

CODESRIA EVALUATION REPORT

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FORWARD

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The evaluation was carried out between May 1984 and August 1985 by Dr. José Joaquim Brunner, Director, FLACSO (Chile), Dr. Simi A Afonja, University of Ife (Nigeria) and Dr. Abdulkader Djeflat, Institut des Sciences Economiques, Université d'Oran (Algeria).

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Major Findings

1. CODESRIA has developed during the last ten years to become an integral part of the African social sciences. It has built up its institutional basis and has been able to mobilize a significant number of researchers and a significant amount of external resources. The African social science community strongly feels that there should exist -- as is the case in the other world regions -- a Pan-African organization for the coordination and promotion of research activities. CODESRIA has in part played that role, and is expected to play it more effectively in the future.

2. In fact several of CODESRIA's achievements were consistently mentioned:
 - it has introduced into the discussion of the African social sciences various new themes and a critically oriented approach to development research;
 - it has engaged a group of recognized African scholars in its activities;
 - it has provided a forum for the communication between African scholars;
 - it has brought the Pan-African perspective to the awareness of a number of African social scientists; and
 - it has been publishing on a regular basis its quarterly Africa Development which is recognized as a valuable journal of the African social sciences.

3. But, CODESRIA remains with several important limitations:
 - its activities and accomplishments are not well known throughout the region;
 - its interactions with the social science institutions are either weak and lack continuity or tend to be restricted to a limited number of institutions and/or individual researchers;
 - its internal organization is too centralized and the participation of the institutions and researchers within the decision-making processes is limited; and
 - its interpretation of critical social science approaches tends to be perceived in some areas as restricting participation to a limited group of researchers.

4. Some of the aforementioned limitations are also a reflection of the institutional basis of the African social sciences:
 - social science institutions face on the whole, serious difficulties in developing their research capacities, they lack sufficient personnel, funding, and are mostly centred on national problems;
 - their involvement with sub-regional or regional organizations tends to be low and they expect these organizations to support them and to offer opportunities for joint academic ventures and for both a broader communication and interaction between them; and
 - in many cases, social science institutions are striving to survive in very difficult conditions, and social scientists find it hard to professionalize their research activities.

5. CODESRIA's accomplishment of its main objective -- that is, the coordination and promotion of economic and social research -- must therefore be assessed in terms of those external constraints. In this respect, CODESRIA's idea of setting up research or working groups seems to be widely shared by a great number of African social scientists. But the actual functioning of these groups has been inadequate:
 - they have no continuity over time and thus tend to become occasional gatherings of scholars;
 - the rate of completion of their work has been generally low; and
 - the actual procedures for the selection of its participants are not regarded as satisfactory by all parties involved.

Recommendations

In view of the existing problems and considering the various constraints within which CODESRIA has to operate, the following recommendations are put forward for discussion between CODESRIA and the Donor Agencies:

1. CODESRIA needs continuing support from the Donor Agencies if it is to fulfill the high expectations of the African social science community and to solve the problems it faces.

2. At the same time. CODESRIA should diversify its sources of funding.
3. CODESRIA should mobilize institutions and researchers in those countries where social science research is relatively less developed or denied any form of recognition or where CODESRIA's activities are not known.
4. CODESRIA should clearly define its constituency and involve member institutions more actively in the decision-making process. This requires also a change of attitude on the part of these institutions.
5. There is a need for CODESRIA to more actively engage renowned social scientists to give the right impetus to its activities.
6. A need is felt for some form of sub-regional representation of CODESRIA which would also strengthen collaboration and complementarity with already existing sub-regional organizations.
7. With respect to research or working groups, a deeper assessment of its potentialities should be made. Perhaps it would better assure their effectiveness if they were reduced to a more manageable size; if the programming of their activities is more systematically done; if their financing is more adequate; if the selection of both coordinators and members is based on competence and active involvement in research within the specific field; and, if the results are widely disseminated.
8. An effort should be made by CODESRIA in all parts of Africa to better inform the social science community of its activities.
9. CODESRIA can and should devote more effort to strengthening existing national research institutions and particularly support those institutions that are going through difficult stages in their development.

Sub-regional Reports

The attached sub-regional reports contain the specific findings and conclusions related to each particular sub-region.

PART I

NORTH AND WEST FRANCOPHONE AFRICA

DR. ABDULKADER DJEFLAT

1. Summary of Main Conclusions and Recommendations

Within the framework set out by the principles governing this evaluation exercise and the inevitable constraints which characterize an exercise of this kind, the findings and conclusions of this report can be summarized in the following points:

Social science research is going through a crucial stage of its life in Africa, characterized by a real crisis. Public support to social science research has been relatively weak, and in some parts of the continent, totally nonexistent. This has resulted in very difficult conditions for social scientists, who on top of having relatively limited means for conducting research, are driven to seek other sources of income for their survival and consequently deal less and less with research. These difficult conditions have resulted from a series of factors at play simultaneously:

- Difficult economic conditions prevailing in Africa which have led many countries to channel the limited funds at their disposal to more urgent needs and to projects with more tangible and immediate results. In this respect, social science research is very low on the priority list.
- Policy-makers' negative attitudes towards social science resulting partly from disappointment with the contributions made by social scientists to the development of their countries.
- Low status of social science in general competing badly with other disciplines which lead to more tangible results and in particular, to more lucrative situations.
- Increasing disappointment of social scientists themselves with "orthodox" approaches, methods, and theories, unable to provide the analytical tools for the African environment and of little use for solving its problems of poverty and stagnation.

It is within such a context and with so many challenges that CODESRIA has had to operate in the past, and is likely to operate in the future. Its effectiveness which is inevitably affected by this context depends also to some extent to its ability to contribute to change this context.

2. Impact of CODESRIA in Mobilizing Resources and Support for Social Science Research

1. CODESRIA has been relatively successful in mobilizing financial resources and support on the international scene namely from Funding Agencies and other reputable International Organizations.
2. Within the African continent, it has had much less success in mobilizing resources, particularly of the financial kind. This has partly resulted from the difficult economic conditions of the continent and the shortages of foreign currencies.
3. Its greatest impact has been in the mobilization of human resources and support within the African continent.
4. The mobilization of human resources, namely African social science researchers, has been possible as a result of its dynamism in holding a multiplicity and a variety of events such as conferences, workshops and seminars, through the wide distribution of its publication, and to some extent through its working groups.
5. It has been able to mobilize support for social science research, particularly of the moral kind, from research institutions, individual researchers and from some governments, resulting mostly from a deep-rooted feeling that they could contribute to African development and that CODESRIA can play a determinant role in this process.

3. Contribution and Role of CODESRIA in Support of Social Science Research in Africa

1. The major contribution CODESRIA has made in support of social science research has been in the coordination of research throughout the African continent and in its attempts to enhance the status and legitimizing the role of social science namely in the eyes of policy-makers.

2. It has played several roles at the same time over the last ten years: as a Pan-African institutional framework for social science research, as a coordinator between African research institutions, as a data bank and information center on African institutions and researchers, and finally, as a link institution between African social science research and the rest of the world.
3. The setting of research priority areas is seen as a useful means of coordinating research, however, the opinion is divided regarding their scope; whether they should be Pan-African or sub-regional priority areas. The general opinion is that they have been too broad and may need to be put more concisely to be of a greater usefulness, with perhaps a greater involvement of researchers in their definition.
4. The working groups which constitute CODESRIA's direct support to social science research are seen as useful and worth encouraging as a formula. However, it is the general opinion that they have not been performing adequately as a result of a variety of problems and difficulties.
5. Another major contribution of CODESRIA is the widening of African researchers' perspective which has made it possible to undertake comparative studies between countries and sub-regions and to increase the contacts and exchanges between researchers. In this respect, its success is acknowledged by the majority of researchers.
6. Its contribution in enhancing the status of social science research and in legitimizing it is seen as positive and significant. The spreading of the 'critical social science' attitude even to official circles constitutes one of the indicators. The key factor in this achievement is the gradual involvement of policy-makers into CODESRIA's activities, and its own participation in current debates and issues at the Pan-African level. Its action should nonetheless concentrate on countries where social science research is denied any form of recognition or support.

4. CODESRIA's Effectiveness in Promoting Research and Training over the Last Ten Years

1. CODESRIA's effectiveness in promoting research and training over the last ten years appears to differ from one action to the other. In both areas it has attempted direct and indirect actions of promotion.
2. CODESRIA's direct action in promoting research has been through working groups as seen earlier. It was acknowledged by the majority of those interviewed that the performance of these working groups were inadequate as a result of certain principles used in the past which have proved to be unsuitable, e.g.: the principle of 'voluntarism' which did not lead necessarily to the most capable researchers nor the most motivated being selected. The other sources of problems known by the working groups are the inadequate communication between group members and the subsequent difficulty in coordination, the relatively large size of the groups, and finally, the limited funds allocated to the groups. The recent measures taken by CODESRIA to improve the functioning of these groups appear to be on the right path and need encouraging.
3. Its promotion of research through conferences, seminars and workshops appears to have had relatively more success in terms of both the number of researchers who have taken part and the number of papers written for these occasions. To give more impetus to these various events, CODESRIA may need to involve more and more younger generations of researchers, and particularly, to concentrate on areas which have had a low rate of participation in the past.
4. Its contribution to research through institution building and strengthening appears to have been relatively limited in the sub-region partly as a result of the existence of relatively old and experienced research institutions. As in the case of Zimbabwe, CODESRIA's actions in the area of institution building should be directed towards those parts of the continent that are poorly endowed in terms of social science research institutions.

5. One of the ways of promoting research which has had a great deal of success and where it has been relatively effective is undoubtedly the opportunity given to African researchers to publish their work in CODESRIA's journals which have acquired a relatively good reputation.
6. Regarding the promotion of training, CODESRIA's actions have taken a variety of forms which have been primarily of an indirect nature. In the case of the direct promotion of training through financial support, CODESRIA's experience has also been limited. This is reflected in the small number of students in the sub-region that have received any form of grant. Nonetheless, it is recognized that CODESRIA could not possibly deal simultaneously with both training and research with the limited means it has had in terms of both financial and human resources. Clearly, the time has now come for CODESRIA to concentrate on training problems in Africa.

5. Impact of CODESRIA on the Dissemination of Research Results

1. CODESRIA's prime means of disseminating research results has been through its publications namely its journal Africa Development and its book series.
2. The dissemination of research results through its publications has been highly effective. The most important factor contributing to this effectiveness has been the Council's ability to produce its publications at a regular rhythm and to distribute them widely throughout the African continent.
3. The difficult means of communication and the restrictions in transferring money abroad which characterize most countries in the African continent have not deterred CODESRIA from sending its publications to numerous African institutions, both members and non-members, even if at times this meant sending them without any form of obligations from the receiving party.

4. CODESRIA's publications appear to be used in a variety of ways for research purposes and more indirectly for training purposes. However, they are only used to a limited extent in the sub-regions.
5. CODESRIA can have an even greater impact on the dissemination of research results if some of the problems related to the contents of its publications, to their printing, and their distribution are solved.
 - With regard to contents, the lack of a permanent body for the selection of papers in the past may have lead to lowering the standard of the selected work.
 - Regarding printing, the existing equipment is wholly inadequate for publications of this scope and popularity. More modern equipment and professionals in the printing section could improve the quality of the publications a great deal.
 - Finally, distribution suffers from the limited means put into it, the limited personnel put into distribution, particularly of the professional type, and the language problem often raised by Francophones, unable to fully benefit from these publications.

6. The Effect of the Emergence of Sub-Regional Social Science Groups

1. The emergence of sub-regional social science groups is a relatively recent phenomenon in Africa and characterizes certain sub-regions and not others.
2. CODESRIA's attitude towards these sub-regional groups is one of collaboration, support and complementarity. It does not see them as competitors or as overlapping organizations.
3. The issue of overlapping has raised numerous controversies. Many find it difficult to define in precise terms the concept of overlapping in social science research. Others argue that overlapping if and when it exists may not necessarily be a bad thing in the African continent which is characterized by a limited work and production in social sciences.

4. The emergence of sub-regional social science groups in Africa are viewed as a positive phenomenon that should be encouraged.
5. In spite of the recent and tenuous relationship between research institutions and these sub-regional groups, they are seen as useful in their ability to identify and mobilize resource people within the sub-region, their capacity in dealing more concisely with the issues of the sub-region, and particularly, their capacity to overcome the acute communication problems.
6. In this respect, CODESRIA's decision to support these groups appears to be the right one, and should be continued and strengthened. In cases where they lack dynamism, the Council should provide the necessary impetus to get them out of their passivity which has characterized many of them in the sub-region.
7. CODESRIA's Best Response to Changing Conditions of Social Science Research in Africa.
 1. Several points of view were put forward regarding changing conditions of social science in Africa, some of them being similar and some others diverging on fundamental issues. This apparent lack of consensus shows the variety of orientations and tendencies which exist on the African scene and which CODESRIA has to deal with.
 2. From the perspective of CODESRIA, these conditions are characterized by growing dissatisfaction with existing social science theories and methods, by the questioning of policy-makers of the solutions proposed from abroad to African problems, and the growing need to work out methods and analytical tools endogeneously which can better fulfill the needs of both researchers and policy-makers.

3. This growing desire to participate more effectively to produce solutions to African development problems is shared also by African researchers and research institutions. In order to answer peoples' expectations and alleviate them from poverty and stagnation, many researchers recognize the need for more empirical research and less theoretical considerations.
4. There is a wide consensus that social science research will have to face two major categories of challenges: those created by the world economic crisis which seriously affect the African continent, and those coming from their own crisis. They will have to rely on very small internally generated resources to operate and yet at the same time, show they can contribute effectively to solve the problems of the continent. Clearly, these challenges offer social scientists a unique opportunity to acquire the status and the consideration they deserve both from policy-makers and from the people.
5. CODESRIA can play a fundamental role in helping social science to face these challenges in the African continent. Although the suggestions regarding the appropriate responses to these conditions vary from one institution to the other and from one researcher to the other, they include in particular changes regarding its organization, personnel and scope of activity.
6. In terms of organization, it is suggested that CODESRIA could effectively mobilize research potentialities and particularly the younger generation if some sub-regional representation of CODESRIA is set up. This would have the dual advantage of overcoming the serious communication problem and providing a permanent feed-back from the sub-regions.
7. In terms of personnel, there is a need for permanent qualified personnel who would be chosen from African social scientists of a certain calibre and experience, who would be free from administrative preoccupations, and who could contribute a great deal to direct its action in all its areas of activity: long-term planning and strategies of research, publications, and preparation of seminars, and conferences and workshops. Some administrative key personnel may also need recruiting such as accountants, administrators, etc.

8. In terms of scope of activity, it should remain the same with more emphasis being placed on training which may include training of researchers themselves in social science methods and approaches. Some suggest CODESRIA should get more involved in consultancy from African governments and institutions.
9. Many of the suggested changes are in fact in the process of being gradually undertaken by CODESRIA and reflect a common concern from both researchers and CODESRIA to improve the level of its effectiveness.
10. Finally, CODESRIA enjoys widespread support for its objectives and activities, and is regarded as being of major importance to the development and the future of social science research in Africa. Clearly, it can only meet these expectations if adequate means are put at its disposal.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA) is a non-governmental organization (NGO) whose objectives are clearly spelled out in its Charter (1). It has set out "to promote research and training activities in the fields of economic and social development in Africa through cooperation and collaboration between African institutions for training and research."

These objectives can be achieved through a certain number of activities which CODESRIA has planned to undertake. These include:

- the exchange and dissemination of information,
- the promotion of translation into African and other languages,
- the promotion of collaboration in research and training activities between institutions in Africa and between these and similar institutions outside of Africa,
- assisting in the development of particular research institutions and helping to secure assistance, and finally,
- the organization of working groups, seminars, conferences and publications.

In recent documents (2) CODESRIA's objectives appear to include a more dynamic approach towards research in Africa through activating "...concerned African social scientists and research institutes to undertake fundamental as well as problem-oriented research in the field of development from a perspective which is more relevant to the needs of the African people". This new dynamism is reflected in the tasks that appear more like targets which CODESRIA has set out to achieve, namely:

- breaking down linguistic and geographical barriers between African social scientists,
- redefining the priorities and problems to be researched,
- organizing African social scientists into collaborative research, and,
- collaborating with and supporting other regional and sub-regional African organizations.

CODESRIA appears to have known a remarkable growth over the last ten years. Starting in 1973 as a small insignificant unit in 'borrowed offices' at IDEP, it is now a known Pan-African organization with about 70 member institutions in Africa operating at a level of approximately 700,000 US dollars per year.

According to its own account, it has been able to mobilize 650 researchers through research groups, conferences and workshops over the past ten years. It has also been able to produce eight volumes of its main journal Africa Development and several numbers of its newsletter Africana. In more recent years, other special publications were added such as books, directories and rosters.

Its personnel includes a full time Executive Secretary, a Deputy Executive Secretary and 20 local staff. Its Executive Committee which meets annually and is renewed every four years, includes in principle the heads of African research institutions and a President who acts as a chairperson. Since its creation in 1973, CODESRIA has had four different Executive Committees, four different Presidents and one Executive Secretary. Finally, a General Assembly consisting of representatives of all African institutions which are full members of CODESRIA meets every two years. One of its main responsibilities is to elect the members of the Executive Committee.

This brief presentation of CODESRIA shows that it has raised high hopes for social science research among research institutions and African researchers. The increasing support it has had in the past will continue and grow in the future only to the extent that CODESRIA is able to meet these expectations and to effectively achieve the objectives it has set out to achieve. The present evaluation exercise can contribute in part to answering this question.

1.1 The Evaluation Exercise

The evaluation exercise sponsored by the three main funding agencies: SAREC, IDRC and Ford Foundation, takes place at an important moment of CODESRIA's life and also at a moment where crucial questions regarding the future and the very existence of social science research in Africa are being raised.

CODESRIA has completed ten years of activity and it is appropriate at this time to look back at this period and assess what has been achieved over this first stage of CODESRIA's life. This is the best way to analyse the problems and difficulties which may have occurred and also to better plan how it can best achieve its objectives in the future. At the same time it will enable funding agencies to not only assess what impact the funding of the Council has had on social science research in Africa, but also to better plan future funding operations.

In more recent years, social science research in Africa has seen the birth of other sub-regional social science research organizations whose stated and implied objectives are often the coordination and the promotion of social science research at the sub-regional level in Africa. These sub-regional groups whose funding is also largely dependant upon external sources of finance, inevitably raise the question on the one hand of their relationship to CODESRIA, and on the other hand the question of their area of activity as compared to that of CODESRIA.

These appear to be some of the reasons which prompted the three major funding agencies to commission an evaluation of CODESRIA.

1.1.2 Terms of Reference

An evaluation task of an organization such as CODESRIA is not an easy one in view of its scope of activity and objectives, and also, in view of the fact that many kinds of evaluation can be envisaged as many writers on the topic will agree (3). The terms of reference set by the sponsors of the evaluation exercise constituted a valuable guideline and helped the evaluators to choose an appropriate framework for conducting the evaluation.

Six basic questions need answering in this exercise:

1. What impact has CODESRIA had in mobilizing resources and support for social science research?
2. What is the contribution of CODESRIA to social science research in Africa and what is CODESRIA's role in this research?
3. Has CODESRIA been effective in promoting research and training over the past 10 years?
4. What impact has CODESRIA had on the distribution of research results?
5. What effect has the emergence of sub-regional social science groups had (or likely to have) on CODESRIA's approach to providing support for social science research in Africa?
6. How best can CODESRIA respond to the changing conditions for social science research in Africa?

These terms of reference which were clearly spelled out by the sponsors, require some qualification:

- a. They are mostly centered around CODESRIA's activities and place only limited importance on the activities of member institutions.
- b. They do not mention the past conditions for social science research in Africa, particularly over the last ten years.

- c. They do not mention costs or finance so as to prevent this evaluation from becoming a mere cost-benefit analysis, which can be a very complex exercise, and not a very useful one.
- d. Finally, they are broadly stated so as to allow the evaluators to select the most appropriate methodology and to use their own experience in social science research.

The major objective which this exercise has set out to achieve is to answer as accurately as possible the questions put in the terms of reference as requested by the sponsors. There are nonetheless some principles which the author felt necessary to clarify.

1.1.3 Principles Underlying this Evaluation

The evaluation exercise undertaken here relies heavily on empirical facts considering the terms of reference put forward by the sponsors. In this respect, it calls very little upon some elaborate theoretical model, whose hypotheses and premises may be far remote from local conditions.

In order to increase the utility of this evaluation exercise in the author's view, it is important to highlight the underlying principles that will govern this exercise:

1. The first and most important principle is the respect by the evaluation exercise of CODESRIA's stated objectives, philosophy and fundamental orientations. These constitute both the framework within which the evaluation takes place and an important guideline for the exercise.
2. The second principle is the taking into account of the specific conditions and context of Africa when assessing CODESRIA's activities in social science research. This is based on the belief that economic, social and political conditions can have an important bearing on the level of importance as far as social science research is concerned.

3. The third principle which is related to the previous one is the relatively of norms and evaluation criteria. Due to different working environments and different facilities available in different places, there is a need to appreciate levels of performances in the light of the prevailing environment and working conditions. Thus, the use of quantitative parameters such as financial ratios, and other measures cannot as in other more advanced parts of the world be used solely to analyse CODESRIA's performances.

These principles which in the author's view are important, may be subject to discussion and scrutiny. Nonetheless they deserve mention so that approaches, discussions and conclusions are better understood later on. They can in no way constitute a justification or any shortcomings or weaknesses in CODESRIA's effectiveness.

1.1.4 Evaluation Methodology

The deliberate empirical orientation of this evaluation exercise required the adoption of an approach which is heavily based on the gathering of empirical evidence and information from the field. This required the choice of a sample of African research institutes and the use of an instrument for collecting the information.

With regard to the sample, it was agreed that the three appointed evaluators would talk directly to African research institutions and members of CODESRIA. The choice of these institutions was not made on the basis of any known statistical rule even though care was taken to have a broadly representative set of institutions in the sample. This part of the evaluation exercise (4) deals with West Francophone Africa and North Africa. This choice was made on the basis of the evaluator's language abilities and also knowledge of the area and contacts. Social science research institutions were selected from: Ivory Coast, Sénégal, Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt. Not all institutions in the sample were members of CODESRIA (see Appendix 1). Some were not members formally, but had close contacts with CODESRIA or had researchers closely associated with its activities. A total of 24 research institutions were visited by the author and their members were interviewed in July and in September 1984.

Regarding the collection of information, the three evaluators agreed to use a questionnaire based on the terms of reference put forward by the sponsors (see Appendix 2). This was the best way to guarantee some harmony and uniformity between the work of the three evaluators who were responsible for the different areas of Africa, and who could not communicate easily during the actual field work. Due to the heterogeneity of the area covered, the questionnaire used in this part of the exercise had to be presented in three different languages; French, English and Arabic (see Appendix 3).

For the countries and the institutions which could not be visited by the evaluators, questionnaires were mailed directly to them by the IDRC Head Office in Ottawa. Having not had any information, nor any access to these mailed questionnaires, their results could not be taken into account in this report.

Besides the primary information collected through interviews, other sources were used for the writing of this report. These were mainly CODESRIA's published documents (6) which proved to be a very valuable source of information about the Council. This was also the best way to assess the extent to which CODESRIA, African research institutions (members and non-members), and individual researchers perceive CODESRIA's activities in a similar manner. This latter approach constitutes in effect the backbone of this report.

1.1.5 Limitations of the Evaluation Exercise

The approach used here for the evaluation of CODESRIA is by no means the only one and may be subject to discussion. It has tried to remain as pragmatic as possible and uses the available information as much as possible.

If the task has not been performed always in the happiest way, it has to be assessed in the light of some of the constraints and limitations. Firstly, assessing an impact in the field of social science research is by no means an easy task particularly when the institution involved is of the nature of CODESRIA. Secondly, attributing an impact solely to the institution when so many other parameters exist simultaneously requires the isolation of this institution from the rest, making the task practically

impossible. Thirdly, the sheer magnitude of the task constitutes another major challenge as it is far from simple to evaluate an impact on a continent the size of Africa, and over a period of ten years.

Difficulties of a more practical nature constituting any field investigation carried out in several countries and in a limited period of time need no mentioning here. It is with these challenges in mind and the awareness of these difficulties that the evaluators have taken up this most delicate and yet highly rewarding task.

1.2 Social Science Research in Africa: Past Conditions and Current Issues

Following the importance of a first principle set earlier on, the author felt it necessary to draw a very brief outline of social science research in Africa, both from a historical perspective and in its current situation. This will allow us to assess in a better light the activities of CODESRIA over the last ten years.

