern Region and Volta in Ghana. These Rastafari matriarchs would have had their entrepreneurial skills honed in the Caribbean and bolstered by their faith, arrived in Africa ready to put them to work.

More recently arrived are women on their own who have benefitted from further and higher education and who have chosen Ethiopia to provide professional and consultancy services contributing to the development of visual and performing arts, tourism, education and sustainable development. They seem to travel back and forth more frequently than those who arrived earlier, suggesting a process of repatriation, more so than an event, as new vistas are reached and linkages forged and strengthened between their old and new worlds. In all instances, they are active within the repatriated Rastafari communities as well as their African communities, and seem to have no major difficulties with integration. When the women meet, they compare notes on the sacrifices made to come home but there are no expressions of regret.

Unlike the first families that arrived, these women have to find other support struc-tures, that is, outside of family. In many ways, this helps them to integrate into the communities in which they settle. Some are members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as well as the Ethiopian World Federation and the Nyahbinghi Order. The 12 Tribes of Israel seems best organized to receive its members in Ethiopia.[13] On receipt of information about the intent to travel, a member of that same tribe is designated to meet the brother or sister at the airport and to secure temporary accommodation until they can provide for themselves. Temporary accommodation is provided at the 12 Tribes Headquarters for up to one year. A particular challenge has been the repatriation of elders and this is being best overcome in Shashmane where there is an established fund for their systematic care and medical expenses, supported by donations from those who are still abroad.

Second language acquisition is also a challenge but certainly not a deterrent. Like the first wave, they all share a sense of mission, a calling to trod ahead and prepare a space for those who will come later. In some instances, Rastafari brothers and sisters took advantage of the oppor-tunity to travel to the Mother-land, igno-ring the requirements of govern-mental institutions. They have no inten-tion of leaving and are quite prepared to take any risks associated with the notion of 'overstaying' time allotted by immi-gration on arrival.

Ethiopia in the New Millennium

It is well known that Ethiopia is the spiritual home of the Rastafari who pay homage to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I and His Empress Menen. It is also well known that in 1955, Haile Selassie I granted 5 gashas (almost 500 acres) of land in Shashemane, Malcoda, Ethiopia, to Black people of the world, to thank them for their support during Mussolini's invasion and to facilitate the resettlement of those desirous of return. Most of the land was repossessed by Mengistu Haile Mariam's Dergue during the period 1974 to 1991 but with some negotiation the repatriated community was left with approximately 44 hectares. A number of families have stood their ground over the last 30 years of in spite of all attempts to frustrate the commu-nity's development. Be that as it may, the Shashemane Land Grant settlement is the best known example of Rastafari repatriation. It may also be the only one

that can be properly called a settlement and for this reason, it is given more extensive treatment than other accounts of repatriation. Oral sources indicate a communal settlement of mainly white Rastafarians in another part of Ethiopia while there are pockets comprising Rastafari from the Caribbean Region also in Bahar Dar. There is also a regularly interacting, integrated community of ones who have settled in various parts of Addis Ababa and the same people are found attending social events related to Rastafari livity and culture. Most recent expressions of interest in new areas for settlement refer to possibilities in Ejersa Goro.

In July 2011, the first historic Rastafari Pilgrimage was held in Ejersa Goro, the birthplace of His Majesty in a remarkable union between Rastafari, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the Ejersa Goro community which is largely Muslim. Members of the Rastafari committee organizing the pilgrimage were required to submit their profiles for the necessary government authorization (The profiles of three members are presented as Appendix B). The other two committee members were from France and Sweden.

Among the Black (mainly from the Caribbean) Rastafari community in Ethiopia, there is an ongoing quest for a status that will enable the fulfillment of prophecy, the realization of dream and the practice of nation-building. According to the Rastafari Fact Finding Mission to Ethiopia (popularly known as the Harar Trod)[14] which visited Shashemene in November 2009, the Rastafari community there:

> …is a community of unshakeable faith whose members are highly conscious of their role in safeguarding Rastafari patrimony in Ethiopia. The tenacity of their ongoing presence into second and third generations, thriving against all odds is nothing short of inspiring. It is their view that the imperative of the international Rastafari community is to find every available means of investing in the development of the Shashemene community and to strengthen the community by increasing the numbers resident there (Harar Trod Report 2010).

The agenda of the second of two community meetings held in Shashemane during the Fact Finding Mission, highlighted the community's needs for:

- Unity
- Strong economic base
- Community fund
- Commercial buildings
- Farming projects
- Music projects
- Administrative and technical assistance (Harar Trod Report, 2010)

These specifics were overshadowed by the community's burning desire to have three critical areas resolved by diplomatic, political and legal intervention on the part of the Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and by the governments of the CARICOM. The critical demands were for:

i. Land tenure and security

ii. Diplomatic relations for representation with regard to repatriation and

iii. Special legislative and regulatory measures to guarantee legal status/ citizenship

The Shashemane community expressed weariness with providing the same information time and time again to various delegations to no avail, and gave several examples of how their goals and aspirations for development continued to be frustrated and thwarted. During one of several consultations with the community in Shashemane, members of the Mission assisted in drafting a letter seeking audience with Ethiopia's Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, a segment of which is cited below:

> Some of the families most drastically affected have lived in Ethiopia for over thirty years, having been pioneers exercising the moral duty of occupying the lands granted to Africans in the west by His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie I. The majority of these residents are Jamaican, with Ethiopian born adult children and grandchildren. Other nationalities include the EU, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Dominica, St. Vincent and the Grenadines and Montserrat. Their families have established substantial homes and well kept gardens with mature fruit trees; some are farmers, some engage in small business enterprise. Rastafarians own two of Shashamene's main hotels and also a Soy processing factory. The Jamaican Rastafarian Development Community has operated a school on the land for the past seven years and 95% of the 450 student population is Ethiopian. All except one member of staff are Ethiopian. In short, the Rastafari com-munity has contributed to the deve-lopment of the Shashemene community and has consistently cooperated with local and regional authorities in matters of security and social development. (Harar Trod Report 2010)

The matters of land, status and citizenship were tabled by the CRO's representative for the agenda of the meeting with the Director and Staff at the African Union's Citizens and Diaspora Unit in Addis Ababa at the end of the Mission. The CIDO agreed to follow-up with the Ethiopian government. The CRO Liaison to the AU also highlighted these issues in the Rastafari Discussion Paper at the technical meeting in South Africa, in preparation for the upcoming Diaspora Summit, and secured a response by way of a follow-up meeting with Ras Wolde Tages King, President of the Ethopian World Federation Local at the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. By May 2011, the community was subject to yet another census exercise initiated by the Ethiopian government but much disillusionment was expressed as that step had been taken several times before.

At this juncture, the vehicle of investment is being used to enable sustained periods of stay and maintain legality, though the requirements for investment are unreasonable and beyond the means of most ones committed to Ethiopia's development. This is the option now advised by those who arrived before, in preference to repeated extension of a tourist visa stay which is shorter, costly and limited. There is some indication that governmental accommodation is being made to facilitate Rastafari stay so long as there is evidence that progress is being made with the purported investment. This is still a far cry from the desired permanent residence, or citizenship or the ideal of a special arrangement for repatriation. At the time of writing, one recently repatriated Rastafari sister is fundraising for a medical center in Shashemane. Another is establishing the Athlyi Rogers Diaspora Center there. The Nyahbinghi tabernacle in Shashemane, the largest of its kind anywhere, was built by the global Rastafari community around the commemoration of the centenary of the birth of Haile Selassie I.

Though accounts from South Africa and Ghana show that significant overtures are being made with repatriation in mind, the fact of a land grant for repatriation has not yet been replicated anywhere in Africa. The CRO Discussion Paper distributed at the AU Technical Meeting of Experts (TCEM) on Diaspora held in South Africa in February 2011, lauds Senegal's response to the plight of Haiti in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake as

'a practical example of African-Diaspora solidarity.' However, it describes the Shashemene Land Grant in Ethiopia as 'a model that can be replicated in other Member States of the AU, with application of the lessons learned' (CRO 2011). The discussion paper also highlighted recent improvements in relations between the Rastafari community, mainly due to the committed pursuits of Priest Paul Phang of the Ethiopia Black International Congress (EABIC), who heads a *Kabele*[15] in Shashemene and works administratively with the Oromia municipality; the momentous Africa Unite commemoration of Bob Marley's 60th birthday in Addis Ababa which demonstrated the strong impact of public, private (including Rastafari) and civil society (Rastafari) partnership as well as smaller, more recent initiatives in Shashemane supported by the AU.[16] The Shashemane community also acquired a burial plot in 2010, though arrangements for burials have not yet been institutionalized by the community for those who are not members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Ghana the Gateway

During the Kwame Nkrumah Centenary Colloquium held in Accra in May 2010, highly acclaimed Pan-African Elder, Baba Ambassador Dudley Thompson reminded the gathering of the strong anti-colonial and Pan-African links forged in the activism of the movements in the United Kingdom. He emphasized the fact that 'Africans in the diaspora never gave up their African citizenship because their forebears were forcibly taken from the continent' and called for the sixth region of the African union to be 'fully reco-gnized and treated as part of the larger African nation, and for diaspora Africans to be treated as non-resident citizens of African countries' (Colloquium Report 2010).

The truth, as expressed by the Director of the Citizens and Diaspora Directorate of the AU Commission is that the 6th Region is still symbolic, not yet realized. Rastafari in the Caribbean continue to pay close attention to Ghanaian government initiatives such as the Immigration Act of 2000, the Joseph Project and more recent provision for indefinite stay for Africans in the Diaspora. As is the case elsewhere, the Right of Return seems most easily applicable to progeny of Ghanaians who left in the 20th Century and to tourism related enterprise.

According to an article in the leading Pan-Africanist magazine, *Pambazuka News*:

…Ghana is the first African nation to provide the right to return and indefinite stay for Africans in the Diaspora. Under Section 17(1)(b) of the Immigration Law, Act 573 of 2000, the Minister may grant the 'right to abode' to a person of African descent in the diaspora with the approval of the President. Some say, this provision was aimed at tapping into the rich African Americans who have returned to Ghana since its independence and taken up residence in the country, and rewarding those who contribute to the budding tourist industry (Lwanga 2007).

Like the families who arrived in Ethiopia earlier, each repatriating family has to carve out its own path to sustainability, though the environments being met now are much further developed than those met by the first wave of pioneers. Two of the families that have settled in Ghana have come via the USA where they have maintained economic ties that support, families, communities and businesses at home. In both instances, the father remains on the ground, literally and symbolically protecting and managing property and businesses acquired on repatriation, while the women are in paid employment and travel periodically. According to the Ghana report cited earlier:

In general, InI found most of the Rastafari sons and dawtas to be very practical-oriented and living close to the land. Several ones are tapping into business markets as well, but InI see agriculture being the base even for those businesses. Another strength of the Rastafari community in Ghana is that there is a general sense of productivity and inity in the livity of ones and ones. There are Rastafari sons and dawtas in every region of Ghana from the Volta region to Accra area, to Kumasi and other outlying areas. Furthermore, the communication amongst bredren and sistren is strong to the level that Idren are aware of each other's works and whereabouts. That is a strength because as InI coming in from the West, the potential is unlimited in terms of various regions to settle in and various works to get involved it. InI witnessed bredren calling on each other for assistance in building water wells, establishing businesses and building homes and because of this collective reliance, the fraternity amongst bredren seemed to be strong no matter the differences in background. Whether one trod within Nyahbinghi, 12 Tribes, Bobo Ashanti, EWF or whatever, there was little attention given to such things and from the time one trod as a Rastafari son or

dawta, fullest raspect was given InI. Also, many bredren and sistren live the Aburi area (mountainous region outside of Accra), which seemed to be a location of centralization for Rastafari. As such, there is an abundance of land available to InI outside of the city life, which is conducive to InI livity as connected to the earth (Atlanta Ras Tafari delegation 2007).

Two years after the receipt of this report, Ghana established its first National Rastafari Council and the Council has made provision for repatriating Rastafari to become members of its Black Star Line Credit Union launched one year later in March 2010. This is a sterling example of Rastafari prioritization of self-governance and self-reliance and the spirit of Marcus Garvey and Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah are most evident.

South Africa

During the South Africa - AU - African Diaspora Caribbean Conference in Jamaica, March 16-18, 2005, representatives of the Caribbean Rastafari community developed consensus positions reflected in the final text of the meeting's Statement. The Statement and Plan of Action of that conference recognized the contributions of the Rastafari Movement as follows:

The conference gained a new appreciation of the creative way in which the Rastafarian movement had sustained the vision of the Founders of the OAU, and promoted an African-Caribbean identity and Afro-centric values that strengthened the impulse for African Liberation on both sides of the Atlantic, while serving as a positive force for Africa globally…The Rastafari and other movements have served as cultural forces of integration in both the Caribbean and Africa. Their status as agents of sustaining and promoting an African-Caribbean identity and an Afro-centric value system should be recognized as a positive force of integration (AU-SA-CARICOM Statement and POA 2005).

Mainly through engagement with the Republic of South Africa's High Commission in Jamaica, the government of that country has shown great willingness to facilitate the participation of Rastafari in the process leading up to the AU Diaspora Conference at which the case for Rastafari repatriation must be made. Like Ethiopia, it is clear that some accommodation is being made for repatriation and similarly, this accommodation is best seen in informal and local spaces. The strongest thrusts are being made by the

Rastafari brothers and sisters themselves who are acquiring lands for Rastafari development, including repatriation. In my capacity as the CRO Liaison to the African Union, I have been privileged to make assessment visits to two of them. The South Africa Report from the Fact Finding Mission reflects the findings thus:

> At Bikoland, I experienced basic Ital livity in a rural community, relying on cow dung for biofuel, using outdoor toilet facilities provided by nature and attempting hands-on repair to "my" house after a hail storm damaged a small corner of the outer mud plaster… Papa Lord as the keeper of the land has gained Permission to Occupy (PTO) for the purpose of establishing a Rastafari Village. The King has already approved the PTO and the village Head Man has already designated the boundaries. However, the PTO process has not yet been completed so there is a verbal agreement but no papers yet in hand with the authority of the King's signature. Papa Lord was encouraged to move expeditiously to complete this step as a requirement to be able to access various government services. Apparently "the paper" has to come from the office of the King and Papa Lord has to keep checking with this office. After this, the Government Department of Environment will survey the land. Then the cost of fencing for agricultural production can be estimated as the first step towards the Development Plan… Since the cattle owners are obvious stakeholders, it was suggested that an estimate be prepared for fencing the areas demarcated for cultivation as that was a project for which support could be sought in the West. Later on, the entire area could be fenced to establish perimeters with large gaps in the fencing to accommodate grazing while signaling to the community the possibility of the eventual establishment of the village. On December 25, we paid a brief visit to the Head Man indicating that I would like to have a house erected on the land as I cannot return home to pay rent. He listened attentively and said, "I understand." (Harar Trod Report, 2010).

In addition to older established sites in South Africa such as Marcus Garvey in Cape Town and Judah Square in Knysna, as well as Rastafari strongholds in Johannesburg and Soweto, other Rastafari sites designated by South African Rastafari for development as Rastafari villages are in Jerusalem (which the Rastafari refer to as JAH RULE SALEM), Qwa Qwa and the King Haile Selassie Village being established on Magaliesberg Mountain in Mamelodi, near Pretoria.