1.2.1 Historical Perspective

Over the last two decades, the African political scene has been characterized by several factors, some of which appear to have been predominant. These include:

1. The post-independence era with its high hopes and drive to fight underdevelopment.
2. The increasing dependence of most countries on the advanced world for most vital ingredients for development. Often this meant that ties with former colonial powers were still intact if not stronger than in the past.
3. The sudden opening up of the continent to the ideas of the rest of the world after having been for decades simply a 'reservoir' of resources, namely human labour and raw materials.

These factors and other much less important ones were not without affecting the situation of social science research in Africa. First of all, on the eve of independence, social science teaching was negligible and research practically non-existent, having been the last of the colonial power's preoccupation. Wherever social science research existed, it was geared towards limited objectives often set in the metropolitan country and totally remote from the actual needs of the people of the country. Secondly, the post-colonial era characterized largely by governments eager to develop their countries in the quickest way possible so as to catch up with the advanced world, meant that the limited resources available were directed to projects with immediate and tangible results. In this respect, social science research stands very low on the list of priorities. Thirdly, the still strong ties which existed between African countries and former colonial powers and the attraction of development models prevailing in the developed world, both in the East and the West, meant that autonomous and endogenous social science research could not develop. Fourthly, the opening up of the African continent to ideas, models and theories from all parts of the world created several obediences and schools of thought. Regarding Africa's development path for example, CODESRIA identifies at least three major tendencies: the view of OAU, ECA and the Lagos Plan of Action, the view of the IMF and the World Bank, and the view inspired directly by Marxist theory. Finally, the existence of several views and tendencies meant that in many countries there existed two major options and hence two major groups. The first group of social scientists are those whose views are in conformity with those of the ruling power and whose preoccupation is with guiding the action of decision- and policy-makers and perhaps more often legitimizing these actions. The second group includes those who hold a critical attitude towards the action of the ruling power. This latter group often attracts suspicion and reaction from the authorities which often degenerate into a negative attitude towards social science in general.

The list of factors mentioned here is by no means exhaustive. Nonetheless, it does highlight certain phenomena that will help provide a better understanding of the environment which surrounds social science research in Africa and its current situation.

1.2.2 Social Science Research in Africa: Constraints and Opportunities

Social science research has known several constraints over the last decade. These constraints are of different natures: economic, political, social and cultural. The objective here is not to go into a deep analysis of all these factors. Rather, it is merely to outline some of the difficulties which the reader may not be acquainted with, and which led many African scholars and researchers to talk about a real crisis in the African social science.

From a political point of view, we mentioned some of the reasons which led to a negative attitude towards social science research and social science in general on the part of some public authorities. As pointed out by a number of scholars (6), many African Governments were frustrated by the inability of social science in helping to solve the problems of underdevelopment. Gradually, the attitude which dissociates between social science research and development started to prevail. This led inevitably to public support being totally withdrawn from social science training and research.

Whenever funds are allocated they are negligible, and geared mostly towards the administration of research rather than research projects. This was the source of a variety of difficulties met by social scientists in doing research: lack of infrastructure, low salaries which drive researchers to find other paid jobs, difficulties in getting published etc. The likelihood that research results are taken into account by policy-makers was even more remote. As a result, the prominence was given to foreign advice and expertise, even when local competence is up to requirements and is known to exist.

From the economic point of view, most African economies have been through difficulties and problems of various kinds. One of the sources often mentioned is the world economic crisis which indirectly affects various commodity markets, and is often a unique source of foreign currencies for many African countries. Inflationary effects both at home and abroad have produced difficulties of balance of payment for several countries in Africa who rely on imports not only for their machinery and equipment, but

also for their food. Finally, local difficulties resulting from falling productivity, particularly in agriculture, and high birth rates, make the economic crisis more severe than elsewhere.

As a result of these difficult economic conditions, governments are finding it difficult to allocate funds to research in general and to social science research in particular. Whenever a favourable attitude exists towards social science, token gestures are made by local authorities rather than proper allocation of budgets. When it comes to funds in foreign currencies, the situation gets even worse, and often very stringent rules and regulations are set, making it virtually impossible for social science research to have programmes requiring foreign exchange. Inflation on the home markets, often characterized as imported, has eaten up researchers' income, and again compelling them to find alternative sources of income, and to deal much less with their research interests.

From the socio-cultural point of view, social science suffers from the low status which it acquired in the eyes of not only public authorities but also from other fellow academics in other disciplines and gradually from the rest of the population. Thus, the old debate between exact and social science is very much alive in many African academic circles, and it appears that the so-called exact science is winning the battle. In people's eyes, social science does not produce anything tangible and immediate. Consequently, they are pushing their offspring to 'keep away' from social science disciplines and choose more lucrative disciplines, e.g., medical and law studies. This can only contribute to increasing frustrations and weaknesses of social scientists, and forcing them to lose interest in research. Unable to get funds for research or sometimes just to live decently, driven to the bottom of the social hierarchy, social science researchers and social scientists in general are going through a 'crisis of identity' doubting the usefulness of their role in society.

The crisis of identity results also from the inability of what is called 'orthodox social science' to solve African problems such as stagnation, poverty and underdevelopment and its inability to explain how African societies function. Imported methodologies and approaches often acquired after long and painful studies and research

are gradually being questioned. And yet, endogenous methodologies are still to be devised and tried to see their actual effect and their effectiveness. Reactions to this alienation are varied and multiple: certain groups try to adapt these imported social sciences to suit the African conditions and specificities. Others reject them as being totally unsuitable and urge for the search of new methods and approaches, by going deep into African values, norms and cultural heritages so that a knowledge better understood by local populations can be generated. These two kinds of attitudes are also found among non-African social scientists (7).

The other factors which are likely to have an impact on social science research relate to certain aspects of the African continent. The size of the continent makes it a heterogeneous place where communication is difficult between the various countries. This is due both to physical factors and also linguistic barriers. The exchange of views, ideas and experiences remains, therefore, relatively limited between African scholars and researchers. The variety of political regimes and systems and the instability of some of these contribute to increase uncertainty.

2. IMPACT OF CODESRIA IN MOBILIZING RESOURCES AND SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

The impact of CODESRIA's activities in this area are assessed through its achievements in mobilizing financial, human and material resources.

2.1 Mobilization of Financial Resources

Broadly speaking, there are two kinds of financial resources that have been used over the last decade: resources generated internally, and resources generated from outside the African continents.

External financial resources are made of contributions from international funding agencies and contributions from UN agencies. The financial statements of CODESRIA during the period 1950 -1983 show that:

- the major source of funds remains the international funding agencies, the most consistent ones being IDRC, SIDA/SAREC and the Ford Foundation.
- CODESRIA has been relatively successful in generating these kinds of funds as their share of total budget has been increasing steadily over recent years reaching 92.5% in 1981.
- UN agencies' share comes in the second position with a rapid increase in absolute terms from about 12 million CFA francs in 1980 to approximately 94.5 million in 1983.
- In global terms, external funds have increased threefold in the 1980-1983 period.

Internal funds are those generated from within the African continent. They include three major sources: African Government grants, membership fees and revenue from sales of publications, consultancy fees, etc. The financial statements of CODESRIA for the same period (1980-1983) show that:

- CODESRIA has had much less success in generating funds from African Governments; from 4.5% of total budget in 1980, this share has decreased to less than 1% in 1983.
- Similarly, membership fees during the entire period have remained at a relatively negligible level of less than 1% of total budget even if in absolute terms they have increased threefold over the period.
- Sales of publications contribution remains also relatively low at less than 1% of total budget except for the year 1982, where it went as high as 3.4%.
- Finally, other sources of funds, primarily bank interests, have not been a negligible source of funds in spite of their irregularity varying between 1% and 3% approximately of total budget.

Financial resources mentioned so far are those resources transferred to CODESRIA's accounts and that were accounted for in its regular budget. Other indirect financial contributions generated mostly from within the African continent exist and do not appear in CODESRIA's financial statements. These include expenses taken care of by member institutions and other institutions during the organization of scientific events, e.g., seminars, conferences, workshops, etc. Among these expenses, we can include air tickets, hotel expenses, local researchers' salaries and other minor

expenses. Detailed information about the importance of this kind of contribution is not mentioned in CODESRIA's published documents and members of staff of CODESRIA acknowledge the difficulty of giving an estimate of this kind of financial support.

The questionnaire results show that resources provided to CODESRIA by member institutions in particular, remain relatively limited, perhaps due to the fact that the institutions contacted in the survey participated only modestly in the events organized by CODESRIA. Regarding the payment of membership fees in particular, member institutions acknowledge themselves their poor performance in paying them, hence their relatively low contribution. Most of them stressed the fact that it is not through the lack of support to the Council, but rather the various obstacles they meet in trying to pay their fees, often prevent them from doing so. The obstacles often referred to are:

- tight exchange control regulations and procedures,
- local accounting procedures which do not allow to properly account for these kinds of expenditures in the institutions' budgets,
- complicated and lengthy local bureaucratic procedures particularly banking procedures, and
- finally, low budgets which in some cases did not allow to spare some money for paying these fees.

The first obstacle appears to be the predominant one and also the most unlikely to be overcome in the near future.

We will see later on that these same obstacles exist when it comes to paying subscription to CODESRIA's publications, and in particular the first and the third obstacles.

2.2 Mobilizing Human Resources

Human resources are constituted primarily of social science researchers and scholars. The other type of human resources includes secretarial and administrative personnel who, in spite of their vital role for research are sometimes neglected. CODESRIA mobilizes human resources mainly through its various scientific events, i.e., conferences, seminars and workshops and through its working groups.

In its main objective, CODESRIA states clearly that it aims at activating "concerned African social scientists and research institutes" to undertake research. CODESRIA relies thus on a high level of motivation on the part of African researchers taking part in its activities.

First of all, with regards to working groups, CODESRIA published documents giving ample information regarding the functioning of these groups, the topics selected and some idea of the size of the groups. However, the number of groups which have been set up and those which have completed their work over the last ten years are not mentioned. In 1988, four working groups appear to be still functioning with an average 20 researchers in each group. The questionnaire results show that an average of three researchers per member institution have ever participated in these working groups. If we take this as relatively representative, the current level of membership of 73 institutions gives a total of 259 researchers having ever participated in these groups. It must be noted that a certain number of researchers belonging to non-member institutions have also taken part in these working groups. Working groups have known certain difficulties which we shall come back to later, and which can explain why participation has not been higher.

Secondly, with regards to participation to CODESRIA's conferences and seminars, published documents (8) show that CODESRIA held approximately 30 events of this kind in 1973-1988 period either on its own or jointly with other institutions. A total of 436 participants appear to have taken part in these various events which represents slightly less number of researchers being associated: many of them have taken part several times in these events. Considering the difficulties inherent to the African continent, particularly when it comes to getting people together from various parts, this is quite an achievement.

The questionnaire results show that institution's help to CODESRIA in terms of material resources has been relatively limited at a sub-regional level due perhaps to some extent on the centralization of its activities at its headquarters in Dakar.

2.3 Mobilizing Support

Dissociating between the mobilization of resources and the mobilization of support may sound artificial and can be questioned. Contributions in terms of resources constitutes in itself the materialization of support. Support is seen here as recognition and also moral support, irrespective of whether it brings resources or not to CODESRIA.

In global terms CODESRIA appears to have managed to mobilize a great deal of support for its activities both from African and non-African organizations. This support has often materialized in terms of the organization of joint activities, and the existence of close contacts and various forms of exchange; visits, documents, etc. Within the African continent, CODESRIA appears to have had joint activities and established some form of cooperation with regional organizations such as OAU (Organization of African Unity), ECA (Economic Council of Africa) and ARCT (African Regional Centre for Technology). Cooperation exists also with other Pan-African organizations such as AAPS (The African Association of Political Scientists), AAWORD (The African Association of Women for Research and Development) and ACSA (The African Council of Sociologists and Anthropologists), to name only a few. Outside the African continent, CODESRIA has had in particular support from UNESCO with whom several joint activities and other forms of exchange have been undertaken. To a lesser extent, support has come from other UN Agencies such as UNITAR/UNU, FAO and UNDP. Finally, cooperation exists also with other sister organizations such as AICARDES, CLACSO, ADIPA and EADI. All this is described in great details in CODESRIA's published documents and brochures (9).

At a sub-regional level, the questionnaire results show that most institutions contacted give moral support to CODESRIA and identify with its objectives and aims. The necessity of an institution such as CODESRIA with its stated objectives and aims is often stressed by most respondents. In this respect, no difference appears to exist between member and non-member institutions. The direct usefulness of CODESRIA in helping the institutions achieve their objectives varies from one institution to the other. Helping to identify African competences, providing a platform for the necessary contacts, providing a valuable source of information on the work and preoccupation of

African researchers are some of the ways in which CODESRIA has been useful in the past to various institutions. Others could not give one particular type of help but simply stated it has been generally useful. On the whole, no institution sees major incompatibilities between its own objectives and those of CODESRIA. All member institutions see their objectives as perfectly compatible with CODESRIA's objectives. Among the non-member institutions, a limited number see their objectives different from CODESRIA's while others do not see incompatibilities in the objectives but rather in the approach and methods. This latter group constitutes a minority.

2.4 Summary

CODESRIA has undeniably been relatively successful in mobilizing resources, particularly of the financial kind, from outside the African continent. Similarly, it has been successful in gaining support and gradual recognition from international and reputable organizations. Within the African continent, it has been less successful in mobilizing financial and material resources, partly due to the fact that foreign currency shortages and local bureaucratic procedures have made it difficult for institutions to pay their membership fees and make other kinds of contributions. Both at a Pan-African and sub-regional level, CODESRIA appears to have been able to mobilize a great deal of support for its activities and for social science research, and its role and usefulness are stressed by most researchers and research institutions.

In spite of its limited material contributions to research institutions, CODESRIA is seen by the majority as useful, namely as a source of information on African social science research and researchers, which would have otherwise been very difficult to obtain.

Although at times the methods and approaches may differ, on the whole there are no incompatibilities between CODESRIA's objectives and those of the member and non-member research institutions.

3. THE CONTRIBUTION AND ROLE OF CODESRIA IN SUPPORT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN AFRICA

Besides mobilizing resources and support for social science research, one of CODESRIA's tasks is to coordinate between African research institutions and contribute to enhance the status of social science research in Africa in general.

3.1 CODESRIA's Contribution and Role in Coordinating Research in Africa

CODESRIA has used various methods to coordinate research in Africa, the most important ones being:

- the setting up of priority areas in social science research for Africa,
- the setting up of working groups on a Pan-African level, and,
- the encouragement of researchers' Pan-African perspective through exchange, contacts and comparative studies.

3.1.1 Setting Priority Areas

In its charter, CODESRIA has set for itself quite a challenging task and set of objectives, namely: to encourage a research perspective which is more relevant to the needs of African people and which would challenge existing theories seen as orthodox and inefficient for African development. This requires, amongst other things, the definition of priority research themes. These themes, whose number has been reduced over the years, are defined at the level of the Executive Committee and are continuously revised. They are then circulated to the various research institutions in Africa and they are used as a basis for establishing the working groups. The evaluation exercise raised the question of their usefulness and impact on research done by the various African research institutions.

The questionnaire results show that a wide spectrum of viewpoints exists regarding CODESRIA's research priority themes. The most favourable ones say they reflect to a large extent the preoccupations of the research institution and find them useful partly as a source of inspiration for defining their own research themes. Those who do not

find them useful either have their own priority areas or make some critical comments on the quality of these themes. The predominant view in this respect is that they are too broad and may need to be defined more concisely. In one or two cases, respondents suggested other themes which should be added to the existing list (10). Others suggested that African Governments should be involved in the definition of these research priority areas. Some individual researchers did not know CODESRIA's research priority themes which indicates that they may not adequately reach all people concerned. Due to the procedure used in defining these research themes, participation in their definition on the part of non-member institutions and individual researchers at sub-regional level appears to be relatively limited.

The question of defining research priority themes at a sub-regional level raises divergent viewpoints. In the opinion of some of CODESRIA's Executive Committee members, these research themes reflect and constitute a mixture of both sub-regional and Pan-African preoccupations. In the previous list of priority areas, the special problems of landlocked countries was set up as a priority research theme reflecting thus a sub-regional preoccupation (see note 1). The current list of research priority areas which was streamlined to nine areas (11) appears to have a definite Pan-African orientation. This resulted from CODESRIA's realization that it did not have the means to cater to a wide spectrum of research priorities and the need to "fundamentally redefine the areas themselves".

Many respondents asked about the issue appear to opt either for both orientations -- sub-regional and Pan-African -- or only the former. Others argue that splitting between sub-regional and Pan-African is a 'false issue' arguing that the nature of research areas which reflects current African preoccupations will determine whether it is a sub-regional or a Pan-African theme. Finally, the third opinion which opts for keeping the Pan-African perspective argues that this is the best way to encourage comparative studies and exchange between African research institutions and individual researchers. Those who opt for a deliberate sub-regional orientation appear to invoke practical reasons such as overcoming the communication problems that emerge when the African continent is taken as a whole.

3.2 The Setting up of Working Groups

The setting of Multinational Working Groups (MWG) as mentioned in CODESRIA's prospectus, constitutes one of its prime activities. These groups made up of "researchers from different regions and disciplines" are seen as "extremely important as an instrument for mobilizing African social scientists from different geographical, linguistic regions and to work on an interdisciplinary basis".

These working groups which work on CODESRIA's research priorities, are led by a coordinator selected by CODESRIA whose task is to prepare a state of the art paper on a particular theme, and to identify the research problems related to that particular area. During the period in which the actual research is carried out, the role of the coordinator is to harmonize and closely monitor the work in collaboration with CODESRIA and researchers of the respective institutes.

The questionnaire results show that the formula and principle of the working groups are approved by the majority of the institutions and individual researchers contacted. It is also the opinion of the majority that these groups did not perform very well and could have done better. CODESRIA itself realized in its last report on activities (see note 2) that it "cannot realistically undertake research through working groups in such a large number of areas", that it needed to change its philosophy concerning coordinators, and that the size of the working groups was far too big.

The views of research institutes and individual researchers reflect to a large extent CODESRIA's attitude and preoccupations regarding these groups. According to these views, working groups have been ineffective as a result of various categories of problems:

- a) The first category relates to some of the principles employed:
 - The selection of group members and coordinators in particular was done on a 'volunteer' basis which does not necessarily bring the best researchers nor the most motivated ones. The other forms of identifying researchers which use the personal contacts basis may also be a source of problems if some fundamental criteria are not fulfilled in the first place. Some institutions argue that institutions should be more involved in the selection process.

- The principle of homogeneity between African researchers' methods and approaches, where in fact African institutions and individuals are heterogeneous. This makes the task of coordination, particularly from a distance, quite complex.
 - The principle of interdisciplinarity in the view of some respondents is not very practical when it comes to coordinating between several groups from several countries in Africa.
- b) The second category of problems relates to the way these groups have been functioning.
- Members of the working groups had sometimes other tasks and responsibilities in their own countries, or simply were involved in other research projects. This resulted in lack of sufficient attention paid to the working group.
 - The sheer size of the working group often constituted a source of problems of keeping all the people closely in touch with each other.
 - Coordination through distant communication was also difficult to implement considering the particularly serious communication problems inherent to the African context. These are made even worse when group members are from the 'four corners' of the continent.
 - The preparatory work vital in this kind of research appears to have been insufficiently done according to the opinion of some researchers. This is in addition to the insufficient thinking on the topic area.
- c) The third category of problems relates to the way these groups were financed.
- Due to inevitable financial constraints on CODESRIA, financing of these groups appears to have been inadequate. For instance, the salaries of the researchers were not included in the budget. Members of the groups believe they should receive salaries while doing the job.
 - The money allocated to do the work is sometimes seen as insufficient considering the various costs which the researcher has to incur, while doing the field work.
 - Contributions from institutions where the research is conducted remain relatively limited, and do not meet the requirements of the research project.

These are some of the reasons put forward by the various institutions and individual researchers who at times were past members of CODESRIA's working groups. The performances achieved were substantially below requirements and CODESRIA appears to be well aware of the situation. Currently, major steps are taken to improve the functioning and the setting up of these working groups (see note 2).

The recent measures taken, as mentioned in the 1983 report on CODESRIA's activities include:

- The choice of coordinators: CODESRIA has now adopted a policy of having full-time coordinators within the research institutes, being paid from the funds of the particular research program. The era of "voluntarism" is therefore over. No doubt, this will increase coordinators' motivation and effectiveness in monitoring the work.
- The selection of members of the working groups: the emphasis appears to have now shifted away from the older established researchers involved simultaneously in numerous research projects, to younger and more committed researchers.
- The size of the working groups: to overcome the coordination and communication problems, CODESRIA is now forming smaller groups of no more than 10 to 12 individuals who are provided with background information concerning the particular research project and a state-of-the-art paper prepared by one of the coordinators.

No doubt these measures will contribute to improving the functioning of these working groups. However, sustained effort is still needed in order to deal with the remaining problems and to solve them gradually. A concerted effort between CODESRIA, research institutes and individual researchers from past and current working groups is needed in this respect.

3.3 Encouraging Researchers' Pan-African Perspective and Outlook

In its tenth anniversary brochure, CODESRIA points to an important "by-product" of its activities which is "the process whereby African researchers slowly began to acquire a much wider perspective of development problems beyond the traditional and narrow national outlook" (see note 10). This is believed to be contributing to the gradual

emergence of scientific generalizations on a continental level. The wider Pan-African perspective acquired by African researchers will enable them to compare the different national experiences relating to the different aspects of development.

In spite of the fact that the association of research institutions with CODESRIA did not directly help them to mobilize resources, the respondents overwhelmingly agreed that it has helped their members to acquire a Pan-African perspective of national issues. At the same time, the respondents also held the view that it had helped both the institutions and the individual researchers increase their regional and international contacts and exchanges. Whenever this was not the case, it happens that the institution was older than CODESRIA and had already established international and regional contacts and exchanges. Nonetheless, some respondents argue that a lot more still needs to be done in this area.

3.4 CODESRIA's Role in Legitimizing Social Science Research and in Enhancing its Status

In its various brochures, prospectus and reports, CODESRIA praises itself for having contributed to legitimize social science research through its own role and activities. This has been achieved through various means. In addition to closely collaborating with governmental organizations such as ECA, OAU, etc., CODESRIA started involving policy-makers from African Governments in its activities. Consequently, several Ministers from various African countries have attended its seminars and conferences and have sometimes made opening speeches. Moreover, the views of "critical social science" which CODESRIA helped catalyse through its 'Resistance Group', began to spread to Government and official circles which then became very critical of what is called "conventional social science". Furthermore, CODESRIA adds that it made it possible for African researchers to discuss social science issues in countries where it is normally not allowed thus contributing to increase their recognition, legitimacy and status (12).

The questionnaire results show that the general opinion is that CODESRIA has made a significant contribution towards legitimizing social science research in Africa and towards strengthening its status. This was achieved primarily through its publications and also through the various events, seminars, round tables and conferences where the participation of policy-makers is seen to be a key factor. However, it appears to have been more successful in certain countries more than in others. Various factors determine this success, namely: the social and political system prevailing in that country, the importance of the social science community, and the length of time in which social science research has been in existence in that country. The attitude of public authorities towards social science prevailing in the country is also of importance. Consequently, CODESRIA has scope for improving its action in this area, particularly by concentrating its effort on countries where social science research is relatively new and where the prevailing attitude towards social science is less favourable. Some respondents point to the fact that in the African context, the mere fact that a social scientist can undertake research in his own country on problems of his country and publish his results constitutes a big step towards legitimization, and a great achievement.

Among the people who said it has not made any contribution in this sense, some argued that the question of legitimation is purely a national issue requiring some form of national consensus, while others put forward the fact that social science research was already legitimate and did not need CODESRIA's intervention.

3.5 Summary

CODESRIA's contribution towards social science research in Africa has undoubtedly been significant in the last decade. This was made possible by the various roles it played and actions it took.

The roles it played were as it states in its publications numerous:

- it provided an institutional framework and a focal point where the views of African researchers be exchanged;

- it played the role of a coordinator between African institutions and individual researchers;
- it played a role as a data bank and information centre on African researchers and research institutions in a continent where information is difficult to acquire and communication problems exist; and,
- it played a role as a link institution between African research institutions and other institutions and researchers from Latin America, Europe and the Arab world.

The actions it took have had various levels of impact:

- the research priority areas defined by CODESRIA are found useful when looking at Pan-African issues, but need to be sub-regional when sub-regional issues are raised. They may need to be defined more concisely involving research institutions perhaps to a greater extent;
- the working groups which were found to be useful and worth encouraging as a formula, were recognized as having several problems which made them perform inadequately. The recent improvements appear to be on the right path and need carrying further;
- the widening of the perspective of African researchers to a Pan-African level has undeniably been successful and need encouraging further; and
- finally, CODESRIA's actions toward legitimizing social science research is seen as a positive one; the efforts should be concentrated in countries where social science research is denied any form of existence or recognition.

4. CODESRIA'S EFFECTIVENESS IN PROMOTING RESEARCH AND TRAINING OVER THE LAST TEN YEARS

As mentioned in the introduction of this report, one of CODESRIA's objectives spelt out in its Charter is "to promote research and training activities in the fields of economic and social development in Africa...". The question of its effectiveness on both grounds, research and training, in the last ten years will be looked at in depth here.

4.1 CODESRIA's Effectiveness in Promoting Research

In the brochures issued from 1976 onwards, CODESRIA appears to have adopted a more active attitude towards promoting research in Africa when it states that "CODESRIA's main objective is to activate concerned African social scientists to undertake fundamental as well as problem-oriented research in the field of development from the perspective which is more relevant to the needs of the African people..." (see note 2). However, it stresses that it is a secretariat and a coordinating body and not a research institute. This section will look at CODESRIA's activities in promoting research either through direct support to individual researchers through the initiation of research projects within institutions or through the organization of scientific events associating in one form or another these institutions. It will also look at CODESRIA's contribution to institution-building and development.

4.1.1 CODESRIA's Direct Support to Individual Researchers and Research Projects

In principle, direct support to individual researchers is not part of CODESRIA's stated objectives or policy. It is mainly a coordinating body in social science research and it has opted for the working groups formula to promote social science research in Africa. Its action towards individual researchers is therefore through working groups. CODESRIA's financial statements show that funds allocated to working groups coordinators and specialists have decreased sharply in 1981 but since then have been on the increase in absolute terms with a big jump in 1983. Similarly, funds allocated to research projects have followed a similar pattern over the last four years, with a sharp decrease in 1981 and a sharp increase in 1983. In spite of the significant progress made particularly in 1983, they remain relatively modest if for instance the funds allocated to personnel are taken into account. However, with the new policy of appointing two coordinators for each working group and paying them from the particular research programme, there will likely be a dramatic increase in funds allocated for research in the coming years, particularly if "seed money" allocated to research projects is also increased with better results.

On the whole, CODESRIA appears to have mobilized since 1973 approximately 650 African researchers through research groups, conferences and workshops held in 12 different African countries (see note 10). In the available published data, it is estimated that 260 researchers have taken part in CODESRIA's working groups. These are also the researchers who have received some support, financial and otherwise, to do research during this first decade of CODESRIA's life. Following CODESRIA's decision to both reduce the number of research priority themes and reduce the size of the working groups, the average number of researchers receiving direct support in doing research through working groups is likely to decrease in the future.

The questionnaire results show that as mentioned earlier, at the sub-regional level the number of researchers having benefitted from CODESRIA's support through working groups may be below average. This may require more effort on the part of CODESRIA in the region particularly in the area of North Africa. With respect to the problems experienced by working groups stated earlier, it is clear that the rate of completion of research projects appears to be below requirements in the last decade.

4.1.2 CODESRIA's Indirect Support to Promoting Research

The other methods used by CODESRIA to promote research are much less direct. This is achieved mostly through the wide circulation of CODESRIA's research priority areas amongst African research institutions who can influence the choice of research topics. It is also achieved through the participation of research institutions and individual researchers in CODESRIA's scientific events: conferences, seminars and workshops. Finally, it is done through the opportunities which are given to African researchers to publish in CODESRIA's publications.

The questionnaire results show that many research projects in both member and non-member institutions have been initiated within priority areas as defined by CODESRIA. However, only a limited number resulted from the direct influence of these research priority areas. This is an indication that CODESRIA's choice of research priority themes reflects to a great extent the preoccupations of research institutions on one hand and that they are defined widely enough to incorporate the majority of research topics on the other.

Regarding the participation of African researchers to the various events sponsored by CODESRIA, the Council's publications lists about 37 seminars, workshops and conferences organized by CODESRIA either solely or jointly with another institution in the 1973-1983 period. The bulk of these events (about 20) were held at CODESRIA's headquarters in Dakar. Only four scientific events were held in countries of the sub-region covered by this part of the evaluation exercise. The number of papers presented at these various events by African researchers indicates that during the last decade more than 460 researchers were associated with these events at a Pan-African level. The questionnaire results show that most research institutes in the sample were invited to CODESRIA's seminars, workshops and conferences, even when they were not associated to the organization of the event in one way or another.

One of the important methods used to promote research remains undoubtedly the opportunity given to African researchers to publish their research results and papers. The papers of a great many researchers in Africa find difficulties in being published primarily because of the limited number of journals that are published regularly enough to be seriously considered. This often constitutes a source of discouragement and can be a serious obstacle to the progress of social science research. This eventuality of getting published in one of CODESRIA's journals or a working paper or even in a book form, constitutes an important asset in CODESRIA's hands to promote research. In this respect, CODESRIA has made quite a significant contribution in getting African researchers' work published: in the last decade it has managed to publish 4 books, 6 occasional papers and 34 working papers, while approximately 460 unpublished papers were produced.

4.1.3 CODESRIA's Role and Contributions to Institutions' Development

One of the means used by CODESRIA to achieve its objectives of promoting research in Africa is through the assistance it provides to other institutions involved in social science research in Africa. In the past ten years this help has taken various forms, which are described in CODESRIA's brochures. According to the Council, it has taken the form of participation in the formulation of institutions or organizations: "One of CODESRIA's objectives is to encourage the formation of regional and

sub-regional associations/organizations in the field of social science..." (see note 10). In this respect it has participated in the formation of SAUSSC (South Africa University Social Science Conference) in Lusaka in 1978 and of OSSREA (Organization of Social Researchers for Easter Africa) in Addis Ababa in 1980. Currently, it is helping to set up ZIDS, the Zimbabwean Institute of Development Studies. CODESRIA's help can also take the form of participation in the strengthening of institutions by providing material and moral support. Thus it has provided financial support to both SAUSSC and OSSREA and also to WIN (Women in Nigeria). Moreover it has provided offices, diplomatic coverage and various secretarial services to AAWORD (The African Association of Women for Research and Development).

The questionnaire results show that CODESRIA's role in starting research institutions or other associations in the sub-region remains relatively limited. This may be due to the fact that the sub-region is relatively well-endowed in research institutions and associations and the need of new ones is less urgent than in other parts of Africa. However, CODESRIA appears to have had a greater impact in the area of strengthening existing research institutions through measures which include developing Pan-African perspectives and international relations of the institutions, providing a useful data base on African researchers, research institutions and projects, helping to fight brain drain by integrating researchers into Pan-African working groups, etc. Half of the institutions sampled appeared not to need any form of strengthening from CODESRIA or to have benefitted from any form of contribution from CODESRIA. CODESRIA's action could be more effective if some form of feedback system was set up and closer contacts were established. This would allow for a better definition and understanding of the actual needs of the research institutions.

4.2 CODESRIA's Effectiveness in Promoting Training

As mentioned in its Charter, training is an integral part of CODESRIA's objectives, tasks and preoccupations. Looking at its own declarations, it appears that CODESRIA has taken indirect action in the area of training through its journals and publications, through its contacts and collaborations, and finally, through the various scientific events it has held. Thus, in its tenth anniversary brochure, it declares

that "Publications of research findings of the groups are distributed to member institutes, university libraries, bookshops and to scholars as teaching materials and as a contribution to on-going research and debate". This wide circulation of its publications to places directly related to training will hopefully have some influence on both students and teachers. One of the nine priority areas selected by CODESRIA: "Education, Skill formation and Development in Africa" shows its concern in looking closely at training problems and issues. Similarly, CODESRIA has a number of strong collaborative relationships with African research institutes which specialize in training such as IDEP (African Institute for Economic Development and Planning), ACI (African Cultural Institute), ITRSD (Institute for Training and Research on Social Development), ATRCAD (African Training and Research Centre in Administration for Development) and ARCT (African Regional Centre of Technology). In June 1983, CODESRIA was fully associated with a regional consultative meeting organized by UNESCO/BREDA on the "Development of Cooperation in Higher Education".

CODESRIA's concern over training is also found in its future programmes and actions. In 1985 (March) a programme is to be launched on the 'Utilization of Social Science in Teaching and Policy Formulation in Africa'. Similarly, CODESRIA states that it is "undertaking a review of post-graduate social science programmes with the intention of encouraging the establishment of more relevant African and problem-oriented graduate programmes regionalized in selected African universities".

In practice, the field investigation shows that in spite of this considerable effort, there are many shortcomings which appear to have reduced CODESRIA's action in the area of training. For example, CODESRIA's direct intervention in setting up post-graduate programmes or in strengthening existing ones appears to have been very limited in the sub-region. Similarly, a relatively limited number of postgraduate students appear to have had the direct support of CODESRIA in doing their thesis work through grants or any other form of financial support. The only form of support which students appear to have benefitted from remains the access to CODESRIA's journals and other published documents. This explains to some extent why research topics chosen by post-graduate students for their thesis coincide with CODESRIA's research priority areas.

While most respondents agree that CODESRIA's actions regarding training could have been better, many argue that in this first stage of its life CODESRIA could not possibly have dealt with research and training at the same time, particularly in the context of African conditions, limited experience, and non-availability of sufficient funds. Others argue that with all the difficulties and problems that social science research is going through currently in Africa, and which need the concentration of its effort in contributing to solve them, that training should not be one of the main preoccupations of CODESRIA at this stage of its life. Finally, others think that CODESRIA should not be concerned with training at all, suggesting that another more specialized institution should do it at a Pan-African level.

4.3 Summary

CODESRIA has undoubtedly made a remarkable effort to promote research and training in Africa through a variety of actions which are intended to have a direct and indirect impact on both research and training. This effort has, however, often met difficulties and problems specific to African conditions which have reduced its effectiveness.

Direct support to African researchers and research projects through working groups was made less effective by the host of problems met by working groups. Support through the association of African researchers and scholars to various events appear to have been more effective and particularly through the possibility given to them to publish their work and papers. The latter remains one of the most important incentives to research, particularly in the context of the difficulty known in Africa to "getting published". Finally, support to research through institution building and support appears to have been limited in the sub-region, namely as a result of the better endowment of this area in terms of research institutions compared to other parts of Africa.

CODESRIA's activities in the area of training have had a limited effect on training directly, while indirectly this effect remains significant, but difficult to assess accurately.

5. IMPACT OF CODESRIA ON THE DISSEMINATION OF RESEARCH RESULTS

One of the means used by CODESRIA to achieve its objectives is the dissemination of basic information and research results through an extensive network of publications as stipulated in its brochure (see note 10). In this respect, CODESRIA has produced a certain number of publications over the last ten years. These publications are viewed as the most appropriate vehicle to disseminate research results to all parts of the African continent.

In the 1973-1983 period, a quick counting shows that CODESRIA has produced about seven books, 28 numbers of Africa Development (8 volumes), 28 issues of Africana Newsletter, eight other publications and several working papers, occasional papers, and special publications. Through this relatively important mass of publications, CODESRIA aims at two important objectives. The first one is to provide an outlet for public debate on development problems and the second is to contribute to the creation of a network of researchers and to strengthening the social science community (see note 10). These publications appear to have been published regularly since their birth and particularly Africa Development and Africana Newsletter. This in itself represents quite an important achievement in an African context where publications are known to be short-lived or very irregularly issued. This effort on its part deserves praises, particularly when looking at the relatively modest printing equipment and personnel working at their printing section in Dakar.

The questionnaire results show that the dissemination of research results through its publications has been particularly effective. Most institutions and individual researchers contacted appear to have received CODESRIA's publications relatively regularly. The regularity of CODESRIA's publications is particularly stressed by most respondents. Given the difficulties in communication which characterize the African continent, CODESRIA clearly deserves credit for this achievement. The mode of acquisition of CODESRIA's publications appears to differ from one institution to the other and from one researcher to the other. In most cases, these publications are acquired either through annual subscription or through exchange schemes arranged between CODESRIA and these institutions. The latter constitutes one way of overcoming the everlasting problem of transferring money abroad which characterizes many African countries. CODESRIA has also overcome this obstacle by sending its publications free of charge.

Regarding the use of CODESRIA's publications, they appear to be used relatively extensively by researchers in various ways: as a source of information on social science research in other parts of Africa, as a source of bibliographical references on African work in social science, as a way of finding out "the state of the art" on some issues and questions regarding social science in Africa, and in some instances as a source of inspiration for making inaugural speeches in official and governmental circles. However, their direct use for training appears to have been relatively limited. Although half of the respondents attested to using them indirectly as reading material and as a source of inspiration for their lectures and conferences, only half of the institutions in the sample have training as a component of their current activities. Some respondents, particularly in West Francophone Africa found that the predominance of the English language in CODESRIA's publications seriously restricted their use by non-English speaking scholars and researchers.

In spite of these achievements, the dissemination of research results could have been better if it was not for a number of problems that plague CODESRIA's publications. These relate to weaknesses of the contents of the publications, to the printing of the publications, and finally, to the dissemination itself. First of all, the contents of CODESRIA's publications have not suffered like other publications in Africa from the lack of material. On the contrary, it appears to have more material, articles, papers, reports, etc. sent by various research institutions and individual researchers from various parts of Africa and from elsewhere than it can handle. The selection among these articles appears to constitute an ongoing concern of CODESRIA, as there is no permanent body at its head office which can work out an adequate selection policy and procedure. This has sometimes led to the inclusion of work which was considered to be below the standards set by the social sciences in Africa.

Secondly, with respect to printing, the equipment used was not originally intended to handle this type of work and in this quantity. It remains very modest and inadequate for CODESRIA's volume of work and the standards it wants to achieve in terms of the quality of its publications. More modern equipment could help a great deal in this respect. At the same time, its personnel in the printing section are not professionals. They are often recruited to do this work with qualifications for other

much less specialized functions. Added to that are the usual problems characterizing the African environment of supply and maintenance of equipment, spare parts and consumables supply, etc. On top of affecting the quality of the publications, these factors also lead to higher costs of publications when sales are already insufficient to cover costs. As a result, CODESRIA finds itself indirectly subsidizing the printing of its publications.

Thirdly, regarding dissemination itself, there are two categories of problems: those which are internal to CODESRIA, and those which relate to the environment and the functioning of the research institutions. In the first category, we can include the absence of professionals performing this task. The current person in charge who is hard-working and deserves credit for his dedication, and who has five years experience which have taught him a great deal in this field, has had no formal training in this area. Due to the limited personnel in the publication section, a proper market study which would have helped to work out an adequate dissemination and distribution policy, has not been undertaken. In the second category of problems, the existence of two working languages, French and English, appears to constitute a source of difficulty, bearing in mind the fact that CODESRIA's publications, particularly its journal, use predominantly English (the figure of 80% is put forward). CODESRIA's objective of producing systematically all its publications in two languages has met serious funding problems in spite of not being a secretarial activity. Finally, dissemination meets other obstacles pertaining to the internal politics of research institutions. In several instances, CODESRIA's publications are kept exclusively for the use of one person or a limited group of people and away from the other members of the institution.

5.1 Summary

CODESRIA's action in disseminating research results through its publications remains perhaps one of the most effective actions undertaken so far by the Council.

Its publications are characterized by their variety, their number, and particularly by their regularity which in the African context constitutes a major achievement.

Even if the direct use of these publications for training remains relatively limited, their indirect influence on training and particularly on research activities, appears to be quite significant.

The low subscription rate by African researchers and research institutions resulting from foreign currency and transfer of money problems, has not deterred CODESRIA from sending it to numerous institutions and individuals through an exchange scheme or simply free of charge and with no other obligation.

CODESRIA is aware of the fact that the internal and external problems will have to be solved before its achievement in this area can be more significant.

6. THE EFFECT OF THE EMERGENCE OF SUB-REGIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE GROUPS

As mentioned in its tenth anniversary brochure, "One of CODESRIA's objectives is to encourage the formation of regional and sub-regional associations/organizations in the field of Social Science and to collaborate with existing ones".

Two categories of social science groups appear to have emerged in the last decade: the first category includes groups which operate at a Pan-African level in one specific area of social science, e.g.: AAPS (African Association of Political Science) and AAWORD (African Association of Women for Research and Development). The second category includes proper sub-regional social science groups such as SAUSSC (Southern Africa University Social Science Conference) and OSSREA (Organization of Social Science Research for Eastern Africa).

CODESRIA appears to have ties with both kinds of groups. The existence of these groups raises several issues regarding their impact on CODESRIA's activities and in particular, their impact on social science research in Africa.

6.1 Relationship between CODESRIA and Sub-regional Research Groups in Africa

In CODESRIA's own words, it has participated in the formation of the two major sub-regional research groups: SAUSSC in South Africa and OSSREA in East Africa, and it continues to support them both morally and materially. Similarly, it is encouraging the social science community in West and North Africa to set up similar types of organizations (see note 10). With the other Pan-African organizations such as AAWORD and AAPS, CODESRIA has a protocol agreement and provides offices for them. In a much less formal way, CODESRIA appears to have ties with AUPELF (Association des Universites Partiellement ou entierement de langue Francaise) based in Dakar and AAFA (Association of Agricultural Faculties in Africa) based in Addis Ababa.

CODESRIA's position and attitude were clearly stated by its Executive Committee members (12). CODESRIA sees itself as a supportive body whose role is to help in the creation and development of these sub-regional research groups. It undertakes to establish very close ties of cooperation and exchange with these groups. Thus, it perceives its role as a complementary one in the sense that it has a Pan-African perspective and approach to African problems and issues, whereas sub-regional groups can deal in more depth with sub-regional questions. In this respect, CODESRIA perceives there to be no overlapping between its activities and those of the emerging sub-regional research groups. However, it recognizes that some of these groups and associations may want to work autonomously without CODESRIA's help or collaboration, and see themselves as competitors for funds and overlapping areas of interest. In this case, CODESRIA respects their position and would not try to impose itself or its views and orientations.

The questions of overlapping have raised many controversies and discussions amongst both CODESRIA's Executive Committee members and research institutions. Broadly speaking, there are two attitudes: the first one questions the very existence of overlapping: how could one define overlap in social science research, particularly within the African context? The second attitude holds the position that even if overlapping does exist, it may not necessarily be a bad thing considering the paucity of social science work and studies. Competition may in fact be the best way to stimulate research and complementary or contradictory results, even if this means more funds allocated to similar projects.

From the field investigation, it is evident that these sub-regional groups are not well known, as they hardly exist in the sub-region. The creation of research associations for North and West Africa are still in their preliminary stages. There are nonetheless several views regarding these research groups held by both research institutions and individual researchers. The bulk of respondents viewed their existence in a positive light with the proviso that they coordinate their activities with CODESRIA's on issues where collaboration would lead to better results than if they undertook them separately. In this respect, many suggested that CODESRIA should provide greater support and assistance to these groups in the future. Again, the diversity of views and approaches in social science research in Africa is put forward by many researchers as a good thing; the existence of both a Pan-African and sub-regional perspective on the same problem is considered as beneficial to the advancement of the social sciences in Africa. Similarly, the existence of some form of competition from these groups is seen as a healthy thing for both CODESRIA and social science research.

The field investigation has also revealed that these sub-regional social science research groups may not have been functioning as efficiently as well as they should have. This is acknowledged by members of the executive committees and the secretariats of these groups; e.g.: CERDAS based in Zaire and AEAAD (West African Agricultural Economists Association) in Abidjan.

A minority of respondents opposed the existence of these sub-regional research groups on the grounds that they had only a partial view of African problems, at a time when a more comprehensive approach on a continental basis is needed. It is also argued that their multiplication can only lead to the multiplication of bureaucracies and heavy administrative costs, and consequently, to a waste of resources for social science research.

6.2 Relationship between Social Science Research Institutions and Sub-regional Groups

Only a limited number of research institutions in the sub-region appear to be formal members of one of these sub-regional groups. Others have informal contacts with them while the bulk do not know anything about them. This is partly due to the fact that there are few such groups in the sub-region, and that the ones that do exist have not been very active in the last few years.

The institutions and researchers who have had some contacts with sub-regional research groups appear to have mostly participated in conferences and seminars held at sub-regional level. Participation in research projects undertaken by these groups appears to have been very limited.

Nonetheless, sub-regional research groups were found to be helpful particularly in their ability to identify and mobilize resource people at the sub-regional level. They were also found useful in the sense that they dealt with problems and issues specific to the area, and that they constituted important and easily accessible documentation centres. In this respect, communication problems which are very acute in Africa can be partially overcome. Moreover, their location facilitates the attendance of their workshops, seminars, and conferences.

The research institutions who have contacts with both CODESRIA and sub-regional research groups in the majority of cases view their activities as complementary. Yet it is argued by some that it depends: in some areas they are complementary and in others they may overlap -- again underlying the fact that overlapping in social science research in Africa may not be a bad thing to occur.

6.3 Summary

CODESRIA's attitudes towards sub-regional research groups is one of cooperation and complementarity, considering the effort it has made in the past and it is making currently to help them both with material and moral support.

The role of the sub-regional groups is perceived as an important one by both CODESRIA and the research institutions who recognize that they can deal in more depth with issues related to the sub-region, and that CODESRIA still has a much wider perspective on African problems and issues. Even if overlapping does exist between the two, both perspectives are seen as necessary. Notwithstanding the fact that overlapping in social science research may not be easy to define, competition and overlapping are not necessarily bad things in the African context where the tendency is towards simple self-satisfaction.

Even if their existence is relatively limited at the moment in North and West Francophone Africa, the emergence of these sub-regional social science groups is seen as a positive thing and an asset for African social science research. They are seen as useful because of their capacity to mobilize and identify resource people within the sub-region, to undertake indepth analyses of the problems and issues specific to the sub-region, and because of their capacity to overcome communication problems by making workshops, conferences, seminars and documentation centres easily accessible. In this sense, CODESRIA should make more effort towards helping them and coordinating its action with theirs in the future, even if this is not always easy considering their lack of dynamism or simply their desire to remain autonomous.

The position which is opposed to the existence of the sub-regional research groups and which is held by a minority, argues that they may constitute a waste of resources as they will only present an incomplete and partial view of African problems and issues, and since they will lead to the multiplication of bureaucracies and administrations whose role is undoubtedly to sterilize research.

7. CODESRIA'S BEST RESPONSES TO CHANGING CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN AFRICA

Considered by many in its infancy, social science research has known several changes in recent years and will be undergoing many changes in the future. The important parameters in these changes are perceived differently and vary from one institution to the other and from one individual to the other. While the first part of this section will examine CODESRIA's perception of these changes and the perception of research institutions and individual researchers, the second part will analyse the best responses to these changes.

7.1 Changing Conditions of Social Science Research in Africa

7.1.1 CODESRIA's Perspective

Many of the tendencies and trends identified by CODESRIA in Africa during the last two decades have continued and get stronger and to become more pronounced.

Firstly, the questioning of orthodox economic development theory which was found to be inappropriate to African problems and development needs, is likely to get stronger in the future. This attitude which has characterized what has emerged as a 'resistance front' appeals more and more to younger generations of researchers. This will increasingly lead to African researchers and scholars, most of whom were trained in large schools and universities of the industrialized world, to questioning their ties with them and also the methods, approaches and views inherited from them. The growing concern over contributing effectively to solve African problems will characterize future research projects.

Secondly, the major disappointment of policy-makers with conventional social science and with 'foreign experts' solutions to the problems their countries face will call more and more upon endogenous solutions and local expertise to help them solve or at least better understand these problems. In the coming years social science research will have a golden opportunity to establish itself as an effective tool for contributing to the development of Africa, and not simply as an academic exercise designed to entertain scholars. At the same time, it will have to face the challenges presented by the so-called exact sciences which produce tangible results.

Thirdly, the Pan-African perspective held by African researchers is likely to continue growing. This results from eagerness on the part of the researchers to generate scientific generalizations on a continental basis primarily through the comparison of experiences.

7.1.2 The Perspective of Research Institutions and Individual Researchers

According to many respondents, the role and importance of social science research in Africa have been growing in recent years and will continue to grow in the future. However, there will be some changes of a qualitative nature.

First of all, the predominant opinion is that there will be an increasing need for applied research and less for theoretical research of the pure academic type. This gradual change will be prompted by both the desire of policy-makers to obtain more tangible results, and the researchers themselves who need to enhance their status in the eyes of both the people and of their colleagues from other disciplines (13).

Secondly, research institutions and individual researchers have also stressed the growing desire on the part of social scientists to break away from what is called conventional social science research whose methods and approach have failed to produce useful solutions to African problems. This will in the future involve an intensive search for new methods and approaches by local researchers, which take into account local conditions and the cultural heritage of the African people. It should be noted that some respondents viewed a revolution in the social sciences in Africa as the sole solution to the current crisis.