This last site is significant in three regards. It has the support of the surrounding community and there seems to be a meeting of minds that it should be considered a heritage site as it is used for spiritual purposes by several different groups. The expressed goal as stated in the site's brochure is for the mountain village to be operated as a self-sustaining, environmentally sustainable entity. Thirdly, though the site's development decision making is done by Zion Development Team (ZDT), a loose formation of Rastafari with various areas of relevant expertise, the actual construction work to erect structures on the site is spearheaded by Rastafari Sisters. According to the brochure:

> Foods and beverages consumed at the KHSV restaurant will all be flavored using herbs from the village garden, which will also supply aromatic herbs for the spa. Tree planting, the use of renewable energy sources and grey water irrigation for the gardens are all features of the preservation program envisaged. Using indigenous knowledge systems to influence architectural design and construction, ZDT engages in sustainable use of the mountain's resources. The primary materials used in all structures erected on the mountain come from the land itself. Residents and visitors actively participate in the construction themselves, learning as they do so, how to work with the mountain and the elements that shape their environment (ZDT brochure).

It is not insignificant that the shared historic vision of Edward Wilmoth Blyden and Marcus Mosiah Garvey for a Diaspora Nation on the African continent was articulated at the AU TCEM in South Africa in February 2011 by stalwart Caribbean Pan-Africanist, David Comissiong of Barbados. Rastafari in South Africa are clearly ahead of the game.

Conclusion

Among the lessons learned by Rastafari is that no matter how land is acquired in the process of repatriation, if it is not occupied and developed it may be lost, regardless of what seemed to be sound contractual arrangements for tenure. Physical planning, engineering, construction and other skills needed for settlement are of critical importance as are the provision of social services and safety networks. Organizing and centralizing Rastafari initiatives are not yet large enough or effective enough to independently achieve the realization of repatriation as a mass movement. Capacities must therefore be enhanced among the communities that already exist in repatriated spaces and among those lobbying for repatriation and to apply strategies advanced by the people affected, to determine the terms and conditions of their repatriation.

Though the African Union (AU) has made constitutional provision for the inclusion of the African Diaspora as the 6th Region of Africa, this is evidently not a priority of the AU and the process of determining modalities for Diaspora representation is moving at a snail's pace. The Caribbean Region, because of its largely African ethnic make-up, has been privileged to be given a civil society voice in the person of Khafra Kambon of Trinidad and Tobago who was in 2008 appointed an Ex-Officio member of the AU Economic Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC), 'Ex-Officio' because the 6th Region is not yet a Member of the AU and this was the way to formally engage with Civil Society through Caribbean Pan-African Network (CPAN).

This is the vehicle that the Caribbean Rastafari Organisation has been using to dialogue in various AU processes. The CRO representative, who has repatriated to Ethiopia, attended the Second Technical Meeting of the ECOSOCC Standing Committee in Uganda (2009), the Technical Meeting of Experts on the African Diaspora in South Africa (2011) and the African Youth Forum in Addis Ababa (2011). She is lobbying for life to be brought to Article 21 of the African Youth Charter, which is about the participation of Diaspora Youth. The CRO Liaison has been recommending various ways in which the governments of the CARICOM and the AU can hold true (and not pay lip service), to the intent of the African Diaspora Global Conference: Caribbean Regional Consultation in Barbados in 2007, which acknowledged 'the Rastafari Movement as historically integrative of the African Agenda and whose cultural philosophy, actions and assets, particularly its indigenous rights, form the cornerstone of African Union and should be uniquely supported (Outcomes Document 2007, emphasis mine).

The governments need to understand and appreciate that whatever their views of Rastafari spirituality, the basis of the

Rastafari demand for repatriation and reparations resonates in the United Nations principle of the Right of Return. They need to consider that their failure to act may impede the tide but will not diminish the Rastafari resolve to return home. Ethiopia's accommodation of Rastafari settlement needs to be accompanied by special legislative and regulatory arrangements for permanent residence and citizenship. There is need to broaden the reciprocal unilateral arrangements for no visa requirements in the case of St. Vincent, the Grenadines, Ethiopia, South Africa and Jamaica, to an agreement between CARICOM and the AU. This will undoubtedly be more problematic for the small island developing states that are already experiencing anxiety about the free movement of people in the CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

While the May 2011 agreement between Nigeria and Jamaica for direct air travel between the two countries is welcome, it may mean very little to Rastafari aspiring to repatriate as the cost is still likely to be high. In any event, market forces will determine the viability of actualizing such agreements. On the other hand the Rastafari Nation must give no ground in its own efforts at readiness for prophetic, politically supported, permanent, physical return.

Notes

1. The CRO was approached on this matter by the representative of a trade initiative being formulated by the Government of Barbados Commission for Pan-African Affairs in 2007.

2. One perception is that the University of the West Indies (UWI) report on the Rastafarians of Kingston (1960) served to dilute the more revolutionary aspects of Rastafari expression. However, UWI conferred an honorary doctorate upon His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie I during his state visit to Jamaica in 1966. Another perspective is that Rastafari Intellectual Property Rights must be protected from academic exploitation. http://millenniumcouncil.webs.com/apps/blog/show/4417628-rastafari-conference-objection-by-eadumc

3. Amendment to the Constitutive Act (2003) of the African Union invited membership of the African Diaspora as the 6th Region of the Africa.

4. A United Nations principal associated with and applied to the Palestinian cause.

5. France's Parliament passed the Taubira Act declaring the slave trade as a crime-againsthumanity on 10 May 2001 http:// www.ambafrance-uk.org/Slavery-Slavery-was-abolished-in.html

6. They Came Before Columbus (1976).

7. http://www.countriesquest.com/north_america/usa/people/growth_of_u_s_population/growth_through_immigration/european_and_african_immigration_in_the_colonies.htm

8. Binghi Shawn, Ras Tre, Ras Ishach and Congo Isef report on http://rastaites.com/news/hearticals/Ghana/report01.pdf

9. 'In a very real sense, our continent is unmade; it still awaits its creation and its creators' (HIM Statement to the 1963 African Summit at which the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was formed. http://rastaites.com/speeches/africa.htm

10. Nyahbinghi *groundation* – 'an all day, all night celebration, when brethren would assemble at a particular camp for a special occasion' (Mack 1999: 81) connected to Ethiopian monarchy, history and culture.

11. Frantz Fanon and the USA Civil Rights Movement.

12. Livity - 'The Spiritual, Divine way of life of The RASTAFARIANS, Culture of Spirituality (Afari 2007:327), 'covers the totality of one's being in the world' (Lewis 1998: 155).

13. Organised by the names of the Biblical Tribes of Israel.

14. The Mission also included visits to South Africa and Ghana by a reduced team.

15. A kabele is a small, administrative unit similar to a neighbourhood in Ethiopian municipal structure.

16. African Liberation Day event in 2008 and Youth leadership training in 2011.

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APPENDIX A

List of Lobbying Interventions by the Caribbean Rastafari Organisation

2011

Aide-Mémoire submitted to African Union (AU) Economic Social and Cultural Council

May 29-31
Standing Committee Meeting in Trinidad and Tobago

May 23
Letter to Secretary General (Ag.) of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), Guyana

April 4-6
AU African Youth Forum - CRO Liaison invoked inclusion of African Diaspora Youth in accordance with Article 21 of the African Youth Charter

28 February 2011   Follow-up letter to CARICOM and Ethiopian diplomatic, technical and political representatives at AU TCEM in South Africa

February 21-22

Discussion Paper 'Repatriation: An Overarching Theme for the Rastafari Nation' presented at AU Technical Committee of Experts Meeting in South Africa

February 16

Letter to African Caribbean Pacific (ACP) Observatory on Migration seeking support for research on Rastafari relocation from the Caribbean Region to Africa.

2010

November 24

Rastafari Fact Finding Mission meeting with Director and Staff of AU Citizens and Diaspora Directorate and representatives of AU ECOSOCC, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

November 15

Call on Member States of the AU and the European Union (EU) to include Reparations as defined by the UN Durban Declaration and POA, in the framework of the Second Action Plan (2011-2013) adopted at the 3rd African EU Summit, 29-30 November in Tripoli

9 2009

Position Paper 'The Case for Rastafari Representation on the African Union's

December 19-21

Economic, Social and Cultural Council ECOSOCC Kampala, Uganda

2008

Discussion Paper distributed by Ambassade de la Diaspora at the UN Durban

August 24-26

Review Conference/African Region PrepCom, Abuja, Nigeria

2007

AU-Caribbean government supported representation at the African Diaspora

August 27-28

Global Conference: Caribbean Regional Consultation in Barbados

October 18

Proposal for the establishment of a CARICOM Working Group on Rastafari Populations and AU Permanent Forum on Rastafari Issues prepared for:

(i) AU Ministerial Meeting on the Diaspora in South Africa, 16-18, November

(ii) African Union Diaspora Summit in South Africa in 2008 and

(iii) 17th meeting of the CARICOM Council for Human and Social Development, Guyana

2005

Position Paper 'Preparation for Integration into the African Union: The South

March 16-18   African Option', presented at the South Africa-AU-CARICOM meeting in Jamaica

2004

Nomination of CRO member as Rastafari representative to executive of AU

September 11-12

Diaspora Network in Barbados - also known as Caribbean Pan-African Network (CPAN)

2002

Position Paper 'Building Strategic Alliances to secure Reparations for Repatriation', presented at the African Union meeting of Caribbean Pan-African Organisations in Barbados

APPENDIX B

Profiles of 1st Rastafari Pilgrimage Organizing Committee

Ras Nkrumah Sellassie (Chairman) is Treasurer of the Ethiopian World Federation (EWF), Addis Ababa Local 777 and a leading personality of the Rastafari community in Ethiopia. He was born in Jamaica and is a businessman who owns the Royal Afrakan Link PLC (RALCO), which established the first soybean processing factory in Ethiopia. The factory is located in the Shashemane Industrial Zone, with its Head Office located in the Kirkos Building, Addis Ababa. RALCO is a family business which promotes healthy eating and provides a diversified line of health food products found in leading supermarkets, hotels and restaurants. Throughout his life, Ras Nkrumah has been involved in organizing and participating in cultural programs, staging a number events in Addis Ababa and engaging in the EWF Rain Water Harvesting and Naked be Clothed Programs. Ras Nkrumah is married and the father of seven. He and his family have lived in Ethiopia since 2007.

Ras Hailu Tefari/Raymond (Bandi) Payne is Treasurer of the Rastafari Pilgrimage Organizing Committee, advisor and consultant for nation building projects

and programs and a member of the EWF Inc. Ras Hailu is a Rastafari Priest, Banana Art specialist, cartoonist, poet, musician, organic farmer and herbalist. He was awarded a diploma in Art and Design from the Greenhill College at Harrow-on-the Hill, UK, during his four and a half year sojourn there. Ras Hailu was born on the island of Aruba and grew up in St. Vincent and the Grenadines. He established the world's first Banana Art Gallery in Shashemane, where he has also preserved a vast collection of Ethiopian medals from the era of Emperor Menelik II to that of Emperor Haile Selassie I. Ras Hailu arrived in Ethiopia in 1994, was baptized at Mariam Cathedral in 1997 and married an Ethiopian wife in that same year. Together they have four daughters.

Sister Empress Ijahnya Christian is a freelance writer, cultural activist and Pan-African consultant who was born in Anguilla, grew up in St. Kitts and Nevis and relocated from the Eastern Caribbean to Ethiopia in 2010. For 35 years she has provided multi-sector research, facilitation and international representation in environmental management, social development and organizational governance. She was a member of the Rastafari Fact Finding Mission to Ethiopia in 2009 and is the Caribbean Rastafari Organization's Liaison to the African Union (AU). She is also on the executive committee of the AU Diaspora Network (Caribbean). Sister Ijahnya holds a M. A. (Ed) from the University of Southampton and a B. Sc. (Social Work) from the University of the West Indies. As Executive Director of the Anguilla National Trust she was awarded fellowships in Land Stewardship from the Quebec Labrador Foundation/Atlantic Center for the Environment and a certificate in Environmental Leadership from the Smithsonian Institution. She was Anguilla's first Coordinator of Adult and Continuing Education and initiated Guidance and Counseling Services in the island's education system. In Ethiopia she is establishing the Athlyi Rogers Diaspora Center to offer sustainable development services to Africans at home and abroad. Sister Ijahnya is the mother of three adult children and grandmother of four.

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Conference of Deans of Faculties of Social Sciences and Humanities of African Public Universities
7 & 8 December, 2011

The Conference of Deans of Faculties of Social Sciences and Humanities was held in the afternoons of 7 and 8 December, 2011, as part of the activities of the 13th General Assembly of CODESRIA, at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, Mohamed V/Agdal University, Rabat, Morocco. The theme of the conference was "The Place of the African University in the Building of a Global Higher Education Space". The opening session, chaired by Professor Wail Benjelloun, President of Mohamed V/Agdal University, was attended also by of Professor Fatima Harrak, then Vice-chairperson of the Executive Committee of CODESRIA; Professor Abderrahim Benhadda, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of Mohamed V/Agdal University, and Professor Aminata Diaw, Head of CODESRIA Training, Fellowship and Grants Program. Others present at the conference were Professor Sam Moyo, Chairman of the Executive Committee of CODESRIA, Dr Ebrima Sall, Executive Secretary of CODESRIA and Professor Mahmood Mamdani, the keynote speaker.

Coumba Ndoffène Diouf
Programme Manager
CODESRIA

In the wake of the opening ceremony, Professor Benhadda empahsiszd that the Conference of Deans was an opportunity to promote cooperation between faculties of social sciences in Africa. The chairperson, Professor Wail Benjelloun highlighted a number of challenges facing the African university as a result of the extreme youthfulness of the population (+64% in Morocco), and the multiple consequences of such a pheno-menon for the African university: massification, the issue of quality of education that enables trained students to cope with the labor market, the brain drain of people trained by African universities, etc. Professor Fatima Harrak noted that the readjustments of the African university system by the policies of international institutions finally afflicted the 'soft belly' of the system, that is, the social sciences. Professor Aminata Diaw reiterated the mandate and objectives of CODESRIA within such a context.

Keynote Address: How to Break with the "Culture of Consultancy" in African Universities

The position of the keynote speaker, Professor Mahmood Mamdani, was that the neoliberal reform introduced by the World Bank at Makerere University in Uganda, a case which is not unique in Africa, precipitated the emergence of a 'culture of consultancy' in the academia. For him, the way to restore research in the Africa academia is to introduce doctoral programs that will help renew our community of social sciences and humanities researchers since the students who will be enrolled in such programs will be initiated into real research. The problem today in our universities is that social science researchers are relegated to the role of collectors of raw data. They often participate in answering questions already formulated in projects designed elsewhere and particularly by researchers from the North who give to themselves primacy in the theorization work. Unfortunately, such theories come back later as ready-to-use by our African researchers. For Mamdani, the most important thing for a researcher is less in responding to a question to whose development he/she did not contribute, than in formulating the research problem that leads to the research issue. Under such conditions, we must no longer content ourselves with this posture of raw data collector, if we want to do research in our African universities.

The various papers presented by the deans at the conference were organized around three sessions:

- African Universities and Globalization
- African Universities and the Implementation of the BMD Reform
- Rethinking Humanities and Social Sciences in a Global Higher Education Space

The African University and Globalization

The first session, chaired by Mohamed Salhi (Vice-Dean for Scientific Research and Cooperation at Mohamed V/Agdal University), analyzed the place of the African university in a globalized space. From this perspective and starting from the etymological meaning of the word 'university', Willy Bongo-Pasi Moke Sangol of the University of Kinshasa in the DRC, was of the view that African academic institutions must serve the community insofar as they are perceived by their communities, not only as centers of excellence, but also as tools for creating initiatives, although African universities are facing a number of difficulties (massification, dilapidated facilities, etc.) which affect the supervision of students and research. All this ultimately affects the universities negatively, make them less competitive and take them far away from the goals assigned to them by society. Nevertheless, the university is bound to survive one way or the other. To do this, according to Jean Marie Katubadi-Bakenge of the University of Lake Tanganyika in Burundi, the African university must transcend local realities. According to her, the mandates of the African university to train the youth and develop research within the African space, inculcate democratic culture among trained youth and open the continent to the universal world, and contribute to the African renaissance in a globalized world, can only be achieved if the African university is organized around a number of rationalities: techno-scientific, reflective, ethical and teleological; through a constant questioning of each of them, to avoid falling into unnecessary fundamentalism. However, Saidah Mbooge Najjuma of Ndejje Uni-

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versity in Uganda believes that globalization affects the operation of African Universities on a daily basis. This is symbolized through words such as 'deregulation', 'liberalization' and 'privatization'. Thus, social policies established by international institutions such as the World Bank drastically affect sectors like higher education in Africa. Yet, she added, it is possible for the African university to enroll in the global village without losing its identity. In his own contribution, Bertrand Sogbossi Bocco of Abomey-Calavy University in Benin stress the need to understand that the African university systems are now in a space that has become highly competitive. Therefore, the deans of faculties of social sciences and humanities must now acquire basic knowledge in management to be better prepared to face the attendant challenges. Finally, Deogradius Massawe from the University of Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania noted that it is impossible to get rid of globalization. We must rather look out for the opportunities it has to offer, and make the best use of them.

The African University and the Implantation of the BMD Reform

The second session of the conference, chaired by Rori Ryan (Executive Dean of the University of Johannesburg), analyzed the situation of the African university in the implementation of the BMD reform. For Olayemi Durotimi Akinwumi of Nassarawa State University in Nigeria, the BMD reform (or the Bologna Process) should be understood as a consequence of the funding deficit of public universities, which led to their social transformation into business firms. However, Michel Tchotsoua from Ngaoundere University in Cameroon, using the case of the Department of Geography of his university as an example, showed the BMD reform may be a good thing for African universities in the sense that it facilitates the mutualization of the training and enables students to reorientate themselves about the world. Willy Batenga Moussa of the University of Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso, drew attention to the fact 'conservative behavior' is not only on the part of teachers who refuse to adapt their courses to the new system, but also on the part of students who are resistant to change. Yet, he noted, 'everyone agrees on the usefulness of the new BMD system'. Therefore, the states should provide the necessary resources for its success. But, according to Jean Otemikongo Mandefu Yahsule of Kisangani University in the DRC, the negative behavior among some stakeholders around the reform could easily be understood, as the Bologna reform carries with it a rhetoric that is not always well understood by all stakeholders. Wondering whether the Bologna Process is based on mimicry or a necessity, he concluded that it poses key issues but also challenges which African universities must overcome. In support of the reform, however, Mohamed Boussetta explained the significant progress it has made in Morocco since 2003, based on the case of the Faculty of Economics and Management of Kenitra University.

Rethinking Humanities and Social Sciences in a Higher Education Space

During this last session of the conference, chaired by Amadou Abdoul Sow (Dean, Faculté de letters et sciences humaines, Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar, Senegal, Olabisi Idowu Aina of Obafemi Awolowo University in Nigeria stressed the centrality of the gender variable in the equation of development in Africa. According to her, African universities should attach great importance to studies on gender by increasing their number. However, according to Kenneth Inyani Simala from Masinde Muliro University in Kenya, to achieve a paradigm shift in teaching and research, the faculties of social sciences must transcend disciplinary boundaries. Frederick Hendricks of Rhodes University, South Africa, highlighted the major contribution of faculties of social sciences and humanities in the deconstruction of inequalities inherited from the apartheid system in South Africa since 1994. As for Carolyn Horton Harford of the University of Swaziland, the mandate of African universities in the early independence era was to develop education by participating in the renewal of elites. But the crisis that later befell the institutions affected this mandate and resulted in the reduction of university budgets by the World Bank. So, some communities in the academia believed that social sciences and humanities had no roles to play in development, and this has played down enormously on global attitude towards the disciplines in the social sciences.

Discussions on the Presentations

The discussions following the various presentations of the deans can be grouped together under the following three main points.

Massification and Commercialization of Higher Education in Africa

If massification was unanimously considered as one of the main causes of difficulties facing higher education in Africa and particularly the faculties of social sciences and humanities, its linkage with the commercialization, sometimes called privatization, was analyzed as useful by some deans and as problematic by others. Some were of the view that it is massification which causes the privatization of higher education. Therefore, private institutions are increasingly being opened within public institutions of higher education. In some countries, private education is especially useful because the number of high school leavers yearning for university education annually far exceeds the reception capacities of public higher education institutions. The commercialization of higher education leads to competition between disciplines. Thus, students are today more interested in vocational disciplines that enable them to be operational on the job market at the end of their training, than in other general disciplines such as humanities and social sciences. One should also note the heavy workload on teachers who spend more time in lecture halls and marking students' papers than in conducting their research, which affects the latter.

What Challenges for the Social Sciences and Humanities in Africa?

Although debates sometimes gave the impression that the legal sciences are of a different kind of discipline due to their approach which is more interested in 'what should be' while the social sciences and humanities, such as anthropology or sociology, work more on 'what exists', the challenges facing the social sciences and humanities, including legal sciences, in African universities remain intrinsically the same. Thus, it was noted that if we want our universities in Africa to better integrate into the global context, we must change the educational tool and avoid being influenced by the market. We must take into account, when developing our academic programs, our priorities and realities and not those of globalization. The curricula

should be rooted in our local context to make them more relevant. In terms of knowledge management in our, we must be critical of the managerial approach of the university that perceives students as consumers and certificates as products. The university system should be taken back to its original mandate which is 'knowledge production'. Hence, considering the university as a space where democratic culture, ideologies and politics must coexist seems contradictory. Continuity should be improved since few things are done in terms of mobility. South/South exchanges must be strengthened and cooperation between the various African universities enhanced. The differentiated approach in the various faculties of universities, which hampers the BMD system, should be harmonized for mutual and progressive co-existence. Attachment to Europe in its implementation of the BMD should be discarded, so that we can truly Africanize the content of our education. We must identify the causes of the problems of the African university, one of which is massification, and then consciously work towards establishing better cooperation between institutions. The historical perspective between social sciences and developments in Africa needs to be re-emphasised. Research should also be conducted to clearly identify the situation of social sciences in African universities, while the curricula must be refocused and tailored to the needs of countries and contexts. The integration of the gender paradigm in social sciences and humanities will be measured not only by the number of research conducted on gender issues but also, and especially, through 'generating' social science research.

Necessity of Networking Social Science Faculties in Africa

The idea of networking has lost momentum in Africa. Meetings are useful indeed but a network is also a very important element for the African university. The meeting should lead to a form of electronic newsletter, and enable interconnectivity among the different websites of the various African faculties of social sciences and humanities. This would give room to improved communication between the different institutions. Internet is now accessible to everyone and can play a very important role in the sharing of experiences between faculty deans. More than ever before, there is now a necessity of networking between the deans of various African faculties of social sciences and humanities. It is important to consider the added value that can be achieved by the sharing of experiences between the different faculties.

Establishment of a Steering Committee

There was a unanimous agreement on the need to re-structure the conference of deans and provide it with the necessary tools that would boost the results of this meeting. Given the temporary mandate of deans, there was a need to ensure the continuity of the Association of Deans in the different African universities. Since deans are also teacher-researchers, the modality through which they can combine their management responsibilities, with appropriate management techniques, needs to be worked out. It was therefore considered important to establish a think tank that could facilitate the proposed establishment of the Association of Deans of African Faculties of Social Sciences and Humanities, and a steering committee comprised of five members, each representing one of the five African regions. It would be the responsibility of the steering committee to work out the modalities for the establishment of the Association of Deans and fix a date for the next meeting of deans. Each member of the committee will be tasked, among others, to inform other deans of faculties of social sciences and humanities that are within his/her sub-region and sensitize them towards the establishment of the Association of Deans. To this end, an appeal was made to CODESRIA to assist in drafting the document for the proposed association, and funding sub-regional meetings to facilitate the work of the steering committee.

The members of the Steering Committee, by region, are as follows:

- Southern Africa: Professor Fred Hendricks, Rhodes University, Grahamstown
- Central Africa: Professor Michel Tchotsoua, Ngaoundéré University, Cameroon
- East Africa: Professor Abeje Berhanu, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia
- North Africa: Professor Abderrahim Benhadda, Mohammed V Agdal University, Rabat, Morocco
- West Africa: Professor Olabisi Idowu Aina, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Nigeria

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Como Fazer Ciências Sociais e Humanas em África
Questões Epistemológicas, Metodológicas, Teóricas e Políticas

Teresa Cruz e Silva, João Paulo Borges Coelho & Amélia Neves de Souto (Orgs.)

As crises de pensamento decorrentes das grandes mudanças verificadas no mundo durante a última metade do século XX e início deste século levaram as Ciências Sociais e Humanidades a acelerar a sua reconceptualização num esforço tendente a clarificar e redefinir o seu papel na sociedade. Hoje, mais do que nunca, se debate sobre a finalidade das Ciências Sociais. Questionamonos sobre o seu contributo para a formulação e resolução dos problemas contemporâneos, incluindo de que forma elas podem ajudar a uma maior eficácia na tomada de decisões políticas e administrativas. Questionamo-nos, inclusivamente, sobre o futuro das próprias Ciências Sociais e Humanidades, futuro esse que depende em grande medida da pertinência das visões do mundo que nos proporcionam. A procura de respostas para estes questionamentos não pode estar dissociada da discussão em torno da problemática referente à produção e apropriação do conhecimento. A cultura científica é actualmente encarada como uma dimensão fundamental das sociedades contemporâneas, na medida em que interfere com todos os domínios da vida social. Ela representa o vector decisivo da modernização e do desenvolvimento.

Equitable Higher Education, Inclusive Development and the Commercial Academic Publishing Industry

Annual Conference of CODESRIA Journal Editors, 2011

Oyekunle Oyediran
Managing Editor
CODESRIA

The 2011 Annual Conference of CODESRIA Journal Editors was held as part of the 13th General Assembly of CODESRIA which had as its theme "Africa and the Challenges of the 21st Century". The venue was the Mohammed V University, Rabat, Morocco.

The main objectives of this conference were to: deliberate on how to further enhance the quality and visibility of CODESRIA journals to enable them rank among the best international social science journals; brainstorm on effective distribution channels that will take the journals to scholars who need them, particularly in Africa; and use the opportunity of the CODESRIA General Assembly to network with current and prospective contributors to the various journals, and share challenges and experiences.

The Keynote Address at the conference, entitled "Equitable Higher Education, Inclusive Development and the Commercial Academic Publishing Industry" was delivered by Adam Habib, Professor of Political Science and Deputy Vice Chancellor (research, innovation and advancement), University of Johannesburg, South Africa.http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adam_Habib - cite_note-CenterForCivilSociety-0

Dr Ebrima Sall, CODESRIA's Executive Secretary, explained in his opening remarks that the meeting was being held as part of the General Assembly to give the editors the opportunity to meet potential contributors to their respective journals. According to him, the editors' meeting is extremely important because the journals are the face of both CODESRIA and the African social science community as a whole. He identified journal publishing and control as a burning issue which needed to be discussed in CODESRIA, most especially by the people in charge of the journals. Dr Sall pointed out that the editors' forum is an extremely important and strategic group which CODESRIA holds in high esteem.

The keynote speaker, Professor Habib, described the current journal industry, involving the multinationals, as a bizarre one 'in which the workers who laboriously manufacture the product are paid by the public purse, those that painstakingly review the quality of the product are also paid by the public purse, and then the product is sold by a private European or North American company back to public institutions at a huge profit…' reminiscent of 'feudal relations established in the colonies at the height of imperialism'. This has made journal publishing so attractive that newspaper organisations are closing down to embark on journal publishing. The effect of this is that poor universities 'do not have access to a quality academic journal base which is an absolute necessity for quality higher education to be delivered'.

Professor Habib highlighted the three core priorities of higher education systems: producing highly qualified human resource base which is needed for development, building a new generation of academics to sustain the system, and producing high quality research and innovation that can enhance our global competitiveness – all of which are dependent on access to widely used publications. But many of us have been denied this access, as 'an international commercial industry of academic publishing has been allowed to undermine the public good of higher education for massive profits'. However, the keynote speaker enunciated the various moves to address this situation, with particular reference to South Africa. The main obstacle to real improvement in the scholarly performance of African researchers, according to the keynote speaker, is 'access to high impact "international literature" from North America and Europe, which are needed if African scholars and researchers are to 'get to the cutting edge of global knowledge in their respective fields'. But this literature is 'published by multi-national companies on highly commercial platforms, and represent most of the more important scientific journals of the planet'.

In terms of solutions, Professor Habib observed that there is a needed to consider open access seriously, as well as the possibility of bringing together a group of disciplinary associations to produce journals, bring the price down and make them accessible to all. Also, our universities as a group or groups should buy access to these international journals. He also suggested the establishment of consolidated and highly subsidized academic publishing houses, reforms capable of challenging the commercial model of academic publishing in North America and Western Europe through appropriate legislation, more flexibility in the World Trade negotiations on copyright laws, especially in favour of upcoming scholars in our higher education institutions, and the forging of a collective protest against the excessive profits of the corporate academic publishing industry. All these are necessary if we are to succeed in developing an equitable, diverse human resource base on which to build a knowledge economy in Africa.

In the discussion that followed, the editors noted the unfairness in the system in which the same multinational companies that produce the journals are also the ones which also lead journal citation and run indexations. For CODESRIA in particular, the editors advised that the Council should keep all its journals, in terms of accessibility and visibility.

The meeting underscored the need to ensure that the journals are produced promptly without any backlog. The various associations that co-publish the journals with CODESRIA were asked to re-visit their constitutional provisions, and ensure that their autonomy and control over the journals are not tampered with in any way.

The meeting welcomed the establishment of a new CODESRIA journal: *African Journal of Social Science Methodology*.