Thirdly, the current world economics crisis which has had a serious impact on the African continent, will accentuate the difficult conditions in which the social sciences have been operating during the last two decades, e.g.: reduced funds, lack of facilities, more restrictions, etc. Paradoxically, this is also the time where local knowledge and local expertise will be called upon by African governments and policy makers. The social sciences will have to take up the challenge: working in very adverse conditions and yet producing effective results which have the opportunity of being applied by policy-makers to solve African problems.

Fourthly, the so-called crisis of the social sciences in Africa will continue in the future. The social sciences will have to undertake a deep analysis of their role, usefulness, importance and methods. They will have to adopt an attitude of ongoing self-criticism and to be prepared to question themselves and to adapt themselves continuously to the rapidly changing conditions of the African continent.

Fifthly, the growing number of social scientists in the African continent, particularly the younger generations trained in various parts of the world, will lead to a growing diversity of views, orientations, methods and solutions to African problems. Now to catalyse all these tendencies, constitutes another major challenge which social science research will have to face in the future.

Finally, some respondents expressed their concern over the future orientation of concentrating on specific problems which require practical and immediate solutions. This "contractual" research done on a project basis contains the major risk of moving

social science research away from the fundamental issues such as the analysis of the dynamics of social forces in the African continent. These key issues whose study may not lead to tangible and immediate results, are likely to be neglected particularly by policy-makers who will be more interested in looking at immediate problems and more pressing needs. This is seen by some respondents as a major drawback which the social sciences will have to suffer in the future unless drastic actions are taken.

These points constitute the major positions put forward by CODESRIA and research institutions, regarding the changing conditions of the social sciences in Africa. This diversity of views also reflects to some extent the lack of consensus regarding the future parameters of social science research. This is also reflected in the variety of suggestions made with respect to how CODESRIA can best respond to the changing conditions of social science research in Africa.

7.2 CODESRIA's Best Responses to these Changing Conditions

Faced with these changing conditions and challenges, CODESRIA has established a series of tasks to achieve its objectives. It aims at becoming: "...the best institutional framework and also the main activator of the scattered and uncoordinated groups and individual researchers referred to as the 'resistance front'."

This can be achieved through the following:

- mobilizing collaborative research groups throughout the continent and across linguistic barriers,
- consolidating the framework of critical social science as it emerged through the evolution of the resistance front,
- legitimating critical social science throughout Africa,
- increasing involvement of policy-makers from governments in its research activities, and,
- collaborating with regional and sub-regional organizations.

A recent report produced by CODESRIA (14) summarizes some of the steps taken by the Council designed to meet the changing conditions of social science research in Africa. These are seen as a corrective action to CODESRIA's past programmes and methods.

The question of how best CODESRIA can respond to the changing conditions of social science research in Africa, which was put to the various research institutions and to individual researchers, raised discussions and debates and a host of suggestions and viewpoints regarding its organization, its personnel, its finance and its scope of activity.

First of all, regarding CODESRIA's organization, there were three major suggestions made:

a) Almost unanimously, respondents pointed out the lack of substantive personnel at CODESRIA's head office. The suggestion made is that it should have four to five social scientists of a high calibre permanently assigned to monitor CODESRIA's programme of research projects, working groups and publications. These could form a permanent Scientific Board within CODESRIA that would not be involved in the administrative running of the institution. This latter function would entirely remain the responsibility of the Secretariat. Some argued that in order to remain a flexible structure, it should have a Board of honorary consultants that would be called upon whenever needed on a temporary basis.

b) The second suggestion is that CODESRIA should have some kind of permanent representation at sub-regional level. These offices, which would be coordinated from CODESRIA's head office in Dakar, would be a valuable tool to overcome the difficult communication problems inherent to the African continent. They would also have an important role in sensing the needs, specificities and problems of the sub-region and in feeding this back to CODESRIA's head office. However, the idea of having several "mini CODESRIA" working independently throughout Africa was strongly opposed by the respondents. The argument held is that it would multiply administrative costs and bureaucratic procedures at the expense of research activities.

c) A minority of researchers suggested that the Executive Committee should be more active in setting up long-term strategies and programmes for the development of CODESRIA without neglecting the monitoring of the daily running of the Council.

On the whole, respondents stress the need for CODESRIA to remain in a Pan-African organization and to fulfill its difficult and yet highly needed task.

The first important change that has taken place was reduction of the number of research priority areas from twenty-seven to nine currently. This resulted from CODESRIA's realization that it did not have the means to set up and coordinate working groups in so many areas. These areas were also recently redefined (see note 12).

The second change relates to the new 'philosophy' concerning coordinators. They are not chosen on a voluntary basis, but appointed and paid salaries.

The third change is the concentration of CODESRIA's effort on the younger generations of researchers who "have very few external contacts and little possibilities of raising research funds of their own".

The fourth major change relates to the size of working groups. They have been reduced from an average of twenty members to ten members in each group. Researchers who were left on their own to collect data now receive some help from CODESRIA particularly for information available outside the African continent.

The fifth important change which needs to be underlined is the policy adopted by CODESRIA that entails involving policy-makers at all levels of its research programmes, at the discussion of the research proposal, in the research itself, and finally, in the discussion of the findings of the research.

The sixth change which is also important relates to CODESRIA's decision to be involved directly in the debate and research on major issues concerning the future strategies of development in Africa. This is seen by CODESRIA as the best way to contribute directly to problems and issues of major concern to African governments. In this respect, it has already made a significant contribution in the discussion of the Lagos Plan of Action and the World Bank Report. It is now embarking on the study of the relationship between African countries and the IMF and the issue of the African Common Market.

Finally, CODESRIA has opened what it calls "a permanent Discussion Forum on Development Issues in Africa" in order to have a continuous debate on development problems in Africa and to get African researchers more and more involved in wider issues beyond the national concern.

In order to increase its effectiveness and overcome some of the lasting problems characteristic of social science research in Africa such as difficult communication, lack of documentation, and bad circulation of the information, CODESRIA has decided to set up an information and documentation centre (CODICE) whose objective is "To provide information to Researchers and Policy-makers in order to enhance their research activities and their policy capabilities in helping the development process of Africa" (15).

With regard to CODESRIA's personnel, several remarks and suggestions were put forward.

- a) The first remark is that the ratio between research personnel and administrative personnel at CODESRIA's head office is too much in favour of the latter, and consequently, that there is a need to have a much balanced situation.
- b) The lack of key personnel in the running of the Council is also pointed out. There is in particular the need for an accountant experienced in the same type of activities as CODESRIA's, and also, the need for a professional Administrator of a high calibre.
- c) Following the above suggestion of a permanent representation at sub-regional level, it was proposed that sub-regional coordinators be appointed. These would be social science researchers themselves and not simply administrators. They could be chosen amongst working group coordinators in charge of both tasks: coordinating the research group and representing CODESRIA at sub-regional level.

With respect to finance, suggestions were made regarding both the sources and use of funds.

- a) The general view put forward regarding sources of funds is that CODESRIA will still have to rely on external funds e.g.: International funding agencies, UN agencies, etc., in the future. The possibilities of getting funds from within the continent such as Government funds, research institution contributions, etc.,

remain relatively limited and wholly inadequate. Some respondents argued that in spite of the difficulties, CODESRIA should gradually get Governments involved in its funding and should seek other sources of funds within the African continent.

b) Regarding the use of funds, respondents stressed the need for CODESRIA to have a high flexibility in using its funds regarding the rapidly changing environment and the difficult conditions met by social science research in Africa. Allocation of funds should not be ruled by rigid and strictly financial considerations.

c) In terms of the use of funds, the need to place more funds into research activities and less in administration and meetings should always be borne in mind. In this respect, some respondents suggested that CODESRIA should have adequate funds to be able to finance research projects within research institutes and also when needed, the work of individual researchers.

d) Regarding certain qualitative aspects, some respondents suggested that priority be given to research studies aimed at solving the real social problems of the people of Africa rather than to projects that are aimed at advancing scholarly and academic accomplishments of individuals.

e) Finally, there is a general agreement that CODESRIA needs to have more funds at its disposal to meet its ambitious programmes, and in particular, to hire whenever needed the services of high calibre professionals and social scientists both within and outside the African continent.

In terms of scope of activity, there were some suggestions and also some controversies.

a) One major controversy relates to whether or not CODESRIA should be involved in doing research itself. A first group of respondents suggested that CODESRIA should like other research institutes have permanent research teams working at its head office on research projects. The argument put forward is that CODESRIA would be in a better position to understand problems met by researchers through being involved itself in research, and thus having first-hand experience. A second group holds that CODESRIA's objective is to only coordinate research and to not be directly involved in it. In this respect, it should put its effort into strengthening existing research teams within its member institutions. Finally, a third group suggested that CODESRIA should do research but selectively on issues related to

social science research itself, its history and perspectives, on the issue of the formation of the scientific community in Africa, on the coordination of research in Africa, etc. In other words, that it should do research in areas directly related to its own activities which so far have been neglected.

b) Another suggestion regarding its scope of activity relates to CODESRIA's involvement in training. As pointed out earlier, two opposed viewpoints exist. The first one holds the view that CODESRIA should increase its involvement in training and be more dynamic than it has been in the past. Thus, it is suggested that CODESRIA should give grants and other kinds of support to post-graduate students working on their theses in African universities and other training institutions. The second one holds that CODESRIA should narrow its scope of activity, and consequently, leave training out altogether. Finally, a view was held whereby CODESRIA should get involved in training of researchers and not conventional training of students. For example, workshops dealing with research methodologies in social science in Africa should be envisaged and geared towards improving the capabilities of African researchers.

c) Among the suggestions made in favour of the widening of its scope of activity, it was proposed that CODESRIA should get more involved in consultancy work for both African institutions and African governments. This would be the best way for the Council to guarantee access to information, to raise extra funds from within the continents, and to get gradually more recognition and more say in African policy decisions.

d) Among those people in favour of CODESRIA getting more involved in training, some suggested that it should be in charge of coordinating training activities among training institutions in Africa. In this respect, it should encourage exchange of personnel, documents and experience between training institutions throughout Africa.

e) It was also suggested that CODESRIA should reinforce its involvement in the creation and the strengthening of social science research institutions. This would enable these new institutions to benefit from the experience of existing ones and to rapidly overcome some of the early problems in their life.

participation of African expertise to help policy-making. This attitude is becoming more and more appealing to younger generations of African researchers whose Pan-African perspective is more pronounced than the narrow national outlook which tended to characterize previous generations of researchers.

From the perspective of research institutions and individual researchers, the changing conditions of social science research in Africa are characterized by the growing need for more empirical and applied research and less theoretical analyses and results; by the growing desire for new methodologies and approaches; and, the need to integrate more and more cultural values and parameters into social science research in Africa. The so-called world economic crisis which seriously affects the African continent along with the crisis in the social sciences and the diversity of views and opinions from younger generations or social scientists, present African social science research with major challenges which cannot be ignored. In this respect, social science research will have to operate and evolve under very difficult conditions: being called upon to contribute to solve African problems, and at the same time, provided with minimal resources and consideration it will have to be prepared to question the environment in which it evolves and adopt an attitude of a permanent self-criticism.

Some of CODESRIA's responses to these changing conditions include both policy decisions and the rationalizations for its actions. Thus, decisions were made to concentrate on younger generations of researchers, on involving to a greater extent policy-makers in its research project seminars and debates, and to participate more and more in discussions on major issues in the area of African development debated at an intergovernmental level. Rationalization was mainly brought into the organization of its research activities: research priority theses were reduced in number, the size of working groups was also reduced to be more manageable, and finally, coordinators will be in the future paid salaries to enhance their commitment to monitor the research project and the group.

CODESRIA's responses to the changing conditions of social science research in the opinion of the institutions may require some important changes to CODESRIA's organization, personnel, finance and scope of activity. Even if these suggestions are

not always made unanimously, they nonetheless reflect a general concern to make CODESRIA more effective and capable of meeting the heavy responsibilities it has at a Pan-African level.

8. GENERAL COMMENTS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

CODESRIA holds a unique position in Africa which raises several questions and several issues.

- It is a non-governmental organization (NGO) although its members are primarily research institutions which are officially attached to Government in one way or another.
- It is a non-governmental organization and is eager to participate effectively to the development of Africa through building close ties with policy-makers and government representatives.
- CODESRIA is supported by its members which are social science research institutions, is involved in training, and deals often with individual researchers for their competence, dynamism and concern for African development problems.
- CODESRIA has to strike a balance between several parameters:
 - the balance between theoretical research and so-called empirical research;
 - the balance between two major language groups: Francophone and Anglophone Africa;
 - the balance between younger generations of social science researchers with new needs and preoccupations, and older generations of scientists whose competences are badly needed for African development; and
 - finally, the balance between several orientations and viewpoints regarding African development even if the so-called 'resistance group' appears to be predominant and most active in CODESRIA's activities.

The general opinion amongst African research institutions and African researchers is that CODESRIA remains one of the few institutions which have proved their importance and usefulness to the African social science community. It has played a pioneering role in the support and promotion of social science research and the development of the Pan-African perspective of African social scientists. Its mere survival over a decade in a difficult environment, and in a continent where institution building is one of the most difficult and hazardous tasks, constitutes in itself a major achievement.

The unique experience it has acquired along with the variety and multiplicity of contacts it has built within and outside Africa will allow the Council to play a determinant role in the future of social science research which in many parts of the continent means simply their survival. In this respect, it has the heavy responsibility to meet the various challenges which social science research and the social sciences in general are facing and will have to face in the future.

To meet its objectives, it is necessary that CODESRIA become better known by all concerned parties: research institutes, be they member or non-member, individual researchers particularly those starting their career, and governments and policy-makers throughout the continent. It has established itself on the international scene and should be encouraged to strengthen its ties with the international social science community so that its members can fully benefit from the work and the experience in other continents. In this respect, the recent centre for information and documentation which it has set up represents a valuable link.

Similarly, special attention should be paid to the circulation of information. An identification of the obstacles which prevent adequate communication should be made, and the ways and means to overcome these obstacles should be worked out. These obstacles which take various forms are found both in the nature and quality of the African communication system and within the research and training institutions themselves.

Another aspect which may not sound important and which constitutes a source of problems is the linguistic problem. CODESRIA is aware of this problem and has established it as one of its main tasks "to break linguistic barriers". It needs to put a great deal of effort in overcoming this obstacle which can be a source of resentment particularly on the part of French speaking researchers and institutions who disapprove of the heavy bias towards English even if in some situations this cannot be avoided. A systematic translation of CODESRIA's documents and their publication in both languages represents the only solution to this problem.

While its efforts in involving policy-makers in both its activities and in participating in inter-governmental debates is meritory and needs encouraging, the general view is that it should remain a non-governmental institution even if in the process it reduces its chances of receiving government funds. Its non-governmental status constitutes an adequate framework for its "critical social science" attitude to be pursued further and deepened.

8.1 Conclusion

It is not easy to conclude an evaluation report of this kind. It has resulted from a synthesis of a host of viewpoints and opinions collected from the extensive field study and from the author's analytical tools and approaches which are necessarily limited. The conclusions drawn relate partly to the sub-region of North and West Francophone Africa. They may not necessarily be identical nor in conformity with those drawn from the other sub-regions. However, it is hoped that these approaches and conclusions may at least draw attention to some of the crucial issues and challenges facing social science research in Africa and that through CODESRIA these challenges can be better met.

NOTES

1. CODESRIA: Prospectus - CODESRIA's Charter, Section V, page 9.
2. CODESRIA's brochures issued from 1976 onwards.
3. AANT ELZINGA: "Evaluating the Evaluation Game: On the Methodology of Project Evaluation, with Special Reference to Development Cooperation", SAREC Report, R1, 1981.
4. The other two parts of the evaluation exercise are dealt with by the two other evaluators, who are respectively Dr. Simi Afonja for West Anglophone Africa and Dr. Joé Brunner for Southeast Anglophone Africa.
5. The following published documents of CODESRIA were used extensively in the writing of this report:
 - Prospectus and Status (Revised 1982)
 - Reports of activities for 1982 and 1983
 - CODESRIA's Research Documents: Published & Unpublished 1973-1983 (3rd Edition)
 - CODESRIA's Tenth Anniversary Brochure: 1973-1983
6. See Professor Claude AKE's paper on "Trends in Social Science in Africa" presented at CODESRIA's Forum held in Dakar 21 April 1983.
7. SOEDJATMOKO, M. (Rector of the United Nations University - Tokyo) "Learning Change", Development Forum, October 1984 page 3.
8. CODESRIA's Research Documents: Published & Unpublished: 1973-1983, (3rd Edition).
9. CODESRIA: Tenth Anniversary Brochure: 1973-1983.
10. Some of the research priority themes are:
 - The world economic crisis and the African economies
 - The nature of the State in Africa
 - The formation of the scientific community in Africa
 - The organization of research and its future prospects
 - Development and culture in African communities
 - etc.
11. The nine priority areas listed in CODESRIA's publications are:
 - 1 - Agricultural development and food production in Africa
 - 2 - Economic cooperation and integration
 - 3 - Education, skill formation and development in Africa
 - 4 - Industrialization, mineral resources and energy
 - 5 - Population policy, migration and urbanization
 - 6 - Science, technology and development
 - 7 - Social science and development
 - 8 - The State and foreign powers in Africa
 - 9 - Women and development

12. Joint meeting between CODESRIA's Executive Committee and the panel of evaluators, Lusaka, May, 3rd, 1984.
13. Regarding changing conditions of social science research in Africa, a respondent insisted that his opinion be textually reproduced in the report. According to him "Africa must go through the concerted efforts of practitioners and academics to find a realistic economic solution to its problems. Academic polemics may serve the interests of the university intellectuals but at the end of the day, the focus of research should be aimed at permanent solutions to the affiliations of the continents masse's basic needs".
14. Report on CODESRIA's activities to the ICCDA (Inter-Regional Coordinating Committee of Development Associations) Third Inter-regional Meeting on "Development Research Communication and Education", Kuala-Lumpur, Malaysia, 7-9 June 1983. Report made by the Executive Secretary.
15. CODESRIA's brochure on CODICE (CODESRIA's Documentation and Information Centre).

APPENDIX I

LIST OF INSTITUTIONS CONTACTED DURING THE FIELD INVESTIGATION

Member Institutions of CODESRIA

CREA Centre de Recherche en Economie Appliquee (Algiers)
CIRES Centre Ivoirien de Recherche Economique et Social (Abidjan)
CREA Centre de Recherche en Economie Appliquee (Dakar)
AAWORD African Association of Women for Research and Development (Dakar)
Institute of Ethno-Sociology (Abidjan)
Third World Forum (Cairo)

Non-Member Institutions

ENDA Environnement et Developpement en Afrique (Dakar)
IDEP Institut de Developpement et de Planification (Dakar)
UNITAR United Nations Institute for Training & Research (Dakar)
Association des Chercheurs Senegalais (Dakar)
ACMS African Centre for Monetary Studies (Dakar)
ARCT African Regional Centre of Technology (Dakar)
University of Abidjan
Institute of Economics, Oran, (Algeria)
CERES Centre d'Etudes et de Recherche Economique et Social (Tunis)
Faculte de Droit et de Sciences economiques (Tunis)
AICARDES Association des Instituts et Centres Arabs de Recherche pour le
Developpement Economique et Social (Tunis)
Institute of National Planning (Cairo)
Centre for Criminological and Sociological Studies (Cairo)
ECA Economic Commission for Africa (Addis Ababa)
(Representative contacted in Cairo)
Arab Centre for Political and Strategic Studies (Cairo)
AOAEA Association Ouest Africaine des Economistes Agricoles (Abidjan)
IPD Institut Panafricain pour le Developpement (Ouagadougou).
(Representative contacted in Dakar)
American University of Cairo.

PART II

WEST ANGLOPHONE AFRICA

DR. SIMI AFONJA

GENERAL EVALUATION

CODESRIA was the brain child of a small group of social scientists drawn together by their opposition to the conservatism of the social sciences in their application to African societies and by their awareness of the potential roles of the African social scientist in projecting the African perspective in research and in influencing policy. The main objectives of the organization were not well articulated at the beginning nor were the founders fully aware of what would be required in terms of human and material resources to sustain a regional organization seeking to coordinate and promote research, advise on policy planning and provide technical expertise as consultants. Tackling this multiplicity of objectives requires huge amounts of financial resources and the specialized personnel both of which were absent at the beginning. Being a pace setter with a commitment to a specific ideological orientation requires an adequate knowledge of the state of the art and a clear vision of the goal towards which society was to be piloted. The entire enterprise more than anything else requires the acceptance of the new ideas in academic circles, by government and by international agencies. Since most of these requirements were absent and not easily forthcoming when CODESRIA was initiated, it started to operate under conditions of uncertainty and its operations have been plagued over the years by old and new forms of uncertainty in the African region. Its debut and early beginnings were thus marked by survival strategies aimed first at creating a structure and an identity, elements needed before it could start to fulfill its objectives. The element of acceptance was particularly critical because the conservative perspective against which CODESRIA was juxtaposed still had very deep roots in social science teaching and research and in policy formulation. It could therefore only operate with a small membership, mostly heads of research institutes who, during the first five years of operation, met twice a year at best with a few other specialists.

Between 1973 and 1977, seven meetings were held at various locations in Africa. There are no records of research and/or training programmes during that period. But before the close of the first five year period it had undertaken to publish a journal as a means of disseminating its ideas.

There are records of 18 meetings between 1978 and 1982, a period in which CODESRIA became more involved in academic programmes and initiated concrete research and also ventured into consulting. The first five years can be described as a period of institution building during which the executive was out in search of funds and recognition as a non-governmental organization representing the social sciences in the region. It is thus not surprising that CODESRIA was at this period mostly concerned about legitimizing its existence. This enforced a high rate of interaction with International Agencies, with similar non-governmental bodies and where possible with African governments. CODESRIA for instance collaborates with other non-governmental regional and sub-regional centres associated with development issues. This form of association can in fact be traced to its early beginning, to its emergence under IDEP and its location in Dakar where there is a large concentration of such bodies.

CODESRIA claims to have strong collaborative relationships with these organizations. Although the exact nature of collaboration is not specified, there is no doubt that through constant dialogue they have contributed to the definition of the priority areas and to specification of possible development strategies. There is a long list of meetings with these bodies but few instances of research. Of these are the research programmes coordinated by the ECA on leakages in African economies and the OAU sponsored policy paper on the Lagos Plan of Action both very recent on CODESRIA's list of activities.

Since the first five years of operation were devoted to the search for funds and to the creation of an image, the task of mobilizing African researchers was not adequately pursued. During the following five year period, the number of participants at conferences increased, conference themes were increasingly diversified and directed at conceptual issues peculiar to African development. Although the mobilization of human resources improved during the second five year period, too much emphasis has been placed on mobilizing researchers through research institutes. CODESRIA has neglected the teaching units which have more specialists and which need more research funds. Some research institutes are already aware of their limitations in terms of staff strength and the availability of specialists and are now relying on teaching staff for

the execution of their own research. One of the Institutes presently collaborating with CODESRIA in fact invited a teaching member of staff with the required expertise to handle the project. This basic weakness in CODESRIA's human resources mobilization efforts has restricted its research operations and to some extent stalled its much desired goal of formulating alternative theory and strategies for development.

CODESRIA has been more successful in mobilizing financial resources, although attempts to generate funds within the region have been less successful. There were disincentives stemming from CODESRIA's non-conservative posture and also from the poor visibility of the role of the African social scientist in policy formulation and execution. It is expected that its present association with OAU and ECA would help to break the traditional barrier between CODESRIA and African Governments.

The overall support mobilized for the social sciences is fairly high. Considerable effort and resources have in fact gone in this direction. CODESRIA has successfully drawn the attention of international agencies to the potential contribution of the social sciences to African development. Organizations such as UNESCO, ECA, and funding agencies such as IDRC and Ford Foundation have increased their support for social science research in the last decade, some of which was channelled through CODESRIA. Another form of support is its publications which are avenues for increasing contact and for the dissemination of ideas. These publications have not been given the desired publicity, but they are assets to teaching and research.

The most apparent weakness of CODESRIA lies in the organization and coordination of research. Although the specified priority areas touch on the most urgent problems in the region, the method by which they are selected is inadequate because it restricts the final selection to a small body which does not possess all the expertise required to define all areas of need. The procedure by which areas of research are defined, proposals prepared and projects executed is too long, time consuming and is not conducive to the urgent need for research results.

The fact that members of working groups are widely dispersed and are selected from a narrowly defined population of scholars exposes researchers to delays due to regional communication problems. On account of these only a few research projects have been completed and a small number of African researchers have been influenced by CODESRIA's outline of research. As observed already, the research institutes more than the teaching units are involved in research. Their association with CODESRIA has however not yielded the much desired results in the area of research. They have participated more in conferences, workshops and seminars which are the most predominant on CODESRIA's list of activities. CODESRIA has therefore not broadened the scope of operations of these institutes and of most African researchers.