As usual, the journal editors discussed the achievements, weaknesses, and challenges in respect of each journal since the previous conference, and presented new ways towards greater achievement and better outputs. The following are some of the observations and suggestions put forward for better performances of the journals:

- Panels on "Publishing in CODESRIA" should be part of the CODESRIA General Assembly;

- Editors should use opportunities offered by gatherings such as the General Assembly to network, gather manuscripts, and build new contacts in the African social science community;

- Journals should send out regular calls for papers to feed their journals;

- The gestation period for a reviewed article was fixed at six months;

- All journals were encouraged to consider publication of a special issues at least once in every four issues;

- Surveys would be conducted to ascertain the current quality, visibility and use of the journals;

- Journals should be marketed to the African Union and its agencies, sub-regional organizations and African governments, especially the ministries of foreign affairs;

- Members of the editorial advisory boards should be encouraged to serve as guest and editors, peer-reviewers;

- The new *African Journal of Social Science Methodology* will welcome abstracts in English, French, Arabic, Portuguese and Spanish, but it will carry articles in French and English;

- CODESRIA should consider sending copies of each journal to the editors of the other journals.

Generally, the 2011 Conference of CODESRIA Journal Editors was a very fruitful meeting. The editors were particularly pleased with the opportunity to hold this meeting as part of the General Assembly given the opportunities it accorded them.

CODESRIA 2011 Gender Symposium on Media in Africa

As part of its scientific activities and in line with its mandate, CODESRIA held the 2011 edition of its Gender Symposium on 1 – 3 November, 2011 at Hotel Safir Doukki, Cairo, Egypt. The edition, which focused on the issue of **Gender and the Media in Africa, was o**rganised in partnership with the Arab and African Research Centre in Cairo. The symposium was attended by 30 researchers (participants and invitees) of both sexes from different disciplines, and from 9 countries in Africa, the United States and France. The aim of the meeting was to critically examine the relationship between gender and the media in Africa.

Brahim El Morchid
University Cadi Ayyad, Marrakech

It is important to recall that owing to the concerted efforts of CODESRIA and the Arab and African Research Centre, the Gender Symposium has become a major annual event for discussing gender issues in Africa. Thus, the themes selected over the years (citizenship, sports, migration, the media, etc) speak more strongly to African social science researchers, because of the still critical status of African women in relation to these issues.

Summary Note

In terms of diversity, the speakers at the three-day symposium came from 9 African countries (Senegal, South Africa, Egypt, Morocco, Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Cameroon and Cote d'Ivoire, etc), France and the United States; and from a range of disciplines (Sociology, Literature, Economics, Management Science, Information Science, Political Science, History, etc). This diversity was reflected in the selection of the themes developed. The presentations focused on very diverse but innovative topics like: Gender in the Public Policies of the Media; The Image of African Women in the Media; Social Networks as a New Space of Interactions between Men and Women; Women in African Cinema; Women Activists in the Media; Women Entrepreneurs in the Media; Gender Relations in the Media, etc.

Also, out of the 22 presentations, 17 of the panelists adopted a qualitative approach (a participant observation, a mono-site case study, 12 multi-site case studies and 3 summaries associated with non-participant observation). The remaining presentations used a quantitative approach. Furthermore, primary data were used in 4 presentations, while the others used secondary data or literature review, often in the form of records.

Most presenters did narrative analysis and in a limited number of presentations (5 papers), statistical analysis was used. In addition, it was obvious that most of them were guided by the functionalist method, because they aimed at grasping the reality of gender in the media in terms of its usefulness and role. This diversity of approaches did not fail to positively influence the orientation and quality of debates.

In terms of commitment, after three days of debate, it was obvious that the panelists can be categorised, to varying degrees, as engaged researchers. This can be confirmed from the nature of the work presented, which had necessitated very close relationship (between the researcher and the field) and the determination expressed by the panelists, sometimes aggressively, that things must change. Yet Africa, more than ever before, needs this type of researchers who are able, not only to produce, but also to advocate for fair economic, political and social causes.

With regard to complexity, through the presentations and, above all, the debates that followed, it seems that the theme "Gender and the Media in Africa" is not as easy to deal with as one might think. The complexity of the theme is due to both its multidimensional nature and the attendant epistemological and methodological challenges.

Most of the papers presented were of good quality. They were well researched and well written. In the end, the 22 presentations

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make up a total of 497 pages, or an average of 22.5 pages per paper, with 613 bibliographic references. The presentations and debates were also very analytical. However, some of them sparked up constructive debate among the participants, with crtiticism in relation to research protocols, in particular the lack of critical analysis and weakness of the conceptual framework. Furthermore, the sometimes excessive use of certain key terms reflects the authors' commitment to the theme of the symposium. A short lexical analysis found that "woman (men)" is the term most often used in the 22 presentations (2,079 times). It is followed by the terms "media" and "gender" mentioned 1,046 and 855 times respectively. By contrast, the term "man" (with or without capital letter) was mentioned only 324 times. This last figure shows that there is still some confusion over the meaning conveyed by the term 'gender' as, for some panelists, gender still refers (wrongly) to the role of women in a given society and not to the social relations between men and women.

The quality of the presentations, and mainly of the debates, enabled us to identify eight main outcomes of this symposium:

- Despite the will expressed by public authorities, the image of African women in the media still remains globally negative. There is yet a wide gap between the official discourse and the field reality.

- Apart from the community radios, the media in Africa are often elitist in nature.

- The image of African women in the media, both physical and symbolic, is strongly correlated with the domination of the traditionalist and globalist trends.

- The stereotyped representations of women in the media mainly affect the most vulnerable segments (poor women in rural and pre-urban areas).

- Gender discrimination in the media cannot be dissociated from the general climate in African society, characterised by other forms of discrimination.

- Some negative images of women conveyed by the media are indicative of both the refusal by, and inability of the state to play its role fully in a context of neo-colonial hegemony.

- The weak position of women in decision-making bodies in Africa has made the deconstruction of stereotypes in the media difficult.

- The new media provide new prospects in the construction of gender relations in Africa.

In terms of openness, while some of the presentations received positive responses within the existing theoretical framework, others probably require further conceptualisation efforts. Aspects of the unification of the theme of the Symposium (Gender and the Media in Africa) that still need further examination by the African research community include:

- Gender Issues in Social Media;

- Impact of the Liberalisation of the Media Sector on Gender Issues;

- Media Coverage of the Public Denudation of the Body by Women in some African Countries;

- The Arab Spring Women in the Media.

Opening Session

The first speaker at the Opening Session, Professor Helmi Sharawy, Vice-President of the Arab and African Research Centre, Cairo, recalled the objectives that have been guiding the Gender Symposium since 2002. According to him, the 2011 symposium was taking place in a particular context, characterised by revolutions in North Africa. Women had played a decisive role there. The intellectuals were therefore encouraged to take this new development into account. Professor Aminata Diaw, CODESRIA's Training, Grants and Fellowships Programme Officer, who represented Dr Ebrima Sall (Executive Secretary of CODESRIA) who could not attend the Cairo meeting, due to his deep involvement in the preparations for the Council's 13th General Assembly, acknowledged the role played by the Arab and African Research Centre in organising the symposium. According to her, the symposium was organised at a time when the wind of democracy and freedom started blowing over North Africa. Yet, this change was made possible, among others, by the strong mobilisation of women and the massive use of social networks.

For Professor Fikeni Senkoro, member of the CODESRIA Executive Committee, the media are synonymous with power and strength. They are no longer viewed as simple instruments of representation, but as drivers of change. In education for example, the media tend to substitute for the role of parents. But despite the evolution of society, the media still continue to convey stereotyped images of women.

Shahida El Baz, Director of the Afro-Arab Research Center, stressed the progressive and irreversible nature of women's fight for equality. She also emphasised the indivisible link between gender inequalities and other forms of inequality (income inequality, employment inequality, etc). The social structures, according to her, are responsible for the production of inequalities; hence the need to change these structures in order to free societies. She further stressed that despite the official discourse of gender equality, women's status had not improved. On the contrary, it had even regressed sometimes, as women who showed interest in change had often been ignored or excluded. She however submitted that the gender paradigm had played a vital role in women's capacity building and empowerment.

Another speaker, Dr Nadia El-Kholy of the Supreme Council of Culture in Egypt, paid a glowing tribute to CODESRIA as a forum for reflection and exchange of ideas in Africa. She stressed the marginalization of women in Africa, despite their active participation in the different economic, political and social struggles (in particular the last revolutions in North Africa). However, their participation in the reform process remains very low. The main obstacle that accounts for this reality, she said, is the persistence of the sociocultural stereotypes and the patriarchal patterns. Under these circumstances, the media have a great role to play, that of conveying a positive image of women. But this should not overshadow the role of education which remains the best way to achieve a culture of equality and tolerance.

The keynote speaker at this opening session of the symposium, Dr Awatef Abdul Rahman of the University of Cairo, discussed the relationship between the media and African women. After recalling the history of gender-based discrimination, she cited five facts that are characteristic of the situation of African women today:

- Since the second half of the 20th Century, the situation of African women has really improved, following the efforts

made at the national, regional and international level (Mexico, Nairobi and Beijing conferences).

- The African society is characterised by great diversity (modes of production, religions, ethnic groups, governance system, value systems, civil wars, etc) and this has an impact on the situation of the most vulnerable populations, particularly women.

- Over 70 per cent of African girls of school age have never attended school. Likewise, the textbooks, the regulations and the interpretation of religious texts continue to convey the idea of inferiority of women and confirm gender inequality.

- In spite of their strategic place in the labour market (they account for 35 to 55% of the labour force) African women are the first victims of unemployment and precariousness.

- African women are still the object of all sorts of violence, physical and symbolic, in the household as well as in society.

Based on these observations, Dr Abdul Rahman tried to identify the trends of thought that control and guide African media in relation to gender. In total, four trends were identified:

- the traditionalist trend, which supports the idea of women's subordination within the patriarchal structures inherited from the past;

- the social-liberal trend which arose under the nationalist movements and the liberation movement, and which advocates a gradual and balanced approach in changing women's status. According to this trend, 'changing the mindsets will change society'.

- the feminist trend imported from the West, and whose corollary is the revolt against men. It considers gender as women's issue, not society's;

- the globalist trend, inspired by the traditionalist trend's philosophy and which is mainly interested in women as an object for advertising and consumption.

The contributions of these trends have greatly influenced the positions of the African media towards women. And it is mainly the traditionalist trend and the globalist trend that, according to the speaker, mostly govern the relationship between women and the media in Africa. This observation is confirmed, she said, by the content of the few studies on this issue. Such studies attach much importance to women champions, citizens, presenters, spouses or even objects capturing viewers' attention, while fundamental issues like the situation of poor women, rural women, senior women and young girls are often relegated to the background. Furthermore, Dr Abdul Rahman stressed that gender equality is a prerequisite for a coherent and sustainable development of Africa. To that end, she proposed the creation of an enabling environment for change in the socioeconomic status of women, and this, through two main public actions: the revision of the regulatory framework, in particular the Code of Personal Status, and the launch of sensitisation programmes in education, religion, culture and the media. Discriminatory discourses should give way to a single discourse addressed to everybody and interested in real issues that affect women.

First Working Session

Chaired by Dr Eugénie Rokhaya Aw of the University Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar (Senegal), this first session covered the sub-theme "Gender and Media: Feminist Approaches and Emerging Issues". The four papers presented showed the different approaches and some aspects of the issue of the media in Africa that can emerge across the gender spectrum.

The first speaker, Lyn Ossome of the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa focused on the possibilities for the diversification of gender representation in African media. She went above the traditional thesis of stereotyped and reductionist representation of women in the media, to include a non-stereotyped representation. She held the view that it is possible to widen our understanding of gender representations. This widening is increasingly visible not only in public media, but also in feminist media and new media. The feminism conveyed by these African media rather plays an educational role. Therefore, African women's representations in the media are far from being neutral reflections vis-à-vis society. They are the result of power relations within society. Henceforth, the media are a social space for the fight against marginalization and the production of alternative gender representations.

The second speaker, Brahim ElMorchid of Cadi Ayyad University in Marrakech, sought to analyse the place of gender in the public policies of the media in Morocco. After recalling the wealth of public programmes aimed at reducing gender inequality in the media, he presented a rather mixed picture of the gendering of the public policies of the media in Morocco. Four realities were put forward to confirm this observation: the low representation of women in audiovisual broadcasts, the persistence of a negative image of women in the media, the low representation of women in media-related jobs, and the low access of women journalists to leadership positions. Public decision-makers therefore did not win the bet of sustainability of their gender equality policy in the media. Despite the efforts made since the beginning of the 21st Century, the mechanism put in place remains ineffective and inefficient. ElMorchid concluded on the note that the promotion of gender equality in the media cannot be reduced to simple plans and strategies. It is a problem of society that requires a genuine change in practices and an evolution of mindsets.

The third speaker, Dr Williams Nwagwu of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, presented the outcome of an empirical study on the use of SMS messages for educational purposes in Nigerian universities. He started by recalling the theoretical bases of learning, in particular the uses and gratifications approach, the informal teaching approach, and the constructive learning approach. He then presented the results of a survey conducted with 1,290 students of both sexes. Students, he said, massively use SMSs to convey, exchange and communicate information likely to help them meet their educational needs. In addition to its use for knowing the schedules and sending questions in advance to teachers, this technology presents a tremendous opportunity for girls in knowledge acquisition. Moreover, despite the fact that boys send more SMSs than girls, the latter seem to better appreciate the use of this technology. Finally, Dr Nwagwu suggested the establishment of collaboration mechanisms between universities and telecommunication operators to promote the educational role of SMSs, and this, by formalising the use of this technology as a learning tool and reducing its cost, borne mainly by students.

The fourth speaker, Abdoulaye Sounaye of Northwestern University (USA) presented an analytical exercise in form of

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case study on Gendered Media and Gendered Religion. More precisely, he analysed the intervention of women preachers in the media in Niger. According to him, owing to the wind of democracy that started blowing through the country from the early 1990s, the media sector in Niger has been liberalised. Taking advantage of the situation, women started conquering the religious sphere, through the exploitation of media outlets, in particular radio and television stations. Thanks to various programmes focusing on Islam, women preachers' presence is becoming increasingly visible in the Niger media landscape. As illustrations, Sounaye presented the experience of two Nigerien women involved in preaching: Mallama Huda and Mallama Zahra**.** Bolstered by their origins, the two women found, in the media, platforms for expressing their opinions as Muslims engaged in the promotion of good gender relations. They also took advantage of the media, in particular the radio, to contribute to the social construction of their communities through programmes that command, progressively, a large audience.

Second Working Session

The second working session was chaired by Dr Shahida El Baz, Director of the Arab and African Research Centre, Cairo. Four presentations were made on the sub-theme "Gender and Media: Between Stereotypes and Empowerment". Charles E. Nwadigwe of Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Nigeria, discussed the study of gender and commercials relationship. Based on primary data collected from 14 groups of products in Nigeria, he tried to critically question the representations of men and women in radio and TV broadcast commercials. The main outcome of this study is that traditional values still play a key role in the social organisation of the populations, and these values are reflected in the broadcast commercials. According to him, a significant imbalance persists between men and women in the construction and broadcast of commercials in Nigeria. While men embody power, authority and domination, women are rather confined to a passive role, lacking authority, and often seen as unproductive, sex symbols, proud, materialist and assigned to the domestic sphere.

In the same vein, and based on secondary data, Sanae Sochi of University Mohamed V-Adel, Rabat, Morocco, described the image of the Moroccan women in the media from the results of two institutional surveys. The first one was conducted with the Francophone Moroccan press during the years 2009-2011 and is focused on the place of women in the main press genre. *As for the second one, it was carried out in* 2010 by the HACA (Haute Auto rite de la Communication et de l'Audiovisuel – High Authority for Audiovisual Communication) and relates to the representativeness and the expec-tations of the Moroccan woman about her image in the audiovisual media. From the first study, it appears that the print media devote little space to women. And even if women are visible in some newspapers, they are generally repre-sented as victims who need protection and tutelage. By highlighting the tragic aspect of the situation of women, the media obscure their fight for equality and the leading role they play in the society. In the second survey, the perception of the image of women in the audiovisual media is different, depending upon whether it is about information and animation, or advertisement and fictions. On the one hand, the information and animation programmes convey an image of women who are elegant, modern, involved in their job, committed, skilled and equal to their male colleagues. On the other hand, adver-tisement and fictions spread an image of women who are victims, not well respected, depressed, bullied, weak and mentally retarded.

The third speaker, Azza Abdul Aziz Abdullah of Sohag University, Egypt, analysed the factors that shape the stereotyped representations of the Arab Muslim woman in Western media, from the point of view of the Arab university elite, using the outcomes of a survey conducted with 100 teacher-researchers in three Saudi universities. The results obtained show that religion is the main factor responsible for the stereotyped representation of Arab women in Western media. This is due, among others, to the Westerners' lack of information on Islam, the lack of a balanced and modern pattern that could represent the Muslim woman on the international stage, and the lack of understanding of some aspects of Islam (polygamy, inheritance, the veil, etc). In addition, there are political factors (feeling of Western supremacy, bad political governance in the Arab world, etc) and media-related factors (traditional role of the Arab woman, fundamentalist nature of the Arab society conveyed by Western media, etc). For the sake of improving the image of the Arab Muslim woman in Western media, Abdullah suggested several actions, in particular building a balanced and non-provocative discourse, setting priorities and adopting a religious philosophy of argument.

The last speaker, Khawla Mattar, Director of the UN Information Center, in Cairo, gave an analysis on the image of Arab women in the media during and after the revolution. Although women had always been present during the last Arab revolutions, the media have not been kind and supportive to them. At the end of each revolution, they have completely vanished from the media agenda. According to him, this marginalisation cannot be dissociated from the general climate prevailing in the Arab society. Such a climate is charac-terised, among others, by conservatism and appropriation of the media by social groups that are hostile to changes (military, businessmen, etc). At the end of her presentation, Khawla Mattar stressed the need for a genuine social revolution to change the mindsets which are a factor of resistance to change.

During the debates that followed the presentations, three fundamental issues emerged; a) the media are a non-auto-nomous and non-innocent factor; b) the media are only a reflection of society; and c) gender is not just about women's rights and the feminist movement. It mainly refers to equality and the recognition of differences.

Third Working Session

The third working session continued the debate on the sub-theme "Gender and Media: Between Stereotypes and Empowerment", and it was chaired by Professor Fikeni Senkoro, CODESRIA Executive Committee member, with three presentations featuring.

Rasel Madaha of the University of New York presented a paper on Gender and Advocacy in the Media in Tanzania, using the Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA) as example. Madaha demonstrated that Tanzanian NGOs have contributed to laying the foundations for gender equity in the country and they continue to monitor the established gendered policies. The conclusive results in gender equality in Tanzania would never have been achieved without the involvement of NGOs, the most popular of which is the Tanzania Media Women Association

(TAMWA). Since its inception in 1987, the association has two major objectives: act for positive represen-tation of women in the media and improve the intellectual and professional level of women journalists. Today, TAMWA is well known for its work in the fight against gender inequalities and gender-based violence. Such advocacy actions open the way for women to access, not only decision-making bodies, but also in-formation and the resources that are essential for the success of their missions.

The second presenter, Amani El Taweel from Al Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies in Cairo, analysed the representation of women in leadership positions in the Egyptian print media. Although the contribution of Egyptian women in the work force is high (20-25% in the formal sector and 71% in the informal sector), their representation in leadership positions remains marginal. In the media for instance, the system merely repro-duces the dysfunctional relationships between men and women that are based on a rationale of inequality and deva-luation of women, both in the news and in commercials. However, women's position differs depending on whether it is in the print media or the audiovisual. Whereas women's access to leadership positions in the audiovisual sector is deemed suitable, the print media remains mostly a male preserve (12 women editors out of a total of 54). In addition to the resistance of structures, this discrimi-nation has been explained by the very nature of the media concerned. In the print media, women journalists do not enjoy the same recognition, because they are not visible. By contrast, on television, women take advantage of the legitimacy conferred by the image.

The last speaker during this session was Dr Hind Hourmat Allah of University Cadi Ayyad, Marrakech. She spoke on the role of the media in promoting female entrepreneurship in Africa. For her, the strong gender inequality harms not only women, but also (and above all) African economies, at a time when Africa needs more entrepreneurs to create the enabling conditions for innovation, growth and competitiveness. After presenting a rather mixed review of female entrepreneurship in Africa, Dr Allah identified and analysed the benefits of media products for entrepreneurial activities in general, and those conducted by women in particular. According to her, the media are in a better position to disseminate an entrepreneurial culture in a spirit of equality, and they can contribute to giving a positive image of the skills and potential of women and men in modern African society. They also contribute to promoting the visibility of women entrepreneurs, in particular the dissemination of "success stories". Also, the rapid growth of social media is supposed to value and revive women's initiative, in particular young women, to engage in business creation. Thanks to the wide possibilities offered by the information technologies, they can now make themselves known rapidly and at lower cost. Tools like emails, Websites, "crowdsourcings" (large-scale outsourcing), blogs, fora, newsletters, etc. provide opportunities that are as efficient as endless for women entrepreneurs.

Fourth Working Session

Chaired by Dr Maréma Touré (UNESCO-BREDA), the session focused on "Gender, Media and Public Space". Three papers were presented, beginning with a contribution to the debate on 'Engen-dering the Media' by Sharon Groenmeyer of the Univer-sity of Johannesburg. She indicated that, despite the efforts made at the international level, sexism and stereotypes still exist. Then, building on Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony, she

reflected on the way women and men are represented in the southern Africa media. Despite the wealth of institutional and regulatory measures put in place, the southern Africa media is still influenced by patriarchy. The speaker explained the dynamics of transformation in the media through an analysis of the representation of gender relations in the South African society. According to her, though racial discrimination has been the most obvious manifestation of Apartheid in South Africa, another discrimination, namely gender discrimination, has continued to dominate the political and socioeconomic archi-tecture of the country. Even after the abolition of Apartheid and the adoption of a progressive constitution, the situation has not changed much.

The paper of the second speaker, Muna Wilson Kamau of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, was a mono-site case study of the life of the Nobel Peace Prize winner, Wangari Maathai. Through the study of the biography of the Kenyan activist, Kamau examined her representation in the media as an advocate for change in Africa and observed that, in a usually male-dominated political environment, women like Wangari Maathai distinguished themselves by their courage and their actions of intimidation and harassment of the male-dominated state structu-res. Wangari Maathai was a strong visionary and an embodiment of audacity and change. She was a fierce advocate for the cause of women, not only in Kenya, but also outside the borders of her native land. *She was also an ecological activist strongly involved with the Green Belt Movement* to combat deforestation in Kenya. The scope of her actions has much contributed to improving the repre-sentation of African women in the media.

The last speaker, Parfait Akana of the Université de Yaoundé II, tried to under-stand, through a gender lens, the media coverage of the phenomenon of public denudation of the body by young girls in Cameroon. Through ethnography of some media discourses (newspaper articles and discussion fora) on this phenomenon, the author came out with two main results. First, the media coverage suggests sectarian manifestations resulting from transgressive enrichment. Then it considers those women either as the victims of this movement, or as guilty in the sense that their acts entail a voluntary approach of occult transaction. In addition, there is the fact that the phenomenon of public denudation of the body provides access to a grammar of representations on the occult uses of women's bodies in Africa.

The discussions following the three presentations further corroborated the idea that gender discrimination is a societal problem, and that it stems from the evolution of social structures. Despite the quantitative presence of women as media subject, their representations are not valued, which poses a problem of "gender awareness". Questions were also raised about the denudation of the body by women. The participants believe that this phenomenon is, among others, the symbol of the rejection of the neoliberal hegemony. Finally, the "superwomen" syndrome conveyed by certain media deserves more reflection using the 'political economy of the media' approach.

Fifth Working Session

This session, chaired by Professor Aminata Diaw of CODESRIA, was on the sub-theme "Between Nollywood and Tollywood: The Image of Gender". The three presentations focused on the image of African women in cinema. The first speaker, Kayode

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Animasaun of Osun State University in Nigeria, studied the films produced by Nollywood. According to him, Nigerian films have achieved great success. They have invaded other West African countries and have contributed to the rapid expansion of film genres across the region. Through a content analysis of some Nigerian films, Animasaun came up with an alarming but obvious result. Nigerian films contributed to increasing gender inequality by crystallising more the stereotyped images of women. The films have been shown mainly from a male perspective. And in order to redress this inequality, it is necessary to take into account key variables such as censorship, public, producer, culture, media, etc., when imagining and interpreting female roles in films.

Along the same line, Fikeni Senkoro of University of Dar es Salam, studied the representation of women's body in Tollywood (Tanzania film industry) and on Facebook. Using film extracts and comments on Face book, the author gave an alarming review of the social use of women's body. Whether on the image or the expression, women are often reduced to an object of seduction. Tollywood and Face book were considered as a conver-gence of very different interests and methods determined by time and space. Despite the damages caused to women by Face book, this tool can become a cons-tructive space for society, or a revolution space against peoples' oppression as was the case in Tunisia and Egypt.

The last speaker, Nabiha Lotfy, an Egyptian filmmaker, gave an interesting analysis of the place of women in documentary films. Although women are not always represented in valuing roles and have been increasingly presented as sex objects, the author thinks that the greatest realism with which they were portrayed is a positive element. For her, the issue of stereotyped representation of women in documentary films should be analysed in view of the evolution and reconstruction of societies. Mrs Lotfy concluded by stressing the need for documentary films to be made, not only on, but also by African women.

Three issues came up after the presen-tations; a) Africa is not only governed by a rationale of conservatism, but also by a rationale of commodification and neo-liberal domination; b) Talking about women's suffering should be avoided as much as possible. Rather, their empo-werment should be emphasised; and c) Although social networks, in particular Facebook, have negative aspects, they equally offer huge opportunities for Africa.

Sixth Working Session

This last working session was chaired by Sharon Groenmeyer. Five presentations were made under the sub-theme "Gender and ICT: New Spaces, New Powers".

The first speaker, Mona Badran of Cairo University presented the results of an empirical study on the ICTs and women's empowerment in Egypt. Using the econometric tool, Badran constructed two models, one explaining the use of new information technologies and the other discussing women's empowerment. The result of the first model suggests that the ICT appropriation index is largely influenced by education and sex. By contrast, wage, socio-professional status and geographic area (rural area or urban area) have no statistically significant impact on the said index. The second model shows a statistically significant impact of the ICT appropriation index on the empowerment of women in Egypt. However, the introduction of other individual characteristics like women's occupation and the economic activity makes the impact of the ICT appropriation index statistically insignificant.

In order to stimulate the role of ICTs in women's empowerment in Egypt, the speaker recommended the establishment of actions aimed at building a knowledge society: Internet on a free basis, a computer for each household, reduced tariff for high-speed Internet, etc. The role of ICTs, in particular equipment appro-priation and more generally access to the new technology, are goals that must feature on the agenda of policy-makers.

The second speaker, Ezra Chitando of the University of Zimbabwe discussed the role of women journalists in the fight against AIDS in Zimbabwe, based on the actions carried out by two women journalists: Béatrice Tonhodzayi and Catherine Murombedzi. Through their writings, the two journalists have broken the silence and exclusion of women in relation to the fight against AIDS. They not only challenged the images of women as passive victims of AIDS but also courageously advocated that the fight against this epidemic should be a priority on the agenda of politicians.

The third speaker, Admire Mare of Rhodes University examined the voices of women in discussion fora on Facebook. To show the importance of social networks as spaces where identities are imagined, created and contested, the speaker chose a single forum, namely the Facebook page "*Let's Talk about it all with Tandi*". This cyber-ethnographic study showed that the stereotyped images of masculinity and femininity characterizing traditional media are equally present in social media. However, the latter, in particular Facebook, offer a new public space for women who wish to convey messages and have their voices heard. Contrary to the traditional public space where relationships are usually determined by considerations such as subject, locality, age, sex and kinship, the virtual space is characterised by bold and uncontrollable behaviours. Daring topics like gay marriages, sexual infidelity or still, sexual dissatisfaction are now freely debated, which might create a fertile ground for the spread of HIV/AIDS.

In the same vein, Akin Iwilade of Obafemi Awolowo University in Nigeria presented an analysis of the implications of social networks for gender relations in Africa. Building on targeted survey in Nigeria and Ghana, he tried to understand the impact of social networks, not only on gender relations, but also on the political sphere in Africa. Two main results were put forward by Iwilade. First, social networks do not necessarily lead to new types of gender interactions. And even if the existence of a gender gap is undeniable, a more comprehensive review is necessary for grasping these manifestations. Next, the author questions the political potential of these new media as powerful tool for mobilizing protest movements against those in power. He concluded his intervention by calling attention to the great opportunities offered by the new media in creating gender-blind societies.

The last speaker, Joelle Palmieri of Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Bordeaux, France demonstrated that ICTs, and more particularly Web 2.0, are harmful to gender. Based on the results of a study conducted in Senegal and South Africa, the author reached the conclusion that ICTs are a new model of domina-tion, and that women's organisations in Africa are living a paradox. On the one hand, they use the Internet and Web 2.0 as a marketing toolkit in the service of their visibility and sometimes in response to donor request. On the other hand, they devise

modes for politically taking charge of information for social transformation in Africa. Finally, Palmieri emphasised the fact that the gender digital gap in Africa corresponds more to economic injunctions than to a political will of knowledge transmission.

During the discussions that follow, most of the participants agreed that ICT has contributed much to reduce distances, which gave it more value compared to classic tools; and contrary to a wide-spread belief, ICTs are not the conse-quence of globalisation, but rather one of its causes.

Closing Session

The closing session featured the remarks of Prof. Helmi Sharawy who warmly thanked the delegates who travelled to Cairo to participate in the symposium, which he reiterated was being held at a critical moment in the history of Egypt, that of revolution. He also seized the opportunity to present his own account of the events that determined this revolution, with the aid of a documentary on the participation of Egyptian women in the revolution was shown. The documentary reveals the presence, the enthusiasm and the commitment of Egyptian women during the protests at Tahrir Square in Cairo. After a brief debate on the content and the messages conveyed by the film, the rapporteur of the symposium, Dr Brahim ElMorchid presented a summary of the deliberations of the symposium. He summed them up in five key words: diversity, commitment, depth, complexity and openness.

Timbuktu: The Beginning of a New Era in Africa's Quest for its Past

*T*he *Meanings of Timbuktu* is one of the remarkable scholarly history books that are indispensable to any serious study of Africa's past, especially in the areas of popular culture, intellectual and scientific production in pre-colonial Africa. It is a book that all lovers of Africa would want to have on their bookshelves.