The social sciences in Africa have been struggling in the last decade and a half to change existing orthodox theories and chart new directions. They have similarly struggled for acceptance so that they can participate in policy formulation. CODESRIA was a baby of this new awareness. But its structure and strategies are inadequate for the achievement of its set goals. The role of research coordinator in a region which is diverse and which involves research institutes, teaching units, governmental and non-governmental units, cannot be enacted efficiently from a centralized structural position as CODESRIA has been forced to do in the last decade. Very little attempt has been made to abstract its operational goals from the major goals and thus create units with responsibility for each major operation. Its defined objectives are essential if the social sciences are to make an impact in the region, but each can be pursued more vigorously if they are separated from one another. Research, the most important objective but also that which is lagging behind others, would be more vigorously pursued if such structural changes are made.

CODESRIA has survived in a region where sub-regional social science groups and national associations are also struggling to enhance the status of the disciplines. Such bodies in Anglophone West Africa have more or less worked independently of CODESRIA with little or no efforts directed to research. CODESRIA can mobilize researchers through them and at the same time help to strengthen them through closer collaboration in

research. CODESRIA has other links with these groups, but has not successfully mobilized them for research or for the preparation of the technical reports which are now a part of CODESRIA's activities.

The limitations of CODESRIA pointed out in this report need to be related to some problems facing it since its inception. As already indicated it was from the start exposed to uncertainties which it had to struggle to minimize. If its achievements are limited, it is in part because considerable energy was devoted to its survival. But unlike in the past CODESRIA is increasingly gaining recognition. Its orientation to research and policy is shared in the major social science circles and a place is now defined for the African social scientist in fostering African development. With these initial problems solved, CODESRIA is now poised to activate its research programmes, but it must maintain a non-ideological position to be able to attract an increased number of social scientists.

The size of the continent has always been a problem and this is most apparent in delays in communications, costs of travel, of organizing seminars and research. The solution to this is to decentralize and create stronger linkages with sub-regional groups and individual researchers. Funds have always been a problem to CODESRIA. It will continue to be unless CODESRIA mobilizes more individuals, institutions and governments to share its course and participate in its activities.

Major Constraints on the Evaluation Exercise

Anglophone West Africa is currently hit by acute foreign exchange crisis, inflation and unemployment. These resound in the institutions of higher learning in various ways. The closure of Universities or attempts to prevent student revolts caused the restructuring of the school year in both Ghana and Nigeria. The majority of the teaching staff in these countries were thus absent from their seats during the visit. This presumably also explains the very low return rate of the questionnaires mailed out. The few who returned them did so about two and a half months after they were mailed.

The economic crisis was more problematic in Ghana than elsewhere. Ghana was experiencing a serious petrol shortage during the visit, communication between the campus and the town was therefore difficult. There were serious delays in and cancellations of appointments by staff because they were queuing for petrol. In Nigeria, most universities are still closed, staff do not therefore stay in their faculties as regularly as during the school year. Several appointments were not honoured because of other diversions outside the campus.

The period assigned for the field operations was generally inadequate considering the distance between cities. The visit to Cape Coast had to be cancelled because two days were required for the journeys to and from and two days for the exercise itself. The same applies to Port-Harcourt and Enugu where I unsuccessfully tried to secure appointments with two key informants. The questionnaire was mailed to them by courier service to ensure they were received but there were no returns.

Delays in communication between Canada and Nigeria and between Nigeria and the countries visited also marred the exercise. The letters sent out to request appointments were either not received, arrived during my interview or long after the visit.

In addition, the presence of CODESRIA's representatives in the field shortly before the visits was problematic. The evaluator was seen as just another representative of CODESRIA and it required long introductions to explain the mission and my identity. CODESRIA's visits generated reluctance in some quarters. To what extent this also affected the low return of the questionnaires cannot of course be determined. However, those who responded and who were interviewed provided very useful information.

Attempts were made to visit Dakar in order to meet staff of the secretariat, collect some more data on its history, programmes, structure, etc., but the visit did not materialize because of communication problems with the secretariat.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa was founded in 1973 as a regional non-governmental organization for the promotion of social science research in Africa. Although its objectives and strategies were not clearly defined at its inception, it is evident from its history that the core founders of the organization had been influenced a great deal by the works of members of the Resistance Front in Africa and had felt the need for a more critical evaluation of African Development. The critical perspective was not merely an anti-neo-colonialist inclination, but was somewhat expected to spur fellow thinkers into formulating a new theory of development. After the initial problems of its instability had been settled CODESRIA re-evaluated its stand and emerged with a well defined set of objectives in 1976. The goal towards which it has worked since then is to "activate concerned African social scientists to undertake fundamental as well as problem oriented research in the field of development from a perspective which is more relevant to the needs of the African and thus challenging the existing orthodox development theories which have often led many African countries to stagnation and underdevelopment." CODESRIA expects that research coordinated or associated with it will help produce new ideas and alternative strategies to the development of Africa.

CODESRIA's initial instability was caused by lack of funds, the absence of regular staff and of an identifiable location for the organization. By providing funds at the critical periods, the Ford Foundation, the International Development Research Centre and SAREC have been able to promote its stability and the initiation of several programmes of action.

Since its inception in 1973, these three bodies have together provided the substantial part of the funds of the Council. Although there had been previous evaluations of CODESRIA, the three funding agencies commissioned the present study to assess from various perspectives the extent to which CODESRIA has achieved its main objectives. The evaluation is considered important because of pressure on funding agencies from

individual researchers and newly emerging sub-regional groups. At a time of dwindling research resources for the funding agencies, it became imperative for them to examine the relationship between CODESRIA and the new sub-regional groups. An evaluation exercise is also considered essential after ten years of operation to enable CODESRIA to assess how effective it has been on the African scene.

1.1 Terms of Reference

The terms of reference given to the evaluation team are to determine:

1. The impact of CODESRIA in mobilizing human and material resources and support for social research in Africa.
2. The contribution of CODESRIA to Social Science Research in Africa and its role in this research.
3. The effectiveness of CODESRIA in promoting research and training over the past ten years.
4. The impact of CODESRIA on the distribution of research results.
5. The effect of the emergence of subregional social science groups on CODESRIA's approach to providing support for social science research in Africa.
6. How best CODESRIA can respond to the changing conditions for social science research in Africa.

1.2 Methodology

The above terms of reference were adopted for the development of a methodology for the evaluation process. They were particularly useful for the preparation of the questionnaire and the interview guide - after two meetings at which they were closely discussed with IDRC representatives. The evaluators agreed to rely on both objective and subjective criteria and that the latter had to reflect CODESRIA's assessments of its activities and performance and other scholars and researchers' assessments of CODESRIA. Two measuring instruments were therefore developed. One for interviews of

CODESRIA representatives, the other sent out to African scholars and researchers and for indepth interviews of heads of faculties, departments and research institutes. Relevant questions were abstracted to assess the kind of collaboration between CODESRIA and similar regional social science research organizations within and outside the continent.

The measuring instruments were applied in two ways: first, for an indepth interviewing programme of representatives of IDRC, CODESRIA and of heads of member institutes, faculties and researchers named by CODESRIA, and second, for a structured questionnaire which was mailed to those who could not be visited. The latter was to achieve wider coverage and elicit response from researchers not listed by CODESRIA.

Each evaluator was provided a list of research and teaching institutes and departments registered with CODESRIA and also a list of scholars who had participated in its activities since its inception. Each evaluator was free to contact other individuals, institutes and departments not on these lists.

All those listed in the English speaking countries of West Africa were requested for an interview. The questionnaire was sent with a covering letter to inform them of the period of visit. The same letter went to a number of selected social science faculties and departments, while the questionnaire and another covering letter were sent to institutes, faculties and departments in universities not visited. In all 38 research institutes and teaching departments were visited, 8 in Ghana, 2 in Liberia, 9 in Sierra Leone and 15 in Nigeria. A total of 56 social scientists were interviewed and nine mailed responses were received. One is struck by the poor response to requests for interviews and to the questionnaire, particularly by those who had participated one time or the other in CODESRIA's activities. Those who responded however provided very useful information on which this evaluation is based. Appendix I contains a list of institutions visited and the numbers interviewed.

2. CODESRIA'S HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

Very few of those interviewed in Anglophone West Africa are familiar with its history and growth. This reconstruction therefore relies predominantly on CODESRIA's published materials and interviews with the executive in Lusaka.

CODESRIA was inaugurated in 1973 February as a non-governmental organization for the stimulation and coordination of social science research in a region where such research was limited and what research existed had been trapped in the Western intellectual tradition. As assessed by CODESRIA and several Third World intellectuals the political and intellectual elite relied on the direction of development charted by the metropolitan powers. That the directions were problematic and anti-development started to become apparent in the post-independence era and stimulated dialogue among the political and intellectual elite. The concern of the intellectual elite was championed by a few, some of whom eventually nurtured the ideas that lay behind CODESRIA. One of such leading scholars is Samir Amin who nurtured CODESRIA under IDEP in Dakar until it recruited its permanent staff and acquired its own premises in Dakar.

Under the influence of Samir Amin, CODESRIA was able to attract some of the older African social scientists who were also heads of research institutes. Younger social scientists were not deeply committed to its critical outlook, neither did its orientation appeal to African Governments who felt threatened by the new crop of African social scientists. Much as CODESRIA tried to divorce itself of any rigid ideological position, it was unable to raise enough funds within Africa to support its programme. Material support was however provided over a long period by the Ghanaian and Sénégalaise governments which admired its Pan-African inclinations. On the recommendation of Ghanaian intellectuals with contacts in Government, a regular subvention of \$5,000 was paid annually. According to CODESRIA's records, the Sénégalaise government has provided an apartment for its secretariat and also granted diplomatic status to CODESRIA's staff. CODESRIA now has a full time Executive Secretary, a Deputy Secretary and a secretariat with 20 local staff.

CODESRIA has since inception devoted time and energy to the mobilization of human and material resources. The former it has done through conferences, seminars and workshops. In the report prepared for its 10th anniversary, it claims to have mobilized approximately 650 researchers and organized 30 seminars, workshops. It now publishes a journal, a newsletter and has in stock about 350 papers - products of these activities. In addition it has a large Documentation Center and information of African researchers, research and teaching institutions. It has printing facilities which are used for the publication of all documents.

Within the ten years of existence, CODESRIA has structured research into its activities by operating through small working groups on a continent wide basis. It is currently sponsoring four such groups. Although it has not been directly involved in training, it has scheduled a training programme and has been involved in supporting sub-regional social science groups and professional bodies. On CODESRIA's list are:

1. Southern Africa University Social Science Conference,
2. Organization of Social Science Researchers East Africa,
3. Association of African Political Science,
4. Association of African Women for Research and Development.

CODESRIA has since its inception maintained links with other research institutions governmental and non-governmental in Africa and claims to collaborate with others outside the region. One of its latest achievements is the attainment of the position of consultant to ECA and OAU. To the Council, this signifies acceptance by these bodies of its legitimacy and expertise to deal with African problems and a contrast to the early indifference of African governments.

CODESRIA tells its own history with considerable emphasis on the "prevailing research environment in Africa". This environment thus determined its major objectives, its programmes of action and the constraints on them. They are not ignored in the evaluation below.

3. CODESRIA'S ROLE IN MOBILIZING RESOURCES FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN AFRICA

3.1 The Mobilization of Human Resources

The inaugural meeting of CODESRIA in February 1973 was attended by representatives of 15 African Social Science Research Institutes two of them in Anglophone West Africa. Although the exact number of participants at that meeting is not known, CODESRIA has had a longer and regular association with these institutions and with a small network of researchers present at that meeting than with others. The Directors of NISER in Nigeria and ISSER in Ghana attend the Council meetings and conferences regularly. In spite of breaks in CODESRIA's association with these institutes often attributed to the change in their leadership, these older members and others such as the Regional Institute of Population Studies, Accra and the Centre for Social and Economic Research Zaria, have been actively involved in CODESRIA's activities. The newer institutes and organizations in the region, the center for Development Studies (Jos), the Institute of Research (Liberia), Ecowas and the National Social Science Council for instance are either just initiating contact or have maintained an irregular association with CODESRIA.

There is very little evidence that teaching departments of African Universities were involved in CODESRIA's early activities. Since the majority have a short association with CODESRIA, the relationship has been fleeting and irregular. The heads of the teaching units visited in Ghana, Sierra Leone and Nigeria either know very little or nothing at all about CODESRIA. This is due in part to constant changes in leadership and in part to the tendency for heads of such units to personalize invitations to CODESRIA's activities. Some incumbents endeavoured to look through departmental records in order to find out what association existed under their predecessors, but found no evidence of the department's involvement in CODESRIA's activities. The mobilization of individual researchers has therefore been through invitations to conferences of the few scholars "known" to CODESRIA. Since conference themes are diverse and change from time to time according to the area of specialization emphasized, the majority of those

mobilized through this procedure are restricted to this "one time" experience of CODESRIA. They did not report any other form of association with CODESRIA and are also ignorant of other activities organized by CODESRIA. CODESRIA's Research Documents Published and Unpublished 1973-83 attests this lack of continuous participation by individual researchers. Only a small number of participants feature more than once on the various lists of conferences.

CODESRIA was from the start aware of the need to reach a larger body of African social scientists, but its efforts were for a long time restricted to organizing conferences, workshops and seminars. Between 1973 and 1983, it organized 27 such meetings at which more than 300 research papers were presented. By the close of the 1970s, it had started to supplement this strategy with the compilation of a register of African scholars and researchers, one that is constantly updated. It has also in recent times initiated contact with the new institutes which have developed in response to the expansion of social science research in Africa (examples were cited already) and also open contact with registered Institutes which had not been involved in its activities. The newly mobilized researchers are few and the institutes have records of at most three years association, a period during which participation was minimal. The Center for Development Studies (Jos), the Institute of Research (Monrovia), the Institute of African Studies (Freetown) and the majority of the teaching units listed in Appendix VII now appear on CODESRIA's register, but unfortunately record little or no participation in CODESRIA's activities. Only a few members of such units record ever participating in any of CODESRIA's activities. Only two of those interviewed in Ghana and two of those in Liberia have been involved in CODESRIA's activities. The eleven researchers contacted in Sierra Leone have never been involved in CODESRIA's activities. The highest degree of participation is found by Nigeria researchers, although the number is small relative to the size of the social science community. It is evident however that those who have made the initial contact (institutes and researchers) are anxious to participate more actively in CODESRIA's activities if the initial contacts are strengthened.

There are conspicuous differences between the Anglophone countries and between institutions in their level of participation in CODESRIA's activities. Whereas research institutes in Ghana and Nigeria have had an association with CODESRIA since its inception, those in Sierra Leone have not been actively mobilized. The Institutes of African Studies and the Demographic Unit at the University of Sierra Leone receive the journal occasionally, have provided data on staff and ongoing research, but do not receive invitations to meetings. Members of the Institute of Education and of Public Administration and Management Studies have similarly not been mobilized. Except for a recent visit to teaching departments very little is known of CODESRIA in the Faculty of Social Sciences. Teaching units in the universities visited displayed much more ignorance about CODESRIA than research institutes. This as observed already can be attributed to the constant change of leadership and to the personalization of invitations to departments. It may also not be unconnected with the fact that networking as a strategy for mobilization has restricted CODESRIA to those who share the critical orientation, the main spur to CODESRIA's activities at the start. Several of those interviewed were of the opinion that they needed to share this theoretical orientation to be able to participate in CODESRIA's activities. But it was clear from my general observations that well known critical social scientists in national and academic circles are also conspicuously left out by CODESRIA. Some of these only know the journal or have had a paper published or accepted for publication. Some were active in the early years but did not maintain contact. All these point to the fact that social scientists in teaching units know very little about CODESRIA.

CODESRIA claims to have mobilized about 650 researchers. These appear to be thinly spread out in the social science circle in Anglophone West Africa and have not sustained their interest through continuous participation in CODESRIA's activities. This is however not to deny that the few who have been involved are deeply committed to its objectives and give leadership in the organization's activities.

3.2 The Mobilization of Material Resources

CODESRIA lists four sources of funds:

1. Annual membership from universities, social science institutes and analogous organizations,
2. Grants from African governments,
3. Research institutes' contribution to local costs of research and conferences,
4. Project funding from international funding organizations and United Nations specialized agencies.

Reports from CODESRIA and from field observations indicate that the bodies in category 4 contribute the substantial proportion of CODESRIA's financial resources. Those who are familiar with CODESRIA's operations believe it has aggressively tried to mobilize funds from these four sources but has made little headway with African governments and universities. Only one of the countries visited ever paid the annual grant and this may cease in future because of the current economic crisis. No university faculty claims to pay the annual dues, thus only the research institutes pay annual dues and also provide other forms of material support when they host meetings. The Institute of Research in Liberia, for instance, provided such support for the Conference on Science and Technology Policy held in Liberia in 1983. CODESRIA claims to have attracted funds for specific projects from the Organization for African Unity and from the Economic Commission for Africa. It is not clear however if the new association with these bodies in a consulting capacity will help to generate funds or other types of material resources on a regular basis.

CODESRIA has had limited success in mobilizing financial resources for members. It mobilized external grants for the Workshop on Science and Technology, the AAPS and AAWARD meetings. It is currently financing seven research projects which were scheduled to be completed in 1984. Its financial obligations to research are in the form of salary and infrastructure to Visiting Fellows at the Secretariat, and the

provision of seed money from its regular budget for the implementation of the projects. Only one of the institutes visited claims to have benefitted from the latter type of support. Support to individuals is usually in the form of airfares and subsistence to participants at CODESRIA's meetings. Research funds are not provided to individual researchers except those visiting at the secretariat.

3.3 The Mobilization of Support

CODESRIA has achieved more success in this direction than in others. Apart from attracting international grants for institutional support and expansion, it has broken the isolated position in which social science research institutes and teaching units existed for a long time through contact with each other, with other regional social science organizations, United Nations agencies and African development agencies for which they can attract technical expertise. CODESRIA perceives this as a significant contribution to social science research in Africa particularly since previous attempts to achieve the same objectives had failed. The heads of the institutes interviewed share similar positive evaluations of CODESRIA particularly since its has helped to broaden their area of operations, their access to information data on a regional and international level. The newer institutes e.g. Center for Development Studies, Jos and the National Social Science Council of Nigeria expect CODESRIA to provide similar support as it develops its programmes of action in the future. The few meetings attended by members of the Institute of Research (Liberia) has, for instance, enabled them to know of existing institutes, international agencies and about ongoing research in other institutes and the priorities in the region as a whole.

CODESRIA's link with international agencies has been intensified over the 10 years of its existence and it has through such links encouraged African participation in assessing the trend of social science research in and outside the region, in setting priorities and in determining policies. This is apparent in its discussions of its different activities with organizations such as ECA, UNESCO and the World Bank. In order to achieve the objective of coordinating social science research, it also

maintains links with a similar social science research organization, CLACSO, in Latin America, EADI in Europe and the Arab association AICARDES which also support the social sciences in those regions. What social scientists in Africa benefit from this through CODESRIA is the increasing orientation towards a multi-disciplinary approach to the resolution of development problems.

There are other sub-regional and regional institutes and agencies whose association with CODESRIA help to provide support for the social sciences. Among those listed are the African Regional Centre of Technology (Dakar), the Pan-African Institute of Development (Douala and Ouagadougou), the African Training and Research Centre in Administration for Development, the African Institute for Economic Development and Planning, the African Centre for Monetary Studies and the African Cultural Institute (Dakar). Although I was not apportioned to interview members of these institutes, one gets the impression from those associated with some of these agencies that there is some dialogue between them and CODESRIA about development issues, but also of a need for a deeper association to enhance the status and relevance of the social sciences in the areas of specialization of the agencies.

Another form of support acknowledged by those interviewed is CODESRIA's attempt since its inception to encourage dialogue between the social scientists in the region. The meetings, the publications though restricted to a few have made some significant contributions in this direction.

CODESRIA perceives itself as giving support to social science research in Africa by creating the right type of environment for scholars who cannot carry out research in their own countries and who are therefore political refugees in other countries. The numbers affected is believed to be increasing with the evolution of more and more dictatorship in Africa. But by establishing fellowships and visiting positions to intimidated social scientists, CODESRIA believes it has been able to provide a better atmosphere for research under its umbrella. An adjunct of the political crisis in Africa (apparent in the collapse of governments) is a high degree of uncertainty among

social scientists. CODESRIA is believed to have intervened in this crisis by suggesting an alternative model of development and thereby raising the theoretical awareness of African scholars. Although such crises are apparent in Anglophone West Africa as in other parts of Africa, only a few scholars from Anglophone West Africa have been hosted by CODESRIA. Ghana is presently the most hard hit, but some respondents complain of little of this type of support from CODESRIA.

4. CODESRIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROMOTION OF RESEARCH IN AFRICA

4.1 The Priority Areas Issue

The main objective of CODESRIA as stated in the introduction, is "to activate concerned African Social Scientists to undertake fundamental as well as problem oriented research in the field of development." To achieve this CODESRIA selects priority areas, identified specialists, nurtures working groups and raises money for the studies.

The research orientation outlined by CODESRIA was popularly acclaimed by those interviewed. Those who were earlier not informed about the organization, particularly in Sierra Leone and Ghana believe there is the need for such a Pan-African organization which should also act as a clearing house for African researchers. The majority of those interviewed identified themselves with the priority areas because they touch on the most urgent problems of African Development and facilitate comparative research. There is however a felt need for more inputs from individual researchers and specialists in the setting of these priority areas and also, a need for a sub-regional definition of priority areas. The priority areas are considered in some quarters to be too wide to reflect sub-regional problems. The few who are familiar with the way they are structured believe they should be selected with reference to specialists in the areas to ensure that they are well articulated with each other. Defining sub-regional priorities is expected to increase the depth of the studies, take care of sub-regional problems and aid theory formulation, while inputs from specialists would ensure deeper commitment to research issues.

It is believed that CODESRIA has so far relied on the critical perspective for the operationalization of the stated areas of research. This is apparent in its account of its growth, in conference themes and publications. There is however a call from the community for a shift from its traditional critical position to a neutral position in order to further the search for alternative strategies and to incorporate the contributions of scholars who are not necessarily critical but share the concern for alternative strategies. Its present position is believed to be as problematic for African development as the conservative approach which it criticizes. It seems to be that CODESRIA is already aware of this need for change. Correspondence with some of its active members also underscore the changes already taking place but which are not yet apparent in existing publications.

4.2 Coordination of Research

CODESRIA has so far coordinated research through member institutions which sometimes help to identify specialists and define priority areas. Some of these specialists are brought together as members of working groups which prepare a final proposal and execute the studies. Most heads of research institutes confirm that they receive the list of priority areas and are asked to submit the names of specialists. But sometimes these requests are not followed up and often the projects are not executed. Moreover, the impression from field reports is that CODESRIA spends more time on the conferences, workshops, etc. in its attempt to identify research problems and specialists than on actual research. Only three heads of institutes acknowledged participating in ongoing research - ISSER in Ghana, NISER in Nigeria, CENSER in Zaria. Projects are just being initiated with the Institute of Research (Liberia) and the Center for Development Studies (Jos).

Since CODESRIA has operated mainly through Research Institutes and through a small network of scholars, researchers within teaching units have generally been neglected. Only three researchers in Jos are just trying to join some Working Groups. In effect, some of the best African researchers are left out of CODESRIA's research groups. In

addition, the strategy of coordinating research on a continent wide basis from one single location is considered ambitious considering the communication problems in the continent and the diversified interests which need to be pursued by researchers. The inputs from technology and agricultural institutes in particular are presently considered inadequate although they are on CODESRIA's list of priority areas and which require more inputs from social scientists associated with CODESRIA.

5. CODESRIA'S EFFECTIVENESS IN THE PROMOTION OF RESEARCH AND TRAINING

5.1 CODESRIA's Effectiveness in Promoting Training

CODESRIA has since its inception concentrated on institution building, on the specification of the status of the social sciences in Africa, on the identification of researchers and of areas of research. Apart from visiting fellowships offered to researchers, it has not been involved in training at the undergraduate and graduate levels. However, its executive recently approved a graduate training scheme in identified centres of excellence. The journal, and books are presently the only direct contributions to undergraduate and graduate training.