Abdoulaye Diallo
Bilingual Editor
CODESRIA

Co-published by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), this collection from the ancient libraries of Timbuktu (Mali), edited by Souleymane Bachir Diagne and Shamil Jeppie, has received great public attention since the publication of its English version in 2008. The public presentation of the French version took place at CODESRIA headquarters in Dakar on 3 May 2012. Dr Ebrima Sall, CODESRIA Executive Secretary, underscored the importance of the *Timbuktu* collections to research on African history. Dr Sall emphasised that this historic event provided a renewed opportunity for members of the African social science research community, the African academia at large, decision-makers and the general public to commend this landmark research production which not only uncovers a vital aspect of Africa's rich intellectual history, but also serves as an eye opener to new research prospects in the study of Africa's history.

According to Temba Masilela, Deputy CEO of South Africa's Human Science Research Council (HSRC) *The Meanings of Timbuktu* sprouted from the common desire of different African nations to come together in order unearth a great chunk of the continent's past, a past which is preserved in ancient manuscripts kept in West Africa. The book, which is the product of a collaborative work between the African Union, the Republic of Mali and South Africa, has become not only an inspiration but also an invitation to a stronger Pan-African transnational collaboration between researchers to engage in a wholesale investigation and dissemination of Africa's past. More importantly, the success of this historic project has testified to the abundance of high level intellectual capacity that obtains in Africa, even right from the ancient times.
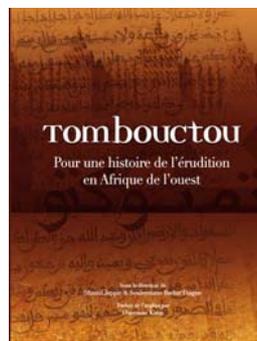
Two renowned African intellectuals, Souleymane Bachir Diagne (Senegal) and Shamil Jeppie (South Africa), took on the heavy responsibility of editing this embodiment of African intellectual creativity, containing contributions from Mali, Senegal, Nigeria, Niger, Mauritania, Morocco, Tanzania, etc., while Ousmane Kane undertook the equally heavy task of translating the English version – *The Meanings of Timbuktu* – into French – Tombouctou: Pour une histoire de l'érudition en Afrique de l'Ouest. The contributors and editors waded through numerous ancient documents, most of which are written in Arabic. This is no doubt an onerous task. Another great challenge was the fact that a very substantial part of the material, dating as far back as the thirteenth century, had been kept in thousands of private libraries, and underground vaults, mud homes and desert caves in and around the city of Timbuktu

The commitment of these great intellectuals to such a challenging project, therefore, demonstrates their strong desire and the needed drive to circumvent the various obstacles that are in the way of conducting a holistic investigation of Africa intellectual past; one that transcends linguistic and geographic limitations.

Boubacar Barry of Cheikh Anta Diop University (UCAD) applauded the resolve of these prominent members of the social science community who were not deterred by enormous challenges they faced in their bid to restore the fragmented nature of knowledge production in Africa, as a prerequisite to building a strong historical basis for the continent's young and future generations.

According to Hamady Bocoum, Director of Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (IFAN-UCAD), Shamil Jeppie and Souleymane Bachir Diagne, and the contributors of *The Meanings of Timbuktu*, have really succeeded in a their commendable task of compiling, translating and disseminating ancient knowledge, thereby contributing to building the foundations of 'a new knowledge library for a new Africa'. He acknowledged that the

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book has taken the practice of preserving important cultural data on Africa to a higher level and through the project, these scholars have strengthened Timbuktu's significance as a an invaluable World Heritage.

The Meanings of Timbuktu has demonstrated, once again, what African intellectuals are capable of doing when they come together - revisiting the history of the continent with a view to correcting fallacies and filling loopholes that are the result of a long running colonialist policy of intellectual fragmentation and disconnection between Africa's ancient modes of knowledge production and contemporary West-driven education. Making a *tabula rasa* of Africa's intellectual history was one of the main components of the colonial enterprise. The erroneous assertion that Africans were intellectually inexistent before the advent of colonialism, just as a way of legitimizing the subjugation and enslavement of Africans should be discouraged. This is what The Meanings of Timbuktu symbolizes. In the words of some African intellectuals like Mudimbe, the 'colonial library' was imposed upon Africans through the destruction of 'treasures of learning' and intellectual centers such as Timbuktu, also known as 'The City of the 333 Saints'. Now, the revival of these centers has begun through this publication, and many more are still coming.

The Meanings of Timbuktu has come to steer to the right direction Africa's intellectual orientation toward its history in order to scientifically repair the on-going damage stemming from the colonial enterprise which, as stated before, aimed at the permanent intellectual disconnection of the African from his past.

To Amadou Makhtar Mbow, former Director General of UNESCO, the initiative to produce this book is a continuation of an intellectual struggle which started in the early days of the independence of African nations. According to him, the first generation of African intellectuals had long strived to put a spotlight on a truly rich African history which existed far before colonization. as could be seen in the establishment of intellectual collections such as L'Ecole Historique du Sénégal in the early 1960s. Boubacar Barry of Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD) described the book as a major intellectual contribution to the restoration of Africa's history through its focus on West Africa's endogenous knowledge.

The city of Timbuktu is undoubtedly the principal centre of traditional knowledge production in West Africa dating from the thirteenth century, predating colonial incursion and domination. With such a historic stature, Timbuktu has come to be the metaphor of the African intellectual system, as the city has been the depositary of major manuscripts in which the rich history of the continent has been preserved. Just like Walata, Gao or Kidal, Timbuktu has been a cultural crossroads since its foundation by Touareg nomads in the early twelfth century. It served as a meeting point for people from Northern and sub-Saharan Africa.. According to Hamady Bocoum, Director of IFAN-UCAD, the first mosque in sub-Saharan African was built in Timbuktu by the great King Kanka Musa. The mosque also provided a good platform for intellectual discussions which eventually led to the de development of the city as a main knowledge center in Africa, as conveyed in various documents such as the Sudanese Chronicles.

In his analysis of *The Meanings of Timbuktu*, Idrissa Ba, also of the Cheikh Anta Diop University, Dakar, underlined the book's purpose of projecting the important cultural hybridization which took place in the ancient city. As it developed in the book, Timbuktu's image as a mythical place is ever present in the minds of Arabs and Europeans, and its intellectual prominence has been acknowledged as far back as the time when King Charlemagne of France. According to Ba, Timbuktu may never have existed if it wasn't for the Almoravides' incessant attempts to control the trans-Saharan trade. They succeeded in controlling the western side of the trading area, as a result of an alliance with the king of Tekrur in Senegal's valley region. To make their domination complete, the Almoravides conquered Kumbi Saleh, then the capital city of the Ghana Empire. Traders were then compelled to use the commercial routes towards the east in an attempt to circumvent the Almoravides' imposition. This is what led to the founding of Timbuktu which soon became a place of scientific and intellectual effervescence for arts and culture. The city was known well beyond its confines for its intellectuals who managed to stand their ground and preserve their influence in the face of conquerors such as Soni Ali Ber and the Askias.
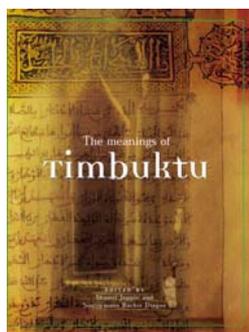
According to one of the editors of the book, Shamil Jeppie, Timbuktu was known to the Arabs as the 'Northern Eldorado'. This image of the city as an immensely rich place in the heart of Africa was further propagated, not only in the Islamic world, but also among the Christians of the time, according to accounts of King Kanka Musa's epic trip to Mecca during which he was said to have lavished huge amounts of gold in the Near East, so much that the price of gold was depreciated for more than twelve years in the region. The mythical city of Timbuktu was also a point of reference in in the 14th century European common parlance as, at the time, the expression 'going to Timbuktu' meant 'going to an almost imaginary or unreachable place'.

The collaboration between the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) and the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) to publish this book (in both English and French) can be described as an illustration of a revolutionary intellectual orientation which aims at discovering and re-enacting the true history of the continent and exploring the multiple reserves of traditional African knowledge hidden in ancient writings. Both research institutions are at the forefront in the cause for the promotion of intellectual production on Africa by getting intellectuals involved in knowledge generation, by making visible the product of their researches and by disseminating them around the continent and the world at large. They are both playing a critical role in the constant fight for the presence of Africa in the world intellectual order.

As a way of promoting original African intellectual knowledge further, Amadou Mactar Mbow and Thierno Ba called for similar collaboration among other research establishments located all over the continent as, despite the great number of important historical manuscripts that have been unearthed, many more intellectual vestiges of the past are still lying and rotting away in many places in Niger, Mauritania, Nigeria and Senegal have an equal importance in terms of intellectual history.

In the context of the unification of Africa as the only way out of the yoke of dependency and western hegemony, further translation and dissemination of the Timbuktu manuscript project in various parts of the continent is very important.

Advanced Institute on African-Arab Relations

This institute on African-Arab relations will be held alternatively in North Africa and in sub-Saharan Africa. The Institute is conceived as a high-level knowledge-building, agenda-setting and networking forum for scholars in the prime of their careers desirous of experimenting with new fields of knowledge and exploring new conceptual terrains. As an endeavour at generation of new knowledge, the Institute is structured as a multidisciplinary intervention.

Africa is one continent whose peoples share a common position of subalternity in global relations and a number of common historical experiences and cultures. The historical ties and exchanges that exist between Africa and the Arab World are numerous.

Africa has for a long time been bounded in a context defined globally by colonialism and the Cold War, and regionally by the post-1945 consolidation of apartheid. In this configuration, North Africa was said to be a part of "the Orient" and, thus, of the area called "Middle East", while apartheid South Africa was considered an exception to be studied separately. The domain of African Studies came to be developed around the land area between the Sahara and the Limpopo. Socially, Africa was Bantu Africa; spatially, it was equatorial Africa. This notion was, however, never accepted in the post-colonial academy in Africa, including in the programmatic work of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) that emerged as the pioneer and apex African social research organization on the continent.

The post-Cold War and post-apartheid era calls for a careful and sustained problematisation of received boundaries in the study of Africa. It is suggested that this endeavor requires comparative studies which, while thematically focused, deliberately transgress these boundaries with a view to exploring historical terrains that were obscured by the dominant paradigm, and charting new grounds in identity theory and politics. In so doing, it is hoped that the study of African-Arab relations will not only be revitalized but, equally important, that new important insights will be developed that will contribute to a radical re-direction of our reading of African history, sociology and politics away from the hegemonic occidentalist bias that has been predominant.

The inaugural session of the Institute held in Rabat, Morocco in March 2012 was intended to focus on the changing political economy of Afro-Arab Relations as a point of departure. Up to 10 fellows drawn from across Africa and the Arab World, and from the African and Arab Diaspora, and from different disciplinary backgrounds, were invited to participate in the session convened and led by Prof. Shamil Jeppie, as its Director designated by CODESRIA and SEPHIS the partner in the inaugural session, to offer intellectual leadership and coordinate the output of the fellows into a joint SEPHIS-CODESRIA publication.

The following brief report is a summary of the work done at the first workshop of this institute in Rabat hosted by the Institute of African, Studies, of Muhamad V Souissi University, Moroco, March 2012.

The Changing Political Economy of Afro-Arab Relations

Inaugural Session of the CODESRIA-SEPHIS Advanced Institute on Afro-Arab Relations

The purpose of the inaugural session was to focus on the historical and contemporary dimen-sions of the relations between people conven-tionally called "Arab" and "African."

Shamil Jeppie
University of Cape Town

These terms are enormous and often without much specific content. They have assumed qualities that place them at antagonistic and opposite ends. The most recent example is the conflict in the Darfur region of Sudan, which was cast in the international media and by western think-tanks as an African versus Arab conflict. The workshop was hosted to explore a great variety of forms that this relationship takes. The workshop opened with a panel devoted to the polemics employed in popular and academic discussions about this Arab versus African relationship.

In geographical extent, the workshop examined North Africa and the Sahara, East Africa, especially *coastal* East Africa, and the Nile valley. In these areas the participants discussed relations in historical terms and more current dynamics.

In order to understand the development of the relationships, it was necessary to devote some time to examine the late antique and medieval period and related dynamics of exchanges between peoples in Africa and Southwest Asia, where the Arabic language developed and which became a major marker of Arab identity. This period also witnessed the rise of Islam and its spread in Asia and Africa. Therefore, extended discus-sions were held on the origins of the relations, the languages of contact, and the nature of religious diversity and competition.

Time was also spent on understanding the rise of nationalism and the ideologies of pan-Arabism and pan-Africanism. Finally, the participants also examined the political economy of Afro-Arab relations, and the origins and impact of the "Arab Spring". These sessions were solidly based in the twentieth-century dynamics up to the present. The exchanges were particularly animated because of their relevance across the continent and the Middle East. There are still many areas that have not been closely studied and these will be subjects of future workshops of the institute. There need to pay attention to prospective ways of developing strong economic and political relations across the divides.

One of the achievements of this workshop was the persistent questioning of the categorizing North Africa as part of the Middle East. For instance, two-thirds of Arabs live in Africa yet there is often a perception, even by Arabs, that they are exterior to the continent! Possibly a more productive way of thinking about the question would be to frame it in terms of "Africa and its regions" in which, for instance, a focus on North Africa and the continent will have special questions including "Afro-Arab" ones. We could think of how a workshop on "West Africa and the continent" or "Southern Africa and the continent" would turn out.

Responsive Forest Governance Initiative (RFGI)

Supporting Resilient Forest Livelihoods through Local Representation:
A REDD+ and Adaptation Endeavour

Introduction

The Responsive Forest Governance Initiative (RFGI) is an Africa-wide environmental-governance research and training program focusing on enabling responsive and accountable decentralization to strengthen the representation of forest-based rural people in local-government decision making. Many nations have introduced decentralization reforms to make local government responsive and accountable to citizen needs and aspirations. Natural resources play an important role in decentralization; they provide local governments and people with wealth and subsistence. Responsive and accountable local governments can provide resource-dependent people the flexibility to manage, adapt to, and remain resilient in their changing environment.

To date, government, private, and civil society natural resource management professionals have rarely capitalized on the potential of representative local government to serve the needs of resource-dependent populations—they have not taken advantage of its institutional durability (for sustainability) and geographic coverage (for scaling up). These professionals may lack the technical and organizational capacities to assess the potentials of democratic local government or to structure efficient and equitable forestry decentralization. With two decades of local government reforms across Africa, there is a great opportunity for a transformative move toward institutionalized local participation in natural resources management and decision making.

RFGI aims to enhance and institutionalize more responsive and accountable local governance processes that reduce vulnerability, enhance local well-being, and improve forest management, with a special focus on developing safeguards and guidelines that will ensure fair and equitable implementation of Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+), and climate-adaptation interventions.

Programme Background

Drawing on new and existing decentralization research and experience, RFGI identifies ways to implement decentralization and strengthen the links between decentralization and locally responsive, accountable results for rural people. It will assess the conditions under which central authorities devolve forest management and use decisions to local government, and the conditions that enable local government to engage in sound, equitable and pro-poor forest management. The programme aims to enable local government to play an integrative role in rural development and natural resource management by serving as the institutional infrastructure for scaling up local participation in decision making. RFGI is training a new generation of policy

James C. Murombedzi
Coordinator
RFGI Programme

researchers and analysts and building an Africa-wide network of environmental-governance policy analysts.

RFGI will provide decision makers and practitioners with a tested handbook for assessing, improving, and monitoring the effects of forestry policies and projects on local responsiveness and accountability of forest-governance institutions by (a) identifying the elements of responsive and accountable local decision-making institutions, (b) developing indicators for the presence and quality of each of those elements, (c) providing methods for measuring these indicators, and (d) providing guidelines for indicator measurement and for their use in assessing and designing interventions.

The Responsive Forest Governance Handbook (RFG Handbook) will highlight these indicators and guidelines, analyze the data, and identify means for policy design and influence. This will help leverage forestry decisions that are more beneficial to local communities, are pro-poor, and counterbalance the common biases that exclude women, minorities, and migrants. The RFG Handbook will enable practitioners and policy analysts to ensure that policies and projects support responsive and accountable local forestry decision-making processes. RFGI will test the ease of use of the RFG Handbook indicators and guidelines and their effectiveness in a variety of countries. A Community Monitoring Handbook (CM Handbook) will be developed to accompany the RFG Handbook so communities can evaluate and learn from policy-making and implementation processes.

A Collaborative Approach

RFGI will work in ten African countries over five years. Phase I is three years of field-based policy research and analysis for developing and testing the RFG and CM Handbooks. Phase II is 2 years for fine tuning, learning from practice, and diffusion of the RFG Handbook set for use by forest management practitioners. The expected Phase I results and impacts include a scaling up of responsive and accountable forest management, enhanced policy analysis and practitioner capacity, and knowledge generation and diffusion. RFGI will work in close partnership with African research institutions and universities.

The core goal of RFGI is to produce strong representative decentralized pro-poor processes and benefits delivered at landscape and community levels taking into account gender and equity, and providing lessons for national, regional, and global levels. RFGI's purpose is to improve representative local forest governance and responsible natural resource management in country-based landscapes across Africa. RFGI supports this endeavor through research used to develop handbooks for the

design and improvement of accountable and responsive local forest-governance processes and through the training of a new generation of African environmental governance analysts.

Country Details

RFGI is based in and focuses on Africa. The six core RFGI countries are Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, Senegal and Uganda, where RFGI is establishing full research teams. Single case studies are being developed in six comparative RFGI countries, including Kenya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Tanzania, South Africa, and South Sudan. RFGI is also working with institutions in Asia and Latin America to provide a comparative perspective on local representation in forestry experience. The RFGI program has recruited and is training twenty six (26) young in-country policy researchers and analysts to help build an Africa-wide network of environmental-governance policy analysts. A methods meeting of the in-country researchers and the RFGI core team, supported by resource persons, was convened in January 2012 in Senegal to launch the RFGI program. To-date, all the 26 RFGI researchers have started field based research in their countries and are expected to produce draft research reports by December 2012.

The RFGI Approach

In the core countries, RFGI is working through national-level research institutions with an interest in decentralization. In the comparative countries, RFGI is working with and training young capable individual researchers. The field site areas include the landscapes where IUCN's Livelihoods and Landscapes Strategy has activities. Research oversight is provided by senior researchers at the national level, and by CODESRIA, the University of Illinois, and IUCN at the regional and global levels. IUCN and CODESRIA will use their convening ability to bring the research findings to national and regional fora, as well as the African Union and relevant global fora. The efforts and results will be sustained through (a) training of young governance analysts for the research teams, (b) training of practitioners during the testing of the RFG and CM handbooks, (c) wide diffusion of the developed handbooks, and (d) support responsive and accountable representation processes within local institutions.

Local Environment Governance Assessments (LEGAs) are being carried out to provide baseline data on the effects of forestry interventions on forest governance, and greater understanding of the potential effects of climate-change readiness (REDD+, adaptation) interventions. From the LEGAs, local governance indicators will be developed to evaluate local governance effects of forestry interventions. Guidelines will be developed for indicator measurement and for their use in assessing and designing interventions. This will form the basis for developing and testing the RFG Handbook, designed to ensure that forestry interventions strengthen local representation. The RFG Handbook will be complemented by a developed and tested Community Monitoring Handbook to empower communities to monitor and learn from forestry interventions. A wide range of knowledge products will be produced, including the RFG and CM Handbooks, research publications, policy briefs and a popularly oriented video.

Relevance to Climate Change Mitigation and Adaptation

REDD+ is a global program for disbursing funds, primarily to pay national governments in developing countries to reduce forest carbon emissions. REDD+ will have a major impacts on forest management and use—including local decision-making structures, distributional equity, rights and recourse, and forest and land tenure. As REDD+ incentives increase national government interest in forest management, new checks and balances will be required to guarantee that forestry interventions are negotiated through local representative decision-making bodies. Interventions must support the ability of forest-dependent populations to negotiate forest-management arrangements with national and international agents that meet their needs and favor their aspirations. REDD+ interventions will affect the entire set of rights and institutions that make up the world of forest-dependent communities. To ensure that REDD+ interventions seriously engage local people, local representation in decision making will have to be guaranteed. This will mean strengthening of local rights and representation and creating guidelines so that REDD+ interventions use representative local institutions as their point of entry into new forestry management regimes. REDD+ will require permanent local institutions that can integrate local needs with national and international objectives. Permanent representative local institutions will be necessary ingredients of any sustainable REDD+ and climate adaptation strategy. While many social protections have been proposed for REDD+ interventions to date, none guarantee respect for democratic institutions and procedures.

Informing Policy and Scaling up Learning

To ensure a deep policy engagement, RFGI is working with a number of different groups from the start. RFGI is conducting detailed briefings for government departments on RFGI and how it can support decentralization in practice and respond to their own specific concerns. Government staff will be represented on national advisory groups to foster ownership from the start.

Project results will be widely disseminated at national, regional, and global levels, which will result in increased awareness and understanding of improved and more-widespread local representation in forestry decision making. RFGI will use its research results to inform and influence national, regional, and global fora, with respect to the value and importance of local-level forest governance. Close collaboration with programs such as the United Nations Development Programme, United Nations Environment Program, World Bank, African Union, the UN Economic Commission for Africa, and African regional economic communities such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the Central Africa Forest Commission (COMIFAC) could lead to the adoption of appropriate regional policies that would, for example, address the problem of the large-scale alienation of land.

For more details: http://www.codesria.org/

Announcements

Multinational Working Group
Land Grabs and Food Sovereignty in Africa
Launch: November 2012

The Council for the Development of Social Science Re search in Africa (CODESRIA) is launching a call for pro posal for all interested researchers and academics in its Multinational Working Group (MWG) on a theme titled: **"Land grabs and food sovereignty in Africa"**. MWG is one of the flag-ship research vehicles that is employed by CODESRIA to pro-mote multi-country, multi-disciplinary and inter-generational re-flections on critical questions of concern to the African social science research community. Each MWG will be led by two coordinators who have different specializations and possibly constitute a gender mix. The size of a single MWG should ut-most be fifteen researchers. An independent selection commit-tee will screen the proposals and select those that have a rela-tively better quality and depth. The life span of the project will be 18 months during which time all aspects of the research proc-ess should be completed and the final manuscript submitted for publication in a CODESRIA book series.

Land grabbing is not a new phenomenon. The exploitation of land and natural resources in Africa went through distinct epochs that have had profound impacts on land tenure and the state of natural resources in the continent. The scramble for African farmlands and natural resources reached its height in 19th century with the partitioning of the continent and the plundering of its land and natural resources by European colonizers. This had left in its wake a gruesome legacy that is characterized by a series of land and resource conflicts, land litigation, loss of peoples' control over land and natural resources, exposition to alien land tenure systems and natural resources management. Yet the on-going global land grabs risks creating a reinvigorated neo-colonial system that enhances the power of cash-rich nations and transnational corporations at the expense of smallholder peasants and indigenous communities who are displaced and dispossessed. The scale, magnitude and discourse around the current global rush for farmland makes this moment unique in history.

With the emergence of food and financial crises in 2008, the acquisition of fertile land for outsourced food and fuel production, viz. land grabbing, has been occurring at an astounding pace across the globe. Incidentally, the virtual collapse of the global financial markets occurred nearly contemporaneously with the global food crisis. Triggered by the inter-related forces of skyrocketing food prices and the global economic meltdown, the land grab trend has demonstrated how fertile lands can be turned into a "new strategic asset" for governments seeking food security and for profit-driven financial firms hunting safe havens for their investment funds. Cash-rich nations such as China, Saudi Arabia, Japan, South Korea, and some Gulf States are pursuing food security strategies that seek to secure control of millions of hectares of fertile lands in target nations in the South, most particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa. In

short, land scarcity and volatility of food prices in the world market have led the richer countries that are dependent on food imports to acquire large amounts of land in the South to produce food for their domestic needs.

Africa is hence once again facing a new scramble for the accelerated exploitation of its rich land and natural resources facilitated by the forces of globalization and neo-liberalism. The governments and ruling elites in Africa are offering up large swathes of agricultural land at rock bottom prices for large-scale farming. This renewed scramble under various economic agreements is already leading to increasing conflict, land dispossession, eviction and displacement and deepening poverty amongst various groups, including smallholder farmers, pastoral herders and fisher folks on the continent. Favourable terms for foreign investors in recent deals include low process on purchases and low rates of remuneration on long-term leases, all justified under the "win-win" rhetoric of modern agricultural development. Some governments are also liberalizing property ownership laws to facilitate the influx of foreign capital. Research by the World Bank and others suggests that nearly 60 million hectares – an area the size of France – has been bought or leased by foreign companies in Africa in the past four years.

The land deals are often couched in a "win-win" language, with the presumption that target nations in the South could secure the following benefits: obtain funds for infrastructure improvements and rural development; overcome decades of underinvestment in the agricultural sector; create a sizable number of jobs and bring in new technology to the local agricultural sector. Conversely, some studies have revealed that large-scale farmland acquisitions by foreign actors' raise a litany of human rights concerns for impoverished people in the South, the most important of which include the undermining of local food production systems, extraction of short-term profits at the cost of long-term environmental damages, the forced displacement of smallholder peasants and indigenous people, diminished access to resources by the rural poor, and the expansion of the export-oriented, agro-industrial complex. In addition, deforestation & environmental degradation, the erosion of cultural and labour rights and the potential for civil unrest are also matters of great concern, as is the general lack of transparency and accountability. Some fear that unrestrained land grabbing could produce scenarios where heavily guarded foreign-owned farms ship food overseas while starving locals look on helplessly. Research proposals that will be prepared in the framework of this MWG should try to come up with innovative ways of conceiving "land grab" through a systemic analysis that could capture the diversity, complexity and controversy of this phenomenon. An inquiry can also be made to uncover the geopolitical and geostrategic dimensions of land grabbing in Africa. Furthermore, a particular attention should be paid to the historical roots of contemporary land grabbing.

The commoditisation of land does also reflect the transition from a rural society characterized by a large number of subsistent small-holder peasants to one that is increasingly based on the expansion of capital-intensive production enterprises to feed the rising urban population. This phenomenon can also be seen as a type of land grabbing in which governments together with foreign investors are promoting the dispossession of farmland that in turn evokes rural-urban migration. So far, not much is known about land grabbing that is induced by rural-urban migration-cum-urbanization. Put another way, rapid urbanization grabs massive land in Africa or is gobbled up by cities. This issue can stir up the attention of prospective MWGs to establish the type and strength of the relationships between land grab, migration and urbanization.

The failures and inequities of the world food system have spurned a new vision for the democratization of the food system based on a set of principles known as food sovereignty. The most fundamental pillars of food sovereignty include: the recognition and enforcement of the right to food and the right to land; the right of each nation or people to define their own agricultural and food policies; respecting the rights of indigenous peoples to their territories and traditional fisher folks to fishing areas; a retreat from free trade policies, with a concurrent greater prioritization of production of food for local and national markets, and an end to dumping; genuine agrarian reform and peasant-based sustainable agricultural practices. Land grabs deny land for local communities, destroy livelihoods, reduce the political space for peasant oriented agricultural policies and distort markets towards increasingly concentrated agribusiness interests and global trade. Without national and international measures to defend the rights of people living in poverty, this modern-day land-rush looks set to leave too many poor families worse off, often evicted from their land with little or no recourse to justice. The global land grabs dispossess peasants not only the land per se but also the social, political and economic entitlements and freedom that come with it. That is why it remains a direct threat to the foundations of food sovereignty. The mobilization against land grabs, which ipso facto denotes the movement for food sovereignty, is a reflection of the present food regime's geography and demographics in which over half of the world's food is produced by small scale farmers making up one-third to over seventy percent of producers in the global South. Researchers in this MWG should assess the degree to which land grabs present a threat to the food sovereignty of peasants in Africa.

Proponents of land grab deals do often characterize the land involved as "idle" or 'underutilized or "marginalized". However, according to a report by the FAO and the International Institute on Environment and Development, lands that are so perceived by government and large private operators do, in most cases, provide a vital basis for the livelihoods of poorer and vulnerable groups. In actual fact, they have a real purpose: they may support corridors for pastoralists; dispense fallow space for soil recuperation; provide access to limited water sources; set aside plots for future generations or enable local farmers to increase production. Participants in this MWG can probe deeper into these issues to repudiate the flawed and misleading ways on which land grabbing is grounded in Africa. The research findings that are derived from such studies can either clarify or nullify misleading analyses on land use and land cover in Africa. The recommendations that would come out of such analyses are expected to generate alternative models of managing land use while addressing food and energy security needs and respecting land rights.

For women all over the world, lack of access to and control over land is a major determinant and outcome of gender inequality. Evidence from research on land grabs in Africa suggests that women are getting a raw deal or unfair treatment. To begin with, women's land rights are less secure and more easily targeted. They also depend more on secondary uses of land, which tend to be ignored in large-scale land acquisitions. Furthermore, although women comprise the majority of farmers in Africa, men effectively control the land and the income derived from it at the expense of the fruit of women's labour. In practice, a new commercial opportunity often means that men assume control of the land at the expense of women's access. The new competition for land between biofuels and food crops, leading to less availability of food and higher prices, is also likely to affect women more than men, as the former tend to take responsibility for feeding the family. Given this state of affair, forthcoming MWGs are expected to pay special attention to the gender dimensions of land access and land grabs in Africa.

The prospective MWGs can also look into the global interest in biofuels and the impact they have on global warming/climate change. It is stated that a range of biofuel crops now being grown to produce 'green' alternatives to oil-based fossil fuels release far more CO_2 into the air than what can be absorbed by the growing plants. In spite the precipitating effects of food-based biofuels on global warming and climate change, many countries are inadvertently promoting biofuel alternatives that are worse than the fossil fuels they are designed to replace.