5.2 CODESRIA's Effectiveness in Promoting Research

CODESRIA's impact on research has similarly been limited. Only five of the institutions visited have initiated projects within the set priority areas. Three of them were by the intervention of CODESRIA and two were internally arranged after exposure to the priority areas. CODESRIA's several meetings are, however, seen by CODESRIA itself and by several others as contributions to research since at such meetings existing data, theory and methods are discussed. Such meetings are either directed at defining research areas or at reporting the results of research. But as evident in its Report of Activities for 1988, only one project, that on Leakages in African Economies sponsored by the ECA has been completed. This is a low rate of return considering the fact that 650 African scholars had been mobilized. This low

level of productivity is undoubtedly related to the limited association of the majority of African social scientists with CODESRIA. But the implication is that only a small group of researchers have been confined through CODESRIA to the deep seated issue of development which is of concern to many. This notwithstanding, CODESRIA is believed to be making some contributions to the legitimation of social science research in Africa. It has done this by specifying a new orientation, identifying some researchers and codifying existing materials. Through constant dialogue with U.N. agencies and the OAU it has, for instance, brought out the potentials of African social scientists as experts who can advise about the development of the continent. Such potential has, however, not been fully exploited since within each nation state there is still a large gap between research and policy. Organizations such as ECOWAS, the Institute of International Affairs in Lagos, government planning units with which there should be greater collaboration and who require social science data for sub-regional and regional development planning, are left out of CODESRIA's activities. CODESRIA's critical position is believed by some to have created a gulf between it and many African governments. The general reaction is that a slight shift from this position would further aid the legitimization of social science research on the African scene. It must be pointed out that the majority of those interviewed believe that CODESRIA can contribute further to the promotion of social science research on the continent. This is felt more in Ghana and Sierra Leone where research funds are non-existent and scholars require financial support to work in or outside their own countries. Many believe that if properly organized CODESRIA can stimulate more research than any other organization at the present.

5.3 CODESRIA's Effectiveness in Promoting Institutions

CODESRIA has not been influential in starting any institution in Anglophone West Africa. It has helped existing ones to broaden their knowledge of the state of the social sciences and to maintain contact with social scientists in other parts of Africa. This has for instance been achieved through the support to AAWARD, Nigerian

Women in Development and AAPS recently. New institutes such as the Institute of Research in Liberia and the National Social Science Council of Nigeria expect that cooperating with CODESRIA would yield material and non-material support if and when a more regular association is established.

6. CODESRIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISSEMINATION OF RESEARCH RESULTS

6.1 Achievements and Results

CODESRIA has a series of publications which are its greatest assets in promoting social science research in Africa. This publication in both French and English has earned CODESRIA a positive image. These are the quarterly journal, Africa Development, the Newsletter Africana, working papers, occasional papers, books, the Research Annual and the Roaster of African Social Scientists. Of these, the Journal has been CODESRIA's best asset since it circulates widely and is a source through which African scholars have published their research results. The majority of those interviewed formally and informally are not familiar with CODESRIA's operations, but know the Journal. Subscription to the Journal is low, but there are indications that CODESRIA for a long time distributed them free of charge to libraries and faculties. A few of the books published by CODESRIA are now circulating in some academic circles and are also creating a positive image for CODESRIA. They still need to circulate among a wider audience since some of CODESRIA's publications are unknown in Sierra Leone and only the Journal is read in Liberia. Because the Newsletter is only received at the institutes, the majority of researchers in the teaching departments are unaware of CODESRIA's activities.

6.2 Problems and Difficulties

The problems of communication in Africa have been an impediment to the circulation of CODESRIA's publications. The Journal is now infrequent, and the Newsletter arrives after the events being advertised. CODESRIA itself has inhouse problems which are disincentives to the free distribution of its publications. The most critical problem

is the crisis of foreign exchange particularly in Anglophone Africa which has cut the few subscriptions received in the past. CODESRIA's adoption of the critical perspective also generates reservations in many quarters about the quality of the publications and the Journal's openness to issues which are not necessarily critical in orientation.

7. THE EMERGENCE OF SUB-REGIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE GROUPS AND THEIR IMPACT ON CODESRIA

7.1 The Emergence of Sub-Regional Groups

Few sub-regional social science groups have emerged in the area of study. CODESRIA has therefore operated simultaneously with national social science associations whose operations are restricted to annual meetings. Only two sub-regional groups have emerged in Anglophone West Africa. One is the Anglophone West African Regional Education Research Council which was inaugurated in 1975 and which was financed externally until it folded up in 1981. The other is the West African Economic Association which is still active and which meets annually. AAWARD is a regional organization while the Nigerian Women in Development concentrates on Nigerian Women. Similarly, the newly formed National Social Science Council of Nigeria expects to represent the interests of Social Scientists in research and policy formulation in Nigeria. There are therefore no parallels to SAUSC in South Africa or OSSREA in East Africa sub-regional groups are however viewed positively in terms of their contributions to the understanding of sub-regional problems and the identification of a smaller body of researchers who can feature in research and policy formulation.

Members of the West African Economic Association have been working very closely with ECOWAS on various problems in the sub-region, and are highly appraised by ECOWAS. Such sub-regional groups are, however, defined as complementing CODESRIA rather than as competing with it. CODESRIA is believed to need such associations in order to decentralize and function more effectively and efficiently. They need CODESRIA to reach a larger body of scholars, broaden comparative research and generate one body of theory for African development. It is believed also that individual participation in CODESRIA's activities will increase if individuals are reached and identified through such groups.

**8. CONCLUSION: CODESRIA'S RESPONSE TO CHANGING CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
IN AFRICA**

CODESRIA's perception of changes in social science research in Africa corresponds with the perceptions of those interviewed. There is unanimity about the direction of change in social science research in Africa:

1. That there is an increasing departure from western models of development and social theorizing;
2. That there has been an increasing reliance on the political economy approach but that the approach is restricted to the analysis of political and economic structures;
3. That the extension of the political economy approach to the analysis of cultural systems may yield fruitful results in the search for an alternative theory;
4. That there is a shift from the independent stand of the disciplines to a multi-disciplinary approach; and,
5. That research in Africa needs to be relevant to the needs of Africa, should be policy oriented and should constitute an African perspective in the entire body of the Social Sciences.

There is agreement about the way these changes are perceived because the entire subject is now widely discussed across disciplines, the historical development of the social sciences has itself become an important subject of study in recent times.

CODESRIA was one of the earliest to perceive the new structure of change and to encourage research on old and new trends as apparent in the publications listed. According to CODESRIA, the disciplines were grounded in the western intellectual tradition, theories and policies. Teaching and research were also dominated by western intellectuals who were deeply committed to the modernization perspective.

Although a small crop of African researchers and teachers were emerging, the fact that they shared this dominant perspective encouraged the continuity of the development perspective. CODESRIA was one of the first groups of African researchers to call for a

change in orientation. Because of its critical stand, its views were unpopular and the traditional theories therefore continued to gain grounds. This is particularly obvious in Sierra Leone and Liberia, whereas in Ghana and Nigeria, the traditional theories have been under attack for a much longer period. Social science research has also been given more impetus in these two countries as there are many more research institutes and until recently, more internal funding.

The revisionist trend pursued by CODESRIA became imperative because of the collapse of African democracies. The collapse of the economies more recently has won more converts for that orientation. Researchers have even gone one step further to reappraise traditional Marxist principles in terms of its relevance to African development. Unfortunately the early Marxist position taken by CODESRIA detracted from the search for an alternative model of development that it had set out to achieve. Change within CODESRIA, particularly its current non-ideological position, shows that it can best respond to the challenges of African development and accommodate the views of moderates and others who now see the need for an alternative theory. Those who are closely associated with CODESRIA believe that it is already changing to take on these challenges and that this is apparent in the structure of its present executive and in new networks that are being developed.

CODESRIA is currently acting as a consultant to agencies concerned with African Development: the OAU and ECA in particular. Its involvement in the formulation of the Lagos Plan of Action is evidence that it is already responding to the need to make the social sciences more policy oriented than they were before. CODESRIA was from its inception aware of this need. It was observed by many that development plans were left to experts from abroad while African intellectuals devoted time and energy to empirical work without a relevant theoretical base. These respondents agree with CODESRIA that research should be policy oriented, should concentrate on African priorities and should reflect aspects of the African culture and intellectuals tradition. A crisis of methodology is envisaged, but it is believed that this would be eventually resolved and the gap between research and policy would be bridged and a theory would emerge as CODESRIA organizes researchers in the region.

Because of the collapse of several African economies, funds for social science research have been cut drastically in the universities. Nigerian universities started to experience this from the mid-1970s. This had to wait until much later in Ghana and Sierra Leone. The Liberian University is presently trying to create a social science research community, but it has been seriously caught in the problem of funding. Nevertheless, CODESRIA is expected to resolve these funding problems in countries where funds are scarce by raising and organizing funds, but also to stem up its efforts to disseminate the results of research including those which were not sponsored by the organization. This is considered critical since many social science journals have not been published regularly in the last five years.

Various suggestions were offered as to how CODESRIA can perform its role efficiently and also adapt to changes in the social sciences in Africa:

1. That it should extend its operations to institutes concerned with technological and agricultural development;
2. That it should decentralize on a sub-regional basis;
3. That the secretariat should be rotated;
4. That the chief executives should change more regularly;
5. That CODESRIA should be represented in national social science associations;
6. That it should support exchange programmes within Africa and between Third World countries;
7. Identify more individual researchers;
8. Identify centres of excellence and fund specific research in each on a rotational basis to encourage more indepth studies;
9. Invite government departments, planning units on to its executive to bridge the gap between researchers and policy makers.

CODESRIA is generally perceived as an organization which woke up to the needs of the region, but which has operated with a limited group of researchers in its quest for solutions. It is now expected to broaden its base of operations and engage in indepth research to fulfill its objectives. Since the social science community has increased rapidly over the last ten years, major structural changes can now be expected to take place.



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE

CENTRE DE RECHERCHES POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

EVALUATION DE *CODESRIA* EVALUATION

EVALUATORS/EVALUATEURS

S Afonja: University of Ife, Nigeria P.O. Box 1052
A Djefia: Institut des Sciences Economique, Algere
J. Joaquim-Brunner, FLACSO, Chile

SPONSORS/SOUS L'AUSPICES DE

SAREC
Ford Foundation
IDRC/CRDI

25 June 1984

Dear Colleague,

I have been selected as a member of a three-man team by the International Development Research Centre, SAREC and the Ford Foundation to evaluate the activities of CODESRIA, Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa which they have sponsored since its inception.

As part of the evaluation exercise, I have been assigned to visit research and teaching institutes in West Africa and seek the opinion of Social Scientists about the activities of CODESRIA.

I am planning to visit your Department/Institute on July 1984. I hope you will be able to spare sometime to express your opinion about the direction of Social Science Research in Africa. If the time selected is not convenient, please let me know by return so that I can make alternative arrangements.

Thank you for your cooperation in promoting and improving Social Science Research in Africa.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Simi Afonja.

*Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa
Conseil pour le développement de la recherche économique et sociale en Afrique

Head Office/Siège social: 60 Queen St./rue Queen, P.O. Box/C.P. 8500, Ottawa, Canada K1G 3H9
Tel./Tél.: (613)996-2321 • Cable/Câble: RECENTRE • Telex/Télex: 053-3753

PART III

SOUTHEAST ANGLOPHONE AFRICA

JOSÉ JOAQUÍN BRUNNER

1. CODESRIA'S SELF-DEFINITION AND THE QUEST FOR INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY

1.1 The Intellectual Context

The Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA) has as its main objective "to promote research and training activities in the fields of economic and social development in Africa through close cooperation and collaboration between African universities, research and training institutes, and professional associations" (Charter, n.3). Distinct from this more or less formal definition is CODESRIA's self-image.

The Council conceives of itself as an organization which was set up in the early 1973 to renovate or help in the renovation of social science research in Africa. As is clearly stated in the prospectus of the organization:

"CODESRIA's main objective is to activate concerned African social scientists and research institutes to undertake fundamental as well as problem oriented research in the field of development from a perspective which is more relevant to the needs of African people and thus challenging the existing orthodox development theories which have often led many African countries to stagnation and underdevelopment. It is hoped that development research coordinated by or associated with CODESRIA will lead to producing new ideas, and alternative strategies to the development problems of the African continent" (CODESRIA, 1982:3).

From the outset, CODESRIA must have been aware that its Charter could be interpreted in at least two different ways: the first, leading to a value free type of academic coordination, and the second, based on a dynamic interpretation of its Charter, leading to a committed type of academic coordination (Bujra, 1983). As is evident from the above quotation from the prospectus, the latter interpretation was clearly favoured.

At the same time, notions were emphasized, such as the idea of bringing together concerned African social scientists and encouraging research from a perspective more relevant to the needs of the African people. More specifically, CODESRIA stressed the idea of challenging the orthodox development theories, and thus of producing new ideas and alternative strategies to the development problems of the African countries.

One might suggest that in adopting this interpretation of its own Charter, that CODESRIA was reacting to the prevailing condition of the early 70's as perceived by African social scientists themselves. CODESRIA emerged at the precise time when a crisis in the "inherited ideology of development" was being identified - an ideology whose origin was attributed to the former ruling colonial powers and whose aim was said to be to penetrate and convince "the newly created nationalist class to accept a specific, detailed model of development and the ideology of development which buttressed it" (Amin et al., 1978:24).

In this context, it was recognized that political independence had not brought about nor had it made possible a radical restructuring of the economies and the political institutions of the African countries (Cf. Atta-Mills, 1978). Moreover, the poor performance of the African societies during their first decade of independence was also blamed on that "inherited ideology of development" and the policies it inspired. In fact, the figures showed a desolate picture. In Africa the annual average rate of growth of real per capita GDP amounted to 2% over the period 1960-70 and 1.4% between 1970-76 (Amin et al., 1978:32-34). This meant that the average per capita income increased in Africa from \$133 to \$170 during the years 1960-70, thus increasing from eleven to eighteen times the average per capita income gap with respect to the developed market economies during the same period. Disaggregate figures show that for particular countries the situation was even worse: between 1960-70 eleven had negative rates of per capita growth while thirteen achieved growth rates of less than 2%. In the agricultural sector, the annual rate of per capita food production was negative in 17 countries. As for the manufacturing sector, the per capita output increased from \$11 to \$16 between 1960-70. However, the share of Africa in world manufacturing output remained constant at 0.6% from 1950 to 1970 (1).

In short, CODESRIA came into existence at a time when Africa's underdevelopment was perceived as worsening, notwithstanding the fact of the then recently obtained political independence. As previously suggested, this development failure was partly due to the shortcomings of the "inherited ideology of development", not to mention the "colonial legacy" one of whose main component parts (i.e. the "newly created class of

African intermediaries") was supposed to be the main carrier of that ideology. For the concerned African social scientists, the design embedded in this ideology was to mention "reconcile the newly acquired political independence with the economic dominance of the metropolitan countries on African countries." Thus, its more general function was said to be "to negate or obviate any alternative patterns of development other than the capitalist one" (Amin et al., 1978:26).

In this connection, traditional or conventional development theory was supposed to provide two sets of instruments: one, of a more practical nature, for manipulating socio-economic variables in the desired direction; the other, positively ideological in its character, providing a model for the desired society. This last dimension of development theory was said to be ideological in nature because it was based on the assumption of the traditional/modern dichotomy, the underlying supposition being "a developmental model which envisages the transformation of underdeveloped countries into the images of Western industrialized societies in values, norms, institutions and political orientation" (Kinyanjui, 1980:7).

In a similar way as had occurred previously in Latin America, the modernization paradigm was perceived in Africa by the more critically oriented social scientists as an attempt to impose on the underdeveloped countries the patterns of organization and the lifestyles prevailing in the metropolitan capitalist societies (Cf. Amin et al., 1978:26 and passim). More important, it was felt that this dominant paradigm through its specific expression as an ideology of development was firmly entrenched in African societies, and that it was not difficult to identify the concrete mechanisms which continuously assured its political and cultural reproduction. Amongst these mechanisms the following were considered to be of particular importance (Amin et al., 1978:30-31):

-- the acceptance on the part of the nationalist leaders of the basic tenets of colonial planning, particularly with regard to the role that the State and the private sector were supposed to play in fostering development.

- The overseas training of social scientists and higher ranking bureaucrats due to the lack of adequate training facilities in Africa (2).
- The continuing affiliation of social science institutions to metropolitan educational and research centers. A graphic picture of this situation has been given with respect to one major African research institution, the Institute for Development Studies (IDS), at the University of Nairobi. In fact, as stated by Senga and Migot-Adholla:

"It is important to note that, like social science research anywhere in the newly independent countries during the 1960s, research in the IDS during its early years took place in an environment in which the USA, in particular, and western governments and private interests in general, were omnipresent. A mixture of US academic, commercial and security interests manifested themselves in the presence of large numbers of Americans 'trying to help' (1978:124)."

- The domination of and within social science communication by metropolitan institutions and scholars that set the standards of scholarship, defined the values and criteria for evaluating research and delineated the priority areas of research (Amin et al., 1878: 30-31).
- The ambiguous position occupied by African researchers themselves within the new African society: at one and the same time they were part of the modernizing elites, and being perceived as such, they were accordingly gratified with status and rewards. But on the other hand this closeness with the State (sometimes within a one-party system) would restrict the cognitive horizons and limit the intellectual maneuverability of the social scientists, without stimulating a healthy environment for critical research.
- The lack of appreciation of the value of research by governments and government officials regardless of the degree of social and political closeness of social scientists to the State.

-- The brain drain both external and internal (the latter occurs when a researcher is physically in his own country yet he is professionally employed by foreign institutions, private or public).

It is a more or less common claim among concerned African social scientists that these conditions favoured the continuing reproduction of an "inherited ideology of development", strongly influencing both the style and orientation of social science research during the period immediately following independence. So much so that there is a recurrent mention in the specialized literature of what is called conventional social science and conventional development research.

If we have gone with some length into these arguments, which no doubt are well known, it is because they provide the necessary background for understanding CODESRIA and its commitment. To put it bluntly: CODESRIA thinks of itself as being part of the reaction brought about by the dominance of conventional social sciences and it thus expresses, at least in its self-image, the commitment of a group of African social scientists to the formation of a new and alternative tradition in the field of social science research.

To better understand this contention, we will expound on the arguments involved in the dispute over conventional and critical approaches to the social sciences as seen through some of CODESRIA's documents. Further on we shall return to the same debate, but viewed from the perspective of the researchers who were interviewed during the course of the evaluation.

1.2 The Conventional Social Sciences

Before examining the evaluation and origins of the Conventional Social Sciences (CSS), it is important to mention the main tenets of this approach to the social sciences. These tenets are most clearly articulated in the following four characteristics of the CSS' development theory:

- its ahistorical approach;
- its static functionalist view of social structures, ("it revolves around the values of social order and capitalism" (Ake 1979: and passim);
- its (ideological) claim of ideological neutralism;
- its tendency to compartmentalize the social sciences into various disciplines and each discipline into further specializations (Cf. Amin, 1978 and Anyang' Nyong'o, 1978).

From the perspective of the critical approach to the social sciences, the tradition of the CSS developed in Africa as an offspring of the colonial legacy. Its intellectual genealogy should be traced therefore in that direction. According to Bujra and Mkandawire "From the very early period of colonial and capitalist penetration in Africa there was a serious attempt to study African societies in all their aspects" (1980:22). These authors state that the rationale for this intellectual enterprise is to be found in the situation that characterized the position of the colonial powers: they were compelled to understand the social structures, the economies and politics of the African communities in order to establish capitalist institutions, to control the movements of the labour force, and to obtain political stability in the face of the resistance that was bound to occur as a result of the destruction of pre-capitalist modes of production and association.

Be that as it may, the fact seems to be that the African studies developed initially around the academic discipline of anthropology. Only researchers coming from the metropolitan countries were involved in these studies which focused mainly on the migration processes, the land tenure and farming systems, the kinship and political structures, and the process of urbanization within the colonies. Again, according to Bujra and Mkandawire those research priorities clearly reflect "the objective need for

scientific information on African societies by both the colonial states and the colonial capitalists (owners and managers of mines, plantations and commercial enterprises)"(1980:22).

During a second phase of the development of African studies, some metropolitan institutions, mainly universities, would begin to expand their activities establishing the first research centers in Africa itself:

"These centers manned by specialists from metropolitan countries not only undertook research in the various fields, but they became the factories for producing both information as well as theories, concepts and tools for analyzing African societies." (Bujra and Mkandawire, 1980:23).

For example, the first social research institution in East Africa was the Makerere Institute of Social Research (part of the Makerere College "an overseas brand of London University") established in Uganda in 1948. The permanent staff of the Institute consisted of nine anthropologists, one sociologist and one economist. In the College itself, a staff of eight additional members taught the courses in political science, economics and sociology through the Department of Social Studies (Cf. Anyang' Nyong'o, 1978:70-71).

With the passing of time and when it became evident that formal independence of the colonies would have to be granted, the demand for qualified indigenous personnel grew rapidly, and was felt to be a primary responsibility of those who wanted to achieve an orderly decolonization process. In fact, a new intermediate class had to be formed and the modernizing elites were supposed to originate in that social class. With this purpose in mind, new institutions were set up which immediately before or after the period of independence became the first African universities.

The universities themselves were probably conditioned by the circumstances of their establishment and by the main function with which they were entrusted. As Anyang' Nyong'o points out:

"High level manpower was seen specifically in terms of the requirements of the economy. And since the economy needed to grow fast, the Africans needed to get those social services denied to them during colonial times, and state bureaucracies needed to be Africanized, the rapid production of this manpower had to be the urgent task of the University." (1978:72) (3).

The social research institutes that had already been established became part of the new universities but remained still under the control of metropolitan specialists. For example, in the case of Makerere University (Kampala), the Makerere Institute of Social Research had already been established and changed its name to become the East African Institute of Social Science Research. In those countries where no social research institutes had been established prior to independence they were rapidly created, the rationale being according to Anyang' Nyong'o that they were perceived as one "traditional component of a 'normal' university."

In this latter category of newly created institutes, one finds for example the IDS (Nairobi) which was established in 1965 "as a separate department within the Faculty of Arts of the then University College, Nairobi" (Senga and Migotr-Adholla, 1978:123). The case of the IDS is interesting because it shows the kind of continuity that the newly created institutes are alleged to have carried over from the colonial times. As Senga and Migotr-Adholla state:

"In the IDS the bulk of research support has so far come from foreign sources, except for salaries of local staff and administrative costs. Such foreign funds, even if not strictly controlled with respect to permissible topics tend to be deployed on projects which are not likely to offend the sensibilities of the established political power (4). Thus a local researcher is often concerned not only for the welfare of his own work, but for his very survival as a researcher quasi researcher. It is no wonder therefore, that very few studies by local scholars have raised serious questions about the political or economic order. Instead, it is the expatriates who have sometimes raised some challenging criticism" (1978:127).

These same authors have also noted that the first directors of the Institute were expatriate researchers, and not until 1972 did the IDS (Nairobi) have Kenyan directors. During the 60s research was also undertaken only by expatriates and up until the 70s, the major sources of finance for research activities were non-national agencies. It was not until the mid 70s that the IDS started to build a stable core of local researchers. However, this latter fact did not change immediately the definition of priority areas for research within the Institute. The explanation of this paradox is to be found in what is thought to be one of the most salient features of the social conditioning of African research orientations, that is, the sources and patterns of their funding.

In short, the argument of the concerned African social scientists is that a given tradition of African Studies, originated during the colonial period, found its continuity into the post-colonial time through a set of specific conditions that account for the establishment of CSS. As expressed by Bujra and Mkandawire (1980:24):

"this carry over of the stock of knowledge from the colonial period through into the new national institutions of the emerging independent African countries was extremely important and thus provided what we can only call the 'intellectual and scientific' continuity from the colonial period to the post colonial period. Thus the new universities and research institutes which were created later in most African countries did not start from a clean slate, but rather with an inherited stock of knowledge and personnel in all fields. To us the importance of this continuity is that it maintained during the 60s and 70s the dominance of conventional social science (of bourgeois origin and orientation) in both teaching and research."

1.3 The Critical Social Sciences and CODESRIA's Role in their Coming to Age

CODESRIA perceives itself as a part of the reaction against the inherited ideology of development and as a legitimate response to the CSS. As Bujra states, it claims to have emerged from the politico-cultural movement or Resistance Front that:

"was composed of various but closely interlinked groups and individuals who operated at the political as well as the scholarly or academic level. Its strong anti-colonial political and academic activities continued even after independence." (1983:5).

Some of the members of those resistance groups became political leaders (like Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Senghor) and would soon be followed by a new generation of African leaders (such as Nyerere, Toure, Lumbumba, Cabral). Others maintained after independence their early engagement in the academic field and became the initiators of a new critical tradition in the social sciences. Again, according to Bujra:

"many individuals were involved in this broad school of thought. They varied in their ideological position from that of a strong nationalist, a social democrat, to that of various fractions of marxism. (Thus) the works of such scholars as Cesaire, Fanon, Rodney, Amin, Cabral, Rweyemamu, Mazrui, Nkimi, Benachenou, etc. were influencing the younger generation of researchers throughout the continent."(1983:6).

The emergence of this new or alternative critical tradition in the field of the social sciences was made possible by a set of conditions, the most important of them being:

- the cultural expansion brought about by independence which made it possible for African social scientists and intellectuals to communicate more openly between themselves and with the rest of the world;
- the reception in Africa of "the new Latin American school of social sciences", i.e., ECLA's desarrollismo plus dependency theory, (5);
- The exposure of African social scientists to Third World socialisms, "in particular the various interpretations of Marxist-Leninist theory as applied in Eastern Europe, China, North Korea and Cuba" which are said to have been of particular interest to some African leaders and scholars (Bujra, 1983:7).

Assessing the nature of critical research, Amin et al. have stated that it tends

"to enquire into the nature and objectives of the very process of social and economic development itself; the history and evolution of the process; its present state and its future movement in society, i.e. the development process is not harmonious, but is based on conflicts and contradictions between different forces within the society."(1978:36).

Whatever the outcome of this debate might be, it is clear that CODESRIA perceives itself as an organization which was set up within the context of an emerging critical tradition in the social sciences and with the explicit aim of favouring its expansion. As pointedly stated by CODESRIA's Executive Secretary:

"CODESRIA was to provide the institutional and scientific framework within which African researchers would seriously look at the development problems of Africa on the basis of the experience gained so far within Africa and also from the experience ... of the rest of the world. In other words, CODESRIA was to be the main activator and catalyst of the scattered and uncoordinated groups of individual researchers to whom we have referred to as the Resistance Front."(Our emphasis) (Bujra, 1983:7).

Some concluding remarks are now possible. As has been shown, CODESRIA came into being within the post-colonial context, some ten years after the independence process had already begun in the majority of the African countries. Its self-understood aim was to promote, coordinate and strengthen an alternative and critical tradition within the African social sciences. The circumstances involved in the shaping of this intellectual project were the following:

1. An acute awareness that political independence had not brought about effective changes in the living conditions of the African people. On the contrary, after one decade of "independent development" economic conditions were deteriorating or at best, remained stagnated.
2. The belief that this development failure was in part the result of an inherited ideology of development, its roots going back to the colonial period, and its maintenance being in part the product of the legitimation provided by CSS.
3. The existence at the same time of a political and intellectual movement notwithstanding its weak institutional basis and scattered nature that was to become the germ-cell of an alternative approach to the development problems of the continent and the nucleus of a new and critical tradition within the social sciences. It was claimed therefore, that this alternative tradition would "lead to providing new ideas and alternative strategies to the development problems of Africa."

4. CODESRIA was supposed to become and thought of itself as being "the main activator and catalyst" of that incipient movement, providing a framework for its institutionalization in the field of social research, and thus "challenging the existing orthodox development theories" which were viewed as being responsible for the "stagnation and underdevelopment" that characterized many African countries.
5. In fulfilling its purpose, CODESRIA would take advantage of the new conditions created by the independence process: the expansion of the opportunities for communication between African social scientists themselves and with the rest of the world, and the enlarged indigenous institutional basis that was being set up for the social science research and teaching activities.
6. Most importantly, CODESRIA would seek to improve and coordinate the activities within the African continent aimed at developing "a more relevant and critical social science."

In effect, all of CODESRIA's activities during its decade-long existence have been directed towards fulfilling this latter purpose which it claims to have achieved (CODESRIA, 1983):

- In order to develop as a Pan-African organization with a broad base of support, it required sufficient human, financial and technical resources to carry on the activities as defined by its Charter, and as interpreted by its governing bodies. Thus CODESRIA's headquarters (as of 1983) were staffed with 20 local members, situated in a building with 17 offices, a printing house, a conference room, and two apartments for visiting scholars. It now operates with a yearly budget of approximately 700,000 US dollars.

- The mobilization during the last ten years of approximately 650 African researchers involved in conferences, workshops and research groups throughout 12 African countries, and through their participation in around 30 different seminars organized and/or sponsored by CODESRIA (6).
- The dissemination of information through the above mentioned channels or through CODESRIA's publication programmes, which include the quarterly journal Africa Development and the accumulation of approximately 350 research papers (7). This has allowed for the development of a critical approach to the social sciences that has "become widespread, respectable, and legitimate." Moreover, this same approach, but applied specifically to development problems, is now said to be found "in many other publications, in the curriculum of university teaching, and in many research programmes of Research Institutes."
- In collaboration with many other institutions -- regional, sub-regional and national -- and with the support of individual researchers, CODESRIA also claims to have had an impact on the form in which development problems are now identified, and on the policies that now are being designed and adopted to solve them. "As part of this perspective, CODESRIA began to involve policy-makers from governments in its research activities, and at the same time, collaborating with regional and sub-regional organizations such as the ECA and others."
- Finally, as an ongoing result of its activities, CODESRIA claims to have enhanced the communication between African scholars and to have broadened their perspectives on development problems "beyond the traditional and narrow national outlook." At the same time, CODESRIA believes it has strengthened the international connections between African social scientists, in particular through the collaboration established with the sister organizations in Latin America (CLACSO), in Asia (ADIPA), in Europe (EADI) and in the Arab world (AICARDES).

2. GENERAL OVERVIEW OF CODESRIA'S PERCEPTION BY THE SOCIAL SCIENCE COMMUNITY

If there is an overall image that arises from this evaluation exercise, it is the following conclusive, but albeit paradoxical one: CODESRIA is perceived as an important and necessary institution on the African social science scene, but at the same time, there exists amongst the social scientists themselves a relatively strong consensus that CODESRIA has lost momentum and that profound changes must now be undertaken.

Based on the materials obtained through the interviews, the written documents at hand, and our own impressions in the field, we shall explore in this chapter the more general contents of this image (8).

2.1 CODESRIA as a Necessary and Important Institution

We found that whatever criticisms might be addressed at CODESRIA, the interviewed African social scientists, with one or two exceptions, recognize its importance and genuinely express their support for the Council's endeavours. CODESRIA was felt to be an integral part of the African social science community. Although it was not infrequent that the interviewed person would have little or no direct knowledge of CODESRIA, it was recognized all the same, by the person interviewed that such an organization should exist, and that it was an asset that it had already been created.*

At the same time, we discovered a strong involvement or intense identification with CODESRIA's aims and activities. As stated previously, knowledge of CODESRIA and its activities was found in general to be rather thin, fragmentary and not widespread. However, during the course of our institutional visits and interviews, we were confronted with the fact that communication in Africa is a highly complex and difficult enterprise, and consequently, that not much information should be expected of any intellectual association working on a continental scale.

*It is important to note that no women social scientists were interviewed.

In a very profound sense, the sheer existence of CODESRIA and its maintenance during more than ten years was said to be, on its own, a significant achievement. (CODESRIA's officials are perfectly aware of this de facto type of legitimacy that comes with mere survival). As Bujra points out "some would say that with organizations such as CODESRIA the mere fact of their survival is an achievement in itself, apart from actually expanding and strengthening the institution" (1983:2).

In more specific and practical terms, the following items represent a fairly accurate summary of the arguments made in favour of CODESRIA during the interviews (9):

- a Pan-African organization is necessary that both activates and coordinates social science activities throughout the continent. ("If CODESRIA did not exist, in all probability it would have to be created.").
- CODESRIA has helped to encourage a much needed intellectual debate, sometimes focusing it on significant topics.
- CODESRIA has been relatively successful in bringing together groups of researchers around specific themes, enhancing the legitimacy of these themes, and providing researchers with a forum to communicate.
- CODESRIA has been able to bring together social science institutions from different African sub-regions and countries, although it has done so still on a very limited scale.
- CODESRIA has strongly supported the establishment of one social science institution (i.e., the Zimbabwean Institute of Development Studies).
- CODESRIA has been publishing regularly a journal (i.e. Africa Development) which is regarded as a publication representative of the critically oriented African social science intelligentsia.

- CODESRIA is an institution with a clearly stated objective and an explicit ideological commitment, the latter aspect having been one of the more recurrently discussed topics during the interviews as will become clear later in this report.
- CODESRIA has managed to associate with and involve in its intellectual project a group of well known and recognized African scholars.
- CODESRIA has already made some intellectually significant contributions towards the understanding of the political economy of Africa, this being one of the hitherto neglected areas of research, partially as a result of the dominance of CSS approaches.

2.2 CODESRIA's Shortcomings or the Critical Approaches

In turning to some of the more critical comments made of the Council's activities, a great majority of the interviewed social scientists (including those who felt that CODESRIA was an important and necessary institution) emphasized the need for CODESRIA to not only play a more active role throughout the continent but also in the various sub-regions, and within each country. (It should be noted that one of the social scientists interviewed suggested that it was not only unrealistic but impossible to ask CODESRIA to have an active presence in each one of the African countries). Although some of the interviewed social scientists felt that CODESRIA's presence was almost negligible, others agreed that CODESRIA's presence was insufficient but could be enhanced in a number of different ways. These included engaging in a wider range of activities; supplying more information on its own activities; encouraging a more active presence of its Executive Members in the various local social science institutions, facilitating a wider distribution of its publications, and through improving the process of interaction with the member institutions.

The need for a more active presence of CODESRIA in the African social science scene was felt to be systematically linked to the need for CODESRIA to play a greater role in the initiation of the intellectual debate on the development problems of Africa, and/or to contribute towards the organization of that debate when or wherever it was deemed to be absent. In fact, the point was made (almost with

insistence), that in the present situation of crisis, there was an urgent need to actively support a continuing debate on the major issues of African development, a debate that should be assisted by the academic institutions and that should have both a scientific and a political orientation. CODESRIA was seen as having an important role to play in this debate, but questions were asked as to how effectively it could play this role in the absence of both a recognized intellectual leadership on its part, and representation of the various positions and ideological tendencies that co-exist within the larger African social science community.

In a similar vein, the aforementioned problems of weak involvement and low-level identification on the part of the social science institutions with CODESRIA kept surfacing during the interviews. Of course, people would differ in their opinions with respect to this specific point. Some felt that the onus should be placed primarily on the member institutions because they exhibited no real commitment to CODESRIA. Others in turn placed the burden on CODESRIA, challenging either its internal structure which was said to be too centralized, or its leadership which was felt to be lacking.

One must also keep in mind that this phenomenon of low involvement and weak identification is rather common in supra-national organizations. This problem has never been easy to solve; there always seem to be reasons to explain reluctance to get involved in a regional organization and then, post factum, abundant criticism on what has gone wrong and how it could be amended.

Perhaps the most complicating circumstance of the low identification/weak involvement symptom that we have been discussing is the fact that, in the perception of many of the interviewed social scientists, this phenomenon was a direct outcome of what they felt to be an estrangement on the part of CODESRIA with respect to its member institutions, other social science institutions, and researchers in general. This latter aspect of the question was then explained by one or more factors which eventually lead to the identification of bureaucratic tendencies within CODESRIA. It was sometimes suggested that it was this

bureaucratization process which led to the estrangement of CODESRIA, and it was this very same process that was held responsible for hampering the intellectual legitimacy that the organization needs to fulfill its own objectives.

A majority of the interviewed researchers and heads of departments or institutes agreed also in the identification of another problem. CODESRIA had so far failed or at least was confronting serious difficulties in establishing its relationship with the member institutions, other social science institutions, and individual researchers on a broader and stable basis. In this connection, the strongest argument was made with regard to the effectiveness of the research groups which are defined in CODESRIA's Charter (6.1. to i) as being the main working instrument through which the Council coordinates, supports and encourages development research throughout Africa. It is in fact a widely shared perception amongst the social scientists that nowhere have these research groups come to exist as more or less stable and productive groups, with their own coordinator chosen by their members, and with a publicly recognized academic production. On the contrary, interviewed social scientists tended not to regard these groups as authentic research networks, and with the exception of perhaps one or two such groups, they were viewed as not having overcome the very first stages of their maturation process. Moreover, they were perceived as sporadic groups that met once or twice in a workshop or seminar that did not acquire a sense of group identity, cohesiveness, intellectual commitment or openness to new members. It was claimed, therefore, that the work which is done through these groups cannot really evolve into a sustained academic interaction with cumulative effects. Consequently, it becomes difficult for CODESRIA both to obtain institutional support for this activity from the member institutions and to maintain the involvement of the individual researchers who started the group.

At this stage, it is possible to expand on the various critical comments summarized above, showing the changing emphasis they adopted as well as the more detailed context within which each was made and justified. In the following sections we shall address these criticisms under three major headings:

- (i) Social science communication and intellectual debate;
- (ii) Organizational dimensions and its bearing on the questions of involvement and identification; and,
- (iii) Continuity and permanent effects of CODESRIA's work.

2.2.1 Social Science Communication and Intellectual Debate

When asked to give a general assessment of the situation of the social sciences in Africa, the social scientists interviewed would often use notions such as scattered, insufficiently institutionalized, atomized and, above all, lacking in communication.

A variety of convergent factors were mentioned as explanatory instances for this situation:

- In general, the existence of more than one obstacle to the communication of ideas between researchers in Africa, some originated in the colonial legacy and others pertaining to the actual set of circumstances that are characteristic of African underdevelopment.
- In particular, the cultural, regional and linguistic barriers that separate for example, the Western sub-region from East Africa or sub-Saharan Africa from the Afro-Arab world.
- More specifically, the limited circulation of written documents and books. In some countries it was said to be very difficult even to publish within the country itself, not to mention sending materials abroad.
- Similarly, the constraints that one finds in several places to travel from one country to another within Africa, also makes it difficult for researchers to attend seminars or easily move around the continent.

While it is evident that CODESRIA itself can do little to solve these problems, it is also clear that CODESRIA has to work within this situation and that it has to operate within these constraints. Nonetheless, a majority of the interviewed social scientists insisted that in spite of these prevailing conditions, CODESRIA could do better and perform a more active role in the communication between researchers, and in the

dissemination of research-based knowledge. For example, it was noted that CODESRIA's own publications tend to have a very limited circulation with the sole exception of Africa Development. Moreover, as stated previously, it was felt that there was very little regular information on CODESRIA's own activities, both on its outcomes and its planning. In this respect, several demands were made:

- That CODESRIA should establish a more efficient way of communicating not only with its member institutions but also with the individual researchers throughout the continent.
- That CODESRIA should support locally produced publications and their dissemination across national frontiers.
- That CODESRIA should in general act not only as a center from which activities are programmed and initiated, but that it should act as a coordinating body for such activities initiated at the local level.

It was the perception of a number of the social scientists that during the past two or three years in particular, communication between CODESRIA and the member institutions and individual researchers, had become increasingly sporadic and mostly administrative in content. The demand for CODESRIA to play a more active role in expanding the intellectual debate on African development problems implies improving CODESRIA's communication with the social science community in terms of both the research institutes and the individual researchers, and the regularity and the quality of this communication process. In turn, this implies (as was stressed by several of the social scientists interviewed) that CODESRIA build a closer relationship and interact more regularly with the social science institutions throughout Africa and that it must not and cannot be estranged from its constituency. Only through this closeness will it be possible for CODESRIA to understand and effectively represent the intellectual preoccupations of the African researchers.

In short, there was a desire for a more intellectually responsive leadership on the part of CODESRIA's governing bodies, both its Executive Committee and its Executive Secretary. As someone put it during an interview, one aspect of the relationship of CODESRIA with the institutions and the researchers is the administrative or

bureaucratic aspect, but there is another and more important dimension to that relationship, i.e., the intellectual content of this relationship. Both aspects were felt to be important, but the former without the latter would lead to mere formalities devoid of any substantive significance.

It was felt that the strengthening of a more intellectually substantive working relationship between CODESRIA and the member institutions and individual researchers would be beneficial to CODESRIA. The Council would then be in a better position to stimulate the intellectual debate in Africa; it would probably gain in substantive legitimacy, and it would also become more responsive to the newer generations of African social scientists.

The urgent need expressed by several of the interviewed social scientists that CODESRIA should play a more active role in promoting and organizing an intellectual place for public discussion was felt to be inextricably connected to the present crisis situation affecting the African continent. With 22 of the world's 36 poorest countries in Africa, it is clear indeed that there is a strong connection. As Whitaker recently stated: "Throughout the region (African), balance-of payment crises, rising debt and increasing food imports have led to a continent-wide decline. Prices for Africa's main export commodities (other than oil) have fallen to their lowest level in 30 years. More than 60 percent of Africa's total population consume fewer calories a day than the UN has estimated necessary for survival." Looking ahead, Africa's medium-term growth is likely to be the lowest of any region of the world. According to World Bank's World Development Report 1983, "there is now a real possibility that the per capita income of low-income countries in Africa will be lower by the end of the 1980s than it was in 1960." (Whitaker, 1984:748) (5).

Facing this situation it is only reasonable that a concerned social scientist working throughout Africa should hope for an increasing debate both between the various development alternatives that are currently being pursued in the region, and the policy questions that have arisen from their implementation. That these social scientists should turn to CODESRIA as one of the organizations capable of providing a forum for this debate shows that despite the criticisms levelled against the Council, there is

still the conviction that CODESRIA can play a more active role in such a critical situation, provided it is able to work closely with the research institutions and the researchers throughout Africa.

2.2.2 Organizational Dimensions and their Bearing on the Questions of Involvement and Identification

As mentioned earlier, with the exception of a few social scientists who had been directly involved with CODESRIA's activities, it was clear from the interviews that there was little knowledge of CODESRIA's Charter, internal organization, programme and of its activities. More specifically, only 13% of the social scientists interviewed had a comprehensive knowledge of CODESRIA as an institution; 33% had some knowledge of CODESRIA's activities but little knowledge of its internal functioning; 20% knew little of both the activities and the organization of CODESRIA; and, the remaining 34% had limited or no knowledge at all. Although the existence of a Secretariat was better known than that of the Executive Committee, there was very little or no information on the General Assembly.

As already mentioned, the interviewed social scientists generally attributed this lack of knowledge to what they felt was a relatively distant organization that was estranged from the day to day work of the local institutions and that had an insufficient presence in the African social science scenery. However, the interviewed social scientists also provided more specific answers which are worth highlighting.

To begin with, CODESRIA was perceived as having little or no internal democracy, and arguments were raised with respect to the bureaucratic tendencies in its functioning. The General Assembly was viewed as an ineffective or easily manipulable body because:

- its members (i.e. the directors of the member institutions) have at best only a cursory information about CODESRIA;
- they do not want to get involved in the setting up of the more general policies of an organization from which they feel estranged;

- the heads of the member institutions tend to rotate frequently, thus having little knowledge of CODESRIA's ongoing affairs; and,
- they have no legitimacy vis-a-vis the executive bodies of CODESRIA inasmuch as the institutions they represent do not pay their membership fees nor are they involved in supporting CODESRIA's regular activities.

At the same time, it was felt that there could be no democracy within CODESRIA as long as the member institutions would not play a more active role. It was a widely shared perception that these institutions do not take the initiative within CODESRIA because:

- for whatever reasons (and some are perfectly understandable such as the impossibility of obtaining foreign currency) they do not pay their membership fees;
- they see CODESRIA's Secretariat as the active part in a relationship where the institutions are involved only passively, both as potential recipients of services (material or symbolic in nature) or just as nominal members of a Pan-African social science network;
- there are no incentives (material or symbolic) as stated by one director of a member institution to participate in CODESRIA's activities;
- any higher involvement would yield diminishing returns as long as no changes were introduced in CODESRIA's ways of functioning, i.e., making it possible for people to participate more actively and more productively within the organization. As we will discuss later, it was felt that on the one hand, the Secretariat of CODESRIA monopolizes the initiative and, on the other, that CODESRIA is not capable of acting in a sustaining manner, and thus involving people during a short span of time without any further and prolonged effect. Consequently, the initial investment of time (and resources other than time) would remove incentives to participate or get involved, and yield few benefits. It should be noted that the view was also put forward that member institutions frequently paid only lip service to Pan-Africanism while in fact they were inward looking and trapped within what one of the social scientists interviewed called "petty parochialism."

When confronted with the arguments on the supposedly non-democratic ways of CODESRIA's functioning, a social scientist who had been directly involved with CODESRIA's activities expressed surprise. It was not, he explained, that many of these arguments did not express some truth, but that they had never been publicly brought before the General Assembly or to the attention of CODESRIA's Executive Committee. This, he argued, involved a serious risk because if people were not willing to put their critical arguments publicly in front of their colleagues but chose rather to make them informally to third parties, then whatever moral basis CODESRIA could have acquired would be eroded. He concluded that this involved a self defeating attitude on the part of some of CODESRIA's members that would eventually destroy the institution.

Involvement and identification with CODESRIA was perceived to hinge also on another aspect of the organization, namely its representative character. There is in fact a majority who think that CODESRIA does not adequately express the manifold composition of the African social sciences as they actually exist. On this point, the following statements were made during the interviews:

- CODESRIA should have no ideological commitment, i.e. it should not ascribe itself to any particular school of thought or politico-intellectual tendency. This statement was both made by a social scientist who declared himself to be a conventional social scientist, and by others who subscribed to the positions of the critical social sciences. However, in the case of the latter, only a few regarded the topic as not being crucial to CODESRIA's future development.
- It is legitimate that CODESRIA have an explicit ideological commitment as long as it is not used to exclude some people or institutions from CODESRIA's activities or as a means for favouring the like minded. Also, as long as the position is publicly known in the academic world. This view was expressed by one of the interviewed social scientists.
- Almost all international associations operate as closed clubs. That is, they tend to coopt their members, to establish internal clientelistic relationships and to act on the basis of highly personalized commitments. As a result, many are called on to collaborate, but only a few are chosen, and they will probably keep attending

meetings and reproducing the social closure of the institution. (One of the interviewed social scientists suggested in this respect that it would be interesting to study the frequency with which some of his colleagues were invited to recurrently participate in CODESRIA's activities).

- CODESRIA is bound to personalize its working relationships with the social scientists because: (a) on the continental level very few social scientists are well known and have sufficient legitimacy to be invited to regional meetings, and (b) it is only those few who will guarantee that CODESRIA can eventually "deliver the goods", particularly vis-a-vis the donor agencies. CODESRIA cannot therefore run the risk of experimenting with new talent, and it is constrained to keep turning once and again to the same people. In this context, one should not be surprised if there develops a tendency to a clientele-type of relationship. Moreover, if the member institutions show a low level of commitment, then CODESRIA's Secretariat will be forced to depend on a small but active constituency.
- CODESRIA has not been able to involve in its activities the newer generations of social scientists, a phenomenon that could in the near future further erode its base.

In short, there is a widespread feeling that CODESRIA's representativeness could be improved, but there is no consensus as to how it could be done nor on the factors that condition the representative character of such an organization.

2.2.3 Continuity and Permanent Effects of CODESRIA's Work

As has been stated by CODESRIA's Executive Secretary it is not an easy task "to find suitable criteria for evaluating CODESRIA's 'achievements' or 'failures'"(Bujra, 1983:1). One criterion that might be said to be both reasonable and fair is to examine the most lasting or continuing effects of CODESRIA's activities throughout the continent. Although there are no easy measures to undertake this task, it is possible to use CODESRIA's objectives as a basis for evaluation.

CODESRIA has defined as its main objective "to activate concerned African social scientists and research institutes to undertake fundamental as well as problem oriented research in the field of development" (Charter, 2). To accomplish this objective, CODESRIA has identified the creation of "small, operative research groups (6 to 10 researchers) to undertake research in each of CODESRIA's approved research areas" (Charter, 6.1.b) as being the most efficient methodological instrument. Consequently, the functioning of these research groups (RGs) would provide the best measure of CODESRIA's effectiveness.

It should be noted at the outset that the existence of these RGs and the procedures followed to establish them constitute the most unknown dimension of CODESRIA's functioning.

- Only half of the interviewed social scientists knew about the idea of setting up these RGs, or thought that one or two were actually operating, but could not name in what specific research area, with the exception of one who thought that there existed a group working on rural development, and another who was actually involved in the RGs on the State and Agriculture in Africa.
- With the exception of one, none of the heads of the member institutions who were interviewed knew for certain if one or more RGs were actually operating, although one did recall having been involved in the initial phase of the formation of one such RG which in the end failed to get off the ground.
- The majority of those who knew or had heard about the functioning of the RGs tended to believe that much effort was needed to set up those groups and that they rarely developed into stable and productive networks of researchers. The most that was accomplished, it was claimed, was the setting up of an initial workshop or seminar.