Sub-themes

- The political economy of land grabbing and resistance
- Remaking the maps of food production and distribution in Africa
- Transnational agricultural investments and the human rights to food in Africa
- The impact of land grabs on food sovereignty of peasants
- The historical roots of contemporary land grabbing in Africa
- Biofuel production, global warming and climate change in Africa
- Land grabs and women in Africa (the gender dimension)
- The discourse and contested meanings of land use/cover classifications
- The ecological threats of large-scale land acquisition
- The geopolitical and strategic dimensions of land grabbing in Africa
- Land grab, urbanization and migration nexus
- Any other related issue

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Child and Youth Institute 2012
Youth, Social Transformation and Development in Africa

The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) is pleased to announce its 2012 Child and Youth Institute that will be held for three (3) weeks, from 3rd to 21st September 2012. The institute is one of the components of the Child and Youth Studies Programme and is aimed at strengthening the analytic capacities of young African researchers on issues affecting children and youth in Africa and elsewhere in the world. The institute is designed as an annual interdisciplinary forum in which participants can reflect together on a specific aspect of the conditions of children and youth, especially in Africa.

Objectives The main objectives of the Child and Youth Institute are to:

- encourage the sharing of experiences among researchers, civil society activists and policy makers from different disciplines, methodological and conceptual orientations and geographical/linguistic areas;

- promote and enhance a culture of democratic values that allows to effectively identify issues facing children and youth on the African continent; and

- foster the participation of scholars and researchers in discussions and debates on the processes of child and youth development in Africa.

Organization The activities of all CODESRIA Institutes centre on presentations made by African researchers, resource persons from the continent and the Diaspora and participants whose applications for admission as laureates have been successful. The sessions are led by a scientific director who, with the support of resource persons, ensures that the laureates are exposed to a wide range of research and policy issues. Each laureate is required to prepare a research paper to be presented during the session. The revised versions of such papers will undergo a peer review to ensure that they meet the required standard for publication by CODESRIA. The CODESRIA Documentation and Information Centre (CODICE) will provide participants with a comprehensive bibliography on the theme of the institute. Access to a number of documentation centers in and around Dakar will also be also facilitated. The CODESRIA Child and Youth Institute will be held in French and English through simultaneous translation.

The theme for this year e 2012: "**Youth, Social Transformation and Development in Africa**" seeks to bring together scholars to dig deeper into theoretical and empirical ways of understanding the role played by youth in transforming the social, economic, and political spheres or arenas in Africa. Conceptualizing, defining, and representing youth and their worlds has become an important focus of scholars seeking to examine how research itself has constructed youth as distinct social groups that are often presented as disruptive to an otherwise coherent social order and social institutions. Studies that have looked at youth as delinquent, misguided, as causing social crises, as being coerced into mischief, or as subjects rather than agents of their own lives, have provided interesting insights into perceptions and constructions of the youth. Similarly studies by scholars who insist that youth in Africa be regarded through theoretical and empirical lenses that go beyond these stereotypical notions of rebellion and vulnerability have shown how recent advances in technology, the intensification of global processes, and the continued weakening of the nation-state, are contributing to new and complex ways of understanding what it means to be youth in Africa today. Indeed, questions of what constitutes youthhood and the degree to which the lives of youth can be deeply understood have been marred by definitions and research questions often derived from socio-cultural and politico-economic contexts external to the direct experiences of most African youth. It is imperative for scholarship on youth in Africa to not only challenge any one-sided or simplistic explanations of the lives of the youth but also contend with the fact that they are a large and steadily growing population who undergo changes and also influence changes as the society itself keeps transforming.

Demographically Africa is a young continent with up to forty percent of its population aged between fifteen and twenty-four and more than two thirds below thirty years. This conspicuous size of the youth has contributed to the complex and at times vicarious place they occupy in Africa today and hence demands a deepened approach to research and analyses capable of capturing this complexity of youth identity, lives, ambitions, and the critical role they play in transforming their societies. New ways of regarding this complexity are critical because classical sociological views of society that see it as being reproduced through a linear and chronological process marked by stages of childhood, adolescence, and adulthood, will not suffice simply because such views tend to promote the "youth as a problem" approach, often seeing practices such as participation in combat operations or failure to marry at "the right time" as chaotic and deviationist from social order. While these perceptions fit very well with a traditional African social worldview shaped by gerontocracy where cultural and political power are wielded by those with accumulated experiential knowledge, youth demographics and their desire for broad social changes can no longer be wished away. Today, as some small but growing body of scholarship that favors culture making as a creative, contested, and complex process of social (re)production, has shown, youth are actively shaping society through such strategies as the invention of new forms of language; creative contributions to economies through popular culture; reconstituting political movements through participation in armed rebellion or non-violent demonstrations; and the reshaping of public discourse through social media and expressive culture, among many. The "Arab Spring" is a good illustration of such vitality and creativity with youth at the forefront of public protest movements that have led to regime changes in both Tunisia and Egypt. Through activism sparked by this generation's increasingly interconnectedness brought by social media and technology, these youth, like many of their counterparts in other parts of Africa, are responding to the reality

of low wages, high unemployment, and poor governance, all closely tied to economic issues.

The relentless socioeconomic and political changes propelled by Western financial institutions and governments have contributed, for instance, to a gradual transformation of the African terrain through a process that has weakened the state apparatus and heightened the place of youth at the centre of public life as witnessed in some of these movements. Development strategies for the continent that have largely been predicated upon strict austerity measures propelled by the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) of the 1980s and sustained by continued economic liberalisation and marketisation into the 2000s have had some notable negative effects on Africa's youth. But there are signs of positive change as well. Growth in GDP in countries such as Angola, Ethiopia, Ghana and Equatorial Guinea by the end of 2010 reflects the 6% economic growth experienced across the continent before the 2008 global economic recession. Previous studies have also shown that youth labour can play a significant role in the development process, especially in countries where rural societies are predominant. Today, we know that with the progresses made in science and technology the youth population is well prepared to assimilate and master the scientific and technological tools that are necessary to propel development. However, such development is often unaccompanied by growth in infrastructure as well as democratic processes. In many parts of the continent, the standard of living has improved but the gap between the rich and poor continues growing, unemployment remains rampant and the youth are adversely affected. And to be sure this is not limited to Africa but is noticeable globally. The 2008 financial crisis and its social impacts in the North, for instance, show that youth issues and social change have become a global challenge in the context of what some call the 'crisis of capitalism' or what others see as the 'end of capitalism'. Manifestations of outrage and disappointment such as those exemplified the "occupy wall street" movement show youth seeking to arrest a social system by demanding more social justice and equality and in turn forcing youth issues to cross many boundaries. While these issues are more critical in Africa mainly because of the youthfulness of Africa's population and the many challenges faced in such areas as education, training, employment, and health, they call for an awareness among scholars for the need to critically position youth at the center of any analysis of social transformation and development both locally and globally.

The preceding discussions invoke a number of research questions that can be taken up by the participants for further scrutiny: How do we reconcile and understand all the competing socioeconomic and political realities in Africa today? How can the youth as a demographic majority wield power, transform their world marked by high unemployment levels and within a context of inconsistent economic growth by using new patterns of communication and technology to? What role, if any, are youth in Africa today playing in transforming their societies and how are these transformations in turn shaping overall development? What are the roles of decentralized grassroots movements instigated by youth and what they portend for socioeconomic and political changes in their countries given the example seen in Egypt where a more established party (Muslim Brotherhood) garnered enough support to take over political leadership and left many youth involved in the initial movement disenfranchised? Are youth in Africa transforming their societies or are their movements too loosely put together falling short of making lasting changes in their societies? What is the place of global processes and connections in shaping and sustaining socioeconomic and political development for youth in Africa today? What are some of the ways youth have been involved in democratic processes in their countries or communities and how has this participation shaped youth identities and political ideas? Is social media going to determine the ways in which youth will engage with their societies and the larger world and if so to what end? What does the gendered dimension of youth struggles to transform their societies look like? Are there some examples of youth engagement in economic and technological innovations that are influencing national and regional trends in business and investment? Participants at this year's Institute are expected to address these and related issues and queries.

For more details on how to apply visit: http://www.codesria.org/

For additional information:
E-mail: child.institute@codesria.sn

Gender Institute 2012
African Sexualities

Dakar, 4-22 June 2012

The 2012 edition of the Gender Institute will study African sexualities by exploring the links between the human body, gender and sexuality. This issue is not to be considered on the sidelines of development because it is one of its facets. Indeed, it is about the life of men and women, their privacy and desires, their relationships with their bodies and the social standards that govern the latter, their identities and the recognition of rights that go with anything that refers to policy, society and law.

Patriarchal society, the colonial and post-colonial contexts show that the male body and the female body bear cultural meanings and representations that reflect power relations within society. How then, from a constructivist perspective, can we dispense with African epistemologies of the body by breaking away from a legacy that still bears the imprint of some anthropological vision of African sexualities, with a whiff of ethnocentrism or even racism. The issue of African sexuality can be considered as the matching piece to the discourse on the Other, the way it

was imagined, invented and represented, as shown by the illustrative example of Sarah Bartmann. It is necessary, as part of a theoretical re-appropriation, to not confine ourselves to a biomedical and inevitably simplistic framework imposed by the issue of reproduction and which has been overwhelmed by the issue of AIDS.

From a methodological point of view, how can the postcolonial or feminist theory, Marxism or postmodernism help to deconstruct stereotypes in order to better analyze the complexities of African sexualities? How can we go beyond the binary system postulated by gender to understand sexual diversity? How can we account for the changing representations of sexuality when it results from several factors: contact with other cultures, urbanization or exile, or even the pervasiveness of television, film or the Internet on the lives of African people today? Furthermore, the role of the crisis in this dynamic vision of sexualities has transformed family structures or compelled men and women to engage in various practices, including sex

trade sometimes. How can one understand not only the role played by law in maintaining a gendered society in which women are subordinate to men, but also all the ideological forms that justify the social control over sexualities and inform the strategies to fight against the AIDS pandemic?

Analyzing African sexualities also means revisiting the issue of genital mutilation, gender-based violence based and homosexuality. The context of globalization that takes a critical look at the universal sphere, by giving greater visibility to the demand for and recognition of diversity and by crystallizing identities and traditions, makes this debate essential in Africa. Can the dissemination of a culture of human rights globally content itself with the objection to homosexuality on behalf of African culture? Indeed, this context of male domination which poses heterosexuality as a dominant normative framework should not obscure the issue of secondary sexualities.

For more details on how to apply visit: http://www.codesria.org

Environmental Politics Institute
Climate change and Environmental Politics in Africa

Dakar, 6-18 August 2012

The CODESRIA Environmental Politics Institute is an interdisciplinary forum which brings together African scholars undertaking innovative research on topics related to the broad theme of environmental politics.

The aim of the Institute is to promote and sustain the development of coherent social sciences engagement with environmental issues in Africa. The Institute will promote research and debates on issues related to environmental politics especially as they relate to democratic decision making in climate change adaptation and mitigation policies and programs on the continent. The Institute will be launched in 6 August 2012 and subsequently held annually in Dakar, Senegal. It will serve the critical functions of forging links among a younger generation of African intellectuals and meeting the scientific needs of these intellec-tuals in terms of access to recent documentation, participation in current debates, the retooling of their research capacities, and the updating of their conceptual, theoretical and metho-dological approaches. The Institute will also seek to engage African policy intellectuals and civil society activists, thereby permitting a judicious mix of researchers, activists, and policy makers to be achieved in the admission of participants. It is anticipated that a total of fifteen African researchers drawn from across the continent and the Diaspora, and a few non-African scholars will participate in the Institute each year.

Objectives

The main objectives of the Environmental Politics Institute are to:

- Build the capacity of young African scholars in Social Science research into environmental politics issues;
- Catalyze the development of a core of an epistemic community of social scientists engaged with environmental issues;
- Encourage the sharing of experiences among researchers, activists and policy makers from different disciplines, methodo-logical and conceptual orientations, and geographical/linguistic zones on a common theme over an extended period of time;
- Promote and enhance a critical inter-disciplinary engagement in a manner that allows Africans to effectively identify and tackle the environmental issues confronting their continent; and
- Foster the participation of scholars in discussions and debates about the environment taking place in Africa especially in the context of the global climate change discourse.

For more details: http://www.codesria.org/

POWER AND POWERLESSNESS
CAPITAL CITIES IN AFRICA

Edited by
Simon Bekker and Göran Therborn

Capital cities today remain central to both nations and states. They host centres of political power, not only national, but in some cases regional and global as weil, thus offering major avenues to success, wealth and privilege. For these reasons capitals simultaneously become centres of 'counter-power', locations of high-stakes struggles between the government and the opposition.
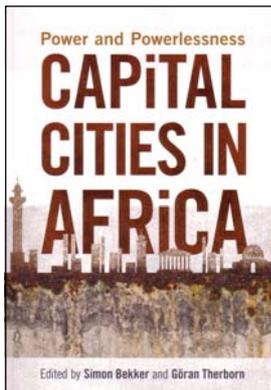
This volume focuses on capital cities in nine sub-Saharan African countries, and traces how the power vested in them has evolved through different colonial backgrounds, radically different kinds of regimes after independence, waves of popular protest, explosive population growth and in most cases stunted economic development. Starting at the point of national political emancipation, each case study explores the complicated processes of nation-state building through its manifestation in the 'urban geology' of the city - its architecture, iconography, layout and political use of urban space. Although the evolution of each of these cities is different, they share a critical demographic feature an extraordinarily rapid process of urbanisation that is more politically than economically driven. Overwhelmed by the inevitable challenges resulting from this urban sprawl, the governments seated in most of these capital cities are in effect both powerful- wielding power over their populace - and powerless, lacking power to implement their plans and to provide for their inhabitants.


Negotiating the Livelihoods of Children and Youth in Africa's Urban Spaces

Négocier sa vie : les enfants et les jeunes dans les espaces urbains d'Afrique

Edited by
Michael F.C. Bourdillon
with
Ali Sangare

This book deals with problems facing children and youth in African cities today. African populations have high growth rates and, consequently, relatively high proportions of young people. Population growth in rural areas has stretched resources leading to urban migration and a rapid growth of cities. Economies have not grown apace with the population; and in some countries, economies have even shrunk. The result is a severe lack of resources in cities to meet the needs of the growing populations, shown in high unemployment, inadequate housing, poor services, and often extreme poverty. All the essays in this book draw attention to such urban environments, in which children and youth have to live and survive.

The title of this book speaks of negotiating livelihoods. The concept of 'livelihood' has been adopted to incorporate the social and physical environment together with people's responses to it. It considers not only material, but also human and social resources, including local knowledge and understanding. It, thus, considers the material means for living in a broader context of social and cultural interpretation. It, therefore, does not deal only with material and economic existence, but also with leisure activities, entertainments and other social forms of life developed by young people in response to the dictates of the environment.
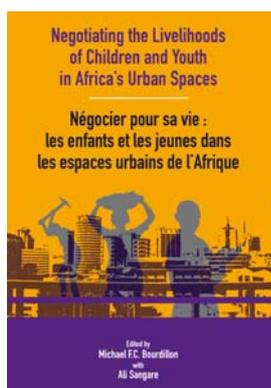
The book contains country-specific case studies of the problems faced by youths in many African cities, how they develop means to solve them, and the various creative ways through which they improve their status, both economically and socially, in the different urban spaces. It recognizes the potentials of young people in taking control of their lives within the constraints imposed upon them by the society.

This book is a valuable contribution to the field of child and youth development, and a useful tool for parents, teachers, academics, researchers as well as government and non-government development agencies.