With regard to the latter point, one social scientist said that CODESRIA was running the risk of becoming an enterprise specialized in the organization and sponsoring of workshops and seminars, which would eventually lead the institution to have a mere existence on paper. Having said this, it must be added that most of the social scientists who were interviewed, irrespective of their prior information or knowledge about the functioning of the RGs, tended to agree that the idea or purpose to create them, as outlined in CODESRIA's Charter, was a valuable one.

Nonetheless, several factors were indicated that could explain the failure of the RGs to evolve into permanent and productive network of researchers:

- The attempt to coordinate research on a continental level is premature and bound to fail. Moreover, both the pretension to coordinate research within a Pan-African perspective, and to proceed within an interdisciplinary approach towards the social sciences presents CODESRIA with challenges that at the moment are almost impossible to meet.
- The problems that CODESRIA faces in trying to accomplish its main aim through the setting up of RGs are of a structural nature and cannot be handled by CODESRIA. They pertain to or are related with the precarious nature of communications throughout the continent (vide supra); with the lack of sufficient material and technical resources; with the sub-regional cultural barriers within the continent; and, with the existence of various intellectual traditions and orientations that cut across the continent and combine with the different political regimes and international linkages, etc.
- There is a complete disproportion between the objectives of CODESRIA on the one hand, and the resources and administrative capacity it commands on the other. Thus, CODESRIA will frequently not be able to follow through its own initiatives, particularly in the setting up of RGs.
- RGs tend to fail because of a complex mixture of intervening factors: there seems to be some lack of definition on CODESRIA's side as to what it exactly pursues and how it is going to accomplish it; there are recurrent breakdowns in the communication between CODESRIA and the individuals involved in the setting up of the RGs; CODESRIA has only a very limited amount of resources to invest in each RG; the scarce time of the researchers is being competitively demanded from various sides at the same time, and researchers are therefore not in a position to enter into intellectual enterprises such as CODESRIA's research groups which are almost entirely based on personal commitment, professional solidarity, and voluntary participation.

The latter aspect of the whole question of success or failure of the RGs deserves a more closer analysis. We asked the question why researchers were in no position to be more actively engaged in CODESRIA's activities, and in creating and participating in the RGs. Some of the elements that were mentioned were the following:

- social scientists are primarily involved in teaching activities and have little or no time left to do research and even less to participate in activities such as CODESRIA's RGs.
- Social scientists find no incentives to participate in those type of activities and tend therefore to have difficulty in finding the motivation to become involved.
- Participants in CODESRIA's activities (i.e., conferences, workshops and seminars) tends to rapidly lose their interest because they keep meeting the same people and hearing them (and themselves) repeating the same discourse.
- There are no rewards for participating in CODESRIA's activities:
 - publications rarely follow from the workshops and seminars,
 - the intellectual stimulation that is expected from the participation in such events is very seldom found because of the recurrence of people, because of the speculative character of most of the papers submitted, because of the lack of research support that these papers receive,
 - there are no material rewards attached to these kinds of activities at a time when there are plenty of other opportunities in the academic or intellectual market which do provide them.
- If the need arises for an institution or a group of scholars to create a network that will enable them to maintain intellectual communication and work together within a favourable context for the cumulative progress of knowledge, it will generally be easier for them to proceed without the intervention of a third party such as CODESRIA, because: (a) a third party will tend to make things more complicated and not less; and (b) a third party is not required to gain access to the funding sources.

To correctly assess what has been said so far, one must proceed to a next set of arguments which were also used to explain the success or failure of the RGs (and we shall later come back to these arguments):

- There is no possibility at all or only the slightest chance that initiatives like this one (i.e., the setting up of RGs that will function as stable and productive networks involving researchers throughout the continent) could successfully be carried out. In fact, it was claimed that there does not exist a sufficiently broad research capacity within the African social science institutions which could continuously sustain such initiatives. In one or two exceptional cases the objective might be achieved, but this shows precisely that such experiences cannot be generalized.
- The RGs tend to fail because they have no real roots in the member institutions. Consequently, all the initiative comes from CODESRIA's Secretariat which can neither go faster nor can it go further than the active support of the institutions and the researchers permit them. But both the former and the latter will not get involved in CODESRIA's RGs unless CODESRIA could somehow provide the funding required to carry out the research proposals that are supposed to provide substantive content to the RGs.

One final point was raised during the interviews with regard to the more permanent effects of CODESRIA's work, and related also to the nature and potentialities or limits of the RGs. This point refers to the continental or Pan-African nature both of CODESRIA's organization and activities. It was suggested on various opportunities that CODESRIA could be more successful if it would work on a sub-regional basis, thus establishing closer links with institutions and facilitating the definition of common research interests. It was also suggested that if CODESRIA should move in that direction, it would probably be in a better position to design collaborative plans with the several sub-regional institutions that already exist. We shall see later that there are also problems involved in this approach.

In general, it was felt that the sub-regional organizations for the social sciences (such as SAUSC, OSSREA and SADRA) are becoming increasingly important:

- It was claimed that they can be set up more easily; that they tend to be more responsible to its members because there are opportunities for developing a closer relationship; that they will therefore tend to be more realistic in their programmes and that they will function with lower recurrent costs.
- Four or five of the interviewed social scientists thought that sub-regional organizations could probably act in a more efficient way as does CODESRIA.
- Several of the interviewed social scientists stated that it was to be expected that sub-regional organizations would find it easier to develop roots in the respective countries and member institutions because of a shared cultural tradition, the existence of more efficient means of communication, the need to be accountable because of the closer relationship that would eventually evolve, all this leading to make these institutions and/or associations more viable and giving them a greater potential to achieve their objectives.

At the same time, people would not deny the existence of problems when it came both to evaluate the performance of already existing sub-regional organizations or to assess its potentialities. Thus it was suggested that:

- Sub-regional institutions could also develop bureaucratic tendencies and create one or another type of clientelistic relationship, so much so that closer relations could easily lead to greater personalization and favour the tendencies to impose a premature social closure within the institution.
- Sub-regional organizations would also confront the typical problems of institution-building, acquisition of legitimacy, and definition of leadership styles and actual leadership.
- Sub-regional organizations will not (as experience already shows) find it easier to fund their activities, nor will they elude the problem of manning a permanent staff if they are going to try to develop some continuity and efficiency.

- Finally, it was claimed that sub-regional social science organizations were actually very few in East Africa. In fact, only OSSREA (11) was said to be a functioning institution, whereas SAUSC was said to be of an altogether different nature (i.e., merely a yearly form) and SADRA still much of an organization existing only on paper.

Throughout the interviews, it became clear that CODESRIA's long-term effects and the regularity of its work will depend in the future on the way it establishes its working relationship with those sub-regional organizations. With respect to this issue, some felt that there would be no difficulty insofar as the institutional framework of the sub-regional organizations were defined by their members. However, others foresaw the following problems:

- It was said that CODESRIA and the sub-regional organizations are competing and are bound to compete for scarce resources and this will inevitably lead to demands for support from the same Donor Agencies.
- This latter situation would give still greater leverage to the Agencies in their dealings with the African social science organizations.
- It was also suggested that CODESRIA and the sub-regional organizations would compete for researchers and for the available time and commitment capacity of the social scientists.
- This in turn could eventually force all involved parties to work out complimentary programmes and working relationships.
- But to conclude such an arrangement, a number of problems would first have to be resolved. For example, is CODESRIA going to be the master institution for all sub-regional organizations? Or, on the contrary, will CODESRIA be asked to merely act as a supra-regional coordinating body, leaving the actual work to be done in each sub-regional body and the relationship within each of them to the member institutions and the individual researchers to the sub-regional organizations? Or is it possible to work out a balanced relationship where CODESRIA's activities and those carried out by the sub-regional organizations become complementary and reinforce each other?

-- It was the opinion of a few of the social scientists who were directly involved (or had been at one time or another) in the activities of one such sub-regional organization, that the whole question of its relations to regional (Pan-African) organizations like CODESRIA should not be exaggerated: first, because no real problems had until now arisen; secondly, because there was so much to do in the African social sciences that any new organization (of whatever nature) should be welcome; and thirdly, because already some valuable experiences of collaboration had been underway involving both CODESRIA and some of the sub-regional organizations.

3. THE CONTEXT WITHIN WHICH CODESRIA OPERATES AS SEEN BY THE SOCIAL SCIENCE COMMUNITY

In this chapter we shall look into three main problems -- context related problems we might call them -- which kept recurring during the interviews and which are probably an essential part of the circumstances that pervade CODESRIA's work and its potential for success and failure. These problems are:

- i) the changing ideological conditions that permeate the intellectual climate within which social research is carried on;
- ii) the weak institutional framework within which social research is carried on; and,
- iii) the changing functional conditions that shape the role of the professional researcher who actually does the research.

In the analysis of each one of these problems we shall continue to maintain our exposition within the boundaries provided by the information accumulated from the interviews.

3.1 The Changing Ideological Conditions

As mentioned in the first Chapter, CODESRIA views itself as an essential part of the intellectual reaction against the inherited ideology of development, which is seen as legitimized by CSS. In the words of CODESRIA's Executive Secretary, "CODESRIA's role has therefore tended to be more assertive, relating research to specific political objectives...and producing alternative strategies for development" (Bujra, 1983:1).

In this respect, it was surprising that during the interviews the cleavage presumed to exist between CSS and the critically oriented approaches never surfaced as a central or burning issue, unless it was regarded to be a salient feature of CODESRIA's internal functioning and then discussed as such (Vide Supra II,b,ii). Nonetheless, the present situation of the social sciences and of the research institutions in Africa was seen to be inextricably entwined with the overall crisis of the region. This crisis -- economic, political, social and cultural -- was the central and burning issue of the moment, and was thought to involve also an intellectual crisis. Social scientists are in fact confronted with the deteriorating conditions of the African economies, with the problems of poverty and food shortages, with changes in the overall political situation, with questions of democracy and authoritarianism, and with the emergence of new conditions both in the world economy and in the international political scene.

In short, as Mazrui and Tidy (1984) suggest, the problems of nationhood (as a level of national cultural identity) and of statehood (as a level of national authority) have now taken the place formerly occupied by nationalist and Pan-Africanism (as a level of awareness both "born and prospered under the stimulation of racial solidarity and shared blackness"). With this shift in the overall African problematic, the ideological parameters within which the social sciences and the research institutions operate are also changing.

From this point of view, as was suggested by one of the interviewed social scientists, it might be true that there co-exist within the African social sciences two major schools of thought. One more critically oriented (as that favoured by CODESRIA) which has varying intellectual links with the Marxian tradition and the dependency

perspective (Cf. Kinyanji, 1980); and, the other comprising the CSS tradition which goes back to the pre-colonial period and which was reinforced after independence by the expansion of American social sciences (Cf. Court, 1983:167). Both traditions are based on received theories, and both have given place to significant debates (e.g., the so-called "Kenya debate" and the debate on class, nation and imperialism in Dar es Salaam). However, as noted by our interlocutor, this is not relevant to the present situation of the African social sciences. We need in fact to develop our own research capacities, build our own research tradition, and consequently work within the various paradigms that co-exist within the social sciences.

Many shared this argument not only because they felt that each social science tradition had its own right to exist and develop, but because they were confronted with the same challenge: to produce relevant knowledge in the face of the present crisis, and to validate it through intellectual debate. As a result, it is felt that social science institutions such as CODESRIA and the sub-regional organizations should create the conditions wherein such a debate can take place, without excluding positions, schools of thought or intellectual traditions on the basis of a priori commitments.

In particular, some proposals were put forward that show very clearly that the ideological circumstances are changing in Africa, and that people expect CODESRIA to be responsive to these changing conditions:

- Various of the interviewed social scientists stressed the need for a more empirically based research, explicitly commenting on the fact that they felt this demand had nothing to do whatsoever with favouring CSS, its theoretical assumptions, preferred research strategies, problem identifications and methodologies.
- Several of them suggested that if an autonomous research tradition was expected to develop in Africa, a shift would have to take place from a policy-oriented research to a more academic or fundamental research.

- Others again stressed the need for a more diversified research including not only areas related to the political economy of the continent, but more importantly, the existing political systems, the actual functioning of the state apparatuses, the processes of policy-making, and the transmission of culture and ideologies through class, kinship, and the "modern intellectual and communication systems."
- There was also a somewhat skeptical assessment of what was termed by one of the interviewed social scientists as the Africa Now type of investigative journalism that passes for and sometimes is accepted as a surrogate for serious critical-theory-building.
- Finally, another interviewed social scientist (this time the head of a research institution), suggested that CODESRIA's main role in the present circumstances should be to address the problems of the quality of the research that is being done in the field of the social sciences in Africa. According to this individual, the quality of the social sciences in Africa is a critical problem, and the Council should seek to enhance the quality of the research work through means that are intellectual (creative) rather than material in nature.

To sum up, as in the Latin American context, the crisis has had a major impact on the African social sciences, or at least the social science community in the visited countries. The illusions of the 1960s and 1970s seem to vanish in the air; the ideological élan is lost in the midst of the increasingly harsher conditions of social and intellectual life and of the mounting political, economic and social problems. Yet people have not become less committed because of this, nor has their criticism diminished once they begin to treat ideologies, and foremost their own ideological commitments, with a heightened sociological awareness.

It was our personal impression (we shall further elaborate this point in the last chapter) that social scientists are probably less motivated today than ten or fifteen years ago by the ideological commitment of the social sciences, both conventional or critical in orientation. They take CODESRIA's self-imposed definition as a critical social science organization as being part of the past: something that might have been significant in the process of building the institution's self-identity but that is no longer relevant to the present politico-intellectual circumstances of the African

struggle for emancipation and development. As pointed out to us by one of the interviewed social scientists: Pan-Africanism as an ideology is today in crisis. Nationalism itself as the ideology for the struggle against the colonial powers seems much less effective now when the task is to build nations, transform the economies of our countries to build modern states and political systems that must be responsive to the needs of our people, foremost to those of the poorest classes. Hence the important questions that emerge are: How is CODESRIA going to meet the challenges of these new ideological conditions? What type of intellectual project can it offer for the next 10 years? How is it going to participate in the building up of a new African consensus?

3.2 The Weak Institutional Framework

This was probably the topic that most consistently and most recurrently kept coming out during the interviews that were conducted in the four countries. The weak institutional framework of the social science and of the social science research enterprise was meant to connote: the precarious nature of the institutions themselves; institutional vulnerability vis-a-vis the effects of the present crisis and foremost of its economic dimensions; understaffed institutions; unavailability of libraries and documentation centres; scarcity of funds for pure academic research, and so forth.

In each of the institutions, this diagnosis would of course place different emphasis on the various dimensions implied by the notion of an institutional framework. Nonetheless, some common elements emerged and they should be scrutinized and kept in mind when assessing CODESRIA's functioning and the possibility of introducing changes in its organization, strategies, objectives (short and medium-term) and working styles:

- The absence of an institutionalized research tradition. This point was variously brought into the discussion during the interviews. It was said that recent independence and the breaking apart from the colonial legacy had some bearing on this phenomenon. Difficulties encountered by newly independent countries in organizing their higher educational systems, in the rapid formation of specialized cadres, and in the establishment and development of research in the various scientific fields were mentioned in this connection.

- As was stressed by practically each one of the heads of institutions, their institution (be it a university department, a research center or whatever) had been set up to formally carry out both teaching and research activities. However, with few exceptions, they spent most of their time on teaching activities, and minimal time on research. The resources were allocated correspondingly, and the time of the faculty members or researchers had to be distributed in accordance with the division of labour.
- On more than one opportunity, it was mentioned that both the heads of the institutions and the researchers tended to have little continuity in their positions or working commitments, thus making it difficult for the institutions to have a stable distribution of roles and/or to create its own internal forms of leadership not only at the top of the institution but also throughout it (i.e., stable research teams, other forms of more or less permanent modes of collective work, etc.).
- It was also a widespread perception that research had not a sufficient public recognition and that governments and other public agencies did not accord it the social significance it should have nor the resources it needs to develop into an autonomous intellectual enterprise. Although in all cases the researchers know they were part of an élite, they felt that they lacked in social status and that they were stigmatized as being part of a peculiar élite that stands apart from the masses and has no contact with the community.
- But it was also claimed that in spite of the former circumstances, researchers were called upon to work with or within the government. This has had the dual effect of creating avenues for upward social and political mobility based on acquired cultural capital and of introducing ambiguous and sometimes confusing perceptions of the role identity of researchers, and of their status and social prestige within society at large.
- From another point of view, it was widely claimed that research productivity in the social science institutions is rather low, this in part being the outcome of the conditions prevailing in the research environments of these countries and having to do also with the insufficient professionalism of the researchers' career (Vide infra (iii) in this same chapter).

3.3 The Changing Functional Conditions that Shape the Role of the Professional Researcher

The weak institutional context in which the African social sciences operate is perhaps the most important factor that hampers the establishment of a professional research career, i.e., the institutionalization and continuing reproduction of the roles for professional social science research. In this respect, several elements were mentioned during the interviews which were said to negatively intervene. It is important to briefly examine them as they also have a determining influence on the situation within which CODESRIA is supposed to carry out its objectives.

Amongst the relevant elements that were mentioned, the following figured prominently:

- Scarce supply of research positions within the universities and in other institutions, that is, positions which will enable its occupants to fully devote themselves to carrying out research work.
- Unavailability of incentives and rewards that would enable the researchers to maintain their commitments to a continuing research activity, and both to sustaining the required motivation and to obtaining the necessary recognition for their academic work.
- The absence of relevant peer groups both within the institutions and throughout the country which could provide the researchers with a flow of regular and competent feedback, thus providing for both more intellectually stimulating interactions, and for the distribution of academic reputations based on research outputs that are publicly recognized and professionally assessed.
- In general, absence or very low frequency of communication amongst researchers within the institutions or across local institutions, not to mention communication within a sub-region or throughout the continent.
- Still greater difficulties to communicate professionally with researchers outside the continent.

- Absence of prestigious academic journals within the countries, in the sub-regions, or throughout the continent, thus making it more difficult both to motivate and to reward high quality scholarly work and to establish academic reputations on the basis of peer judgement.

In this respect, it was asked how CODESRIA's quarterly Africa Development (AD) could be rated amongst the African academic journals, and how it would compare with prestigious academic journals from the developed world. A brief summary of the answers given shows the following picture:

- AD is felt to be a relatively well known African journal. All the interviewed social scientists had used or knew or at least had heard about AD.
- A majority thought that AD was a well established journal and that the mere regularity of its appearance was an asset in the African context that had to be acknowledged.
- Only few of the social scientists that were interviewed felt that AD was a prestigious academic journal, i.e., a journal where it is important to publish if one wants to gain academic visibility and reputation. Some suggested that this was a consequence of AD being a non-disciplinary, and therefore, a non-specialized journal, whereas the more prestigious academic journals tended to be of both that nature and/or to represent a widely respected group of scholars or school of thought.
- In general, it was the contention of the majority of the interviewed social scientists that there were no academically outstanding journals throughout Africa, with the exception perhaps of one or two which eventually were not mentioned by name.
- Again a majority suggested that AD could improve by introducing a professional editor and a more representative and qualified editorial board.

With respect to the constraints on the careers of professional researchers a number of factors were cited:

- The career of the professional researchers was further said to be constrained by the academic climate within the universities, in the sense that the working environment did not provide sufficient conditions for stronger research involvements and did not confront the researchers with challenges that would heighten their motivation or sustain his or her effort at becoming a more creative and productive researcher.
- Existence of external factors (political, bureaucratic, kinship, as well as those relating to shared ideologies, etc.) that impinge on the distribution of positions within the academic hierarchy, thus further weakening the possibility of establishing a career based solely on internally defined academic criteria.
- Distortions in the functioning of the academic marketplace which lead to the production of perverse side effects such as: cooptation by the public sector (particularly by governments) of those researchers who become more visible because of their outstanding academic performance; cooptation (but in another sense) of those researchers who might be trespassing the threshold of accepted criticism; politico-administrative interventions within the academy that can force researchers to abandon the university or in some cases, the country; insufficient salaries that make it impossible for the university to compete with the parallel market established by the private sector, the Donor Agencies, and foremost by the International or Technical Assistance Agencies.
- In connection with the latter paragraph, the existence in some cases of a multiplicity of demands on the researchers (particularly true of well-known researchers) which, once accepted by the researcher, act as distractions from the more long-term academically-oriented research. A more problem or policy-oriented research which frequently must be handled on a short term basis, takes the place of other work, involving the researcher in numerous different tasks and making it difficult for institutions to maintain a core of researchers solely committed to academic work. Moreover, these negative tendencies and/or effects were said to be reinforced by the fact that those increasing demands, which in almost all cases originated outside the universities or the community of scholars, generally were

supported by adequate funding, thus further diminishing the opportunities for academic research (internally originated) which is more poorly funded because national institutions are comparatively speaking not in a position to compete with external agencies. The latter situation was also held responsible for introducing non-academic standards of evaluation of the work done by local researchers, standards such as the efficiency in delivering the goods, the so-called "social impact" of research products, its acceptability for the purpose at hand whatever this might be, its function as a legitimizing device for projects that the agencies would like the governments or other public agencies to accept, etc.

It should be clear so far that there are powerful circumstances at work that make it very difficult, particularly at this time, to institutionalize the professional role of the social science researcher. These circumstances are caused in part but are also a consequence of the weak institutional framework within which the social sciences operate in Africa. Both dimensions (i.e. the weak institutional framework and the low level of professionalization) must therefore be kept in mind when assessing CODESRIA's problems and potentialities. Finally, it should be underlined that the elements which have been discussed above emerged directly from the interviews. Certainly, more systematic studies are available, particularly on the experiences of certain African countries (Cf. for example Court, 1983; Nkinyangi, 1983 and Namaddu, 1983).

6. PROPOSALS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF CODESRIA'S ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES

During the interviews that were conducted throughout the four countries, a variety of proposals were put forward by the social scientists aiming at the improvement both of CODESRIA's organization and activities, and at improving the prevailing system of relations between CODESRIA and its member institutions. This chapter lists those proposals under common headings, but refrains from commenting on them.

6.1 Being Present

The strongest and most widely shared recommendation was that CODESRIA should have a more active presence within each of the African countries, both with regard to the local social science institutions and amongst the social scientists themselves. To this end it was suggested:

- that CODESRIA should make itself better known,
- that CODESRIA should publish a newsletter regularly about its activities and future plans,
- that CODESRIA should set up consistent and ongoing communication with the member institutions, and
- that CODESRIA's officials should visit member institutions more often in order to allow discussion both with its researchers and directors.

6.2 Intellectual Function

A second, related recommendation, and one stressed by the majority of those interviewed, was that CODESRIA exercise a more defined intellectual function:

- CODESRIA should not interpret its mandate in a bureaucratically restrictive manner but as an invitation for setting up an intellectual project, thus exercising true intellectual leadership;
- it should therefore be concerned primarily with achieving substantive legitimacy and in building up its capacities for dealing with the present African crisis; and
- for that purpose it is extremely important that the Executive Secretariat of CODESRIA avoid becoming a mere administrator of intellectual resources and intellectual activities. Instead, it should focus on the intellectual debate that CODESRIA should be actively promoting.

6.3 Young Researchers

It was suggested that CODESRIA should offer more directly and more permanent support to the younger generation of researchers:

- it should systematically develop a relationship with the newer generations of social scientists; and,
- it should become involved both in the discussion and the planning of more suitable training programmes for young African researchers, particularly at the post-graduate level.

6.4 Member Institutions

A recommendation was also made that CODESRIA should extend and deepen its relations with the local institutions, thus gaining knowledge about the work that is actually being carried on by those institutions and about the expectations of its individual researchers:

- it was suggested that if CODESRIA forge more meaningful links with the local social science communities, some of the tendencies to over-personalize its contacts and to favour close clientelistic type of networks would be easier to overcome;
- it was also suggested that such a closeness to the member institutions would enhance the possibility of CODESRIA becoming more intellectually responsible to the needs of the social sciences throughout Africa; and,
- finally, it was suggested that CODESRIA would then be in a better position to develop more realistic plans of activities, at the same time facilitating the intercommunication of the various social science institutions and the interaction between researchers from different countries.

6.5 Research Groups (RGs)

A more or less generalized consensus was established around the proposal that CODESRIA's research groups should become stable and productive networks of individual researchers working on a same theme, although from different perspectives and across different countries:

- it was suggested nonetheless that the definition of priority areas by CODESRIA's governing bodies (Cf. CODESRIA, 1982) is much too broad and that more opportunities should be given to the institutions and researchers themselves to define the areas or topics around which a RG could be established;
- it was also suggested that an in depth evaluation should be carried out of the experience gained from the working of the RGs that have already been established;

- it was recommended that CODESRIA should concentrate its own energies (i.e. from its Secretariat) in promoting two or three RGs around the more central and burning issues of the African situation, thus avoiding an overextension and dispersion of its work and helping to bring underway the much needed intellectual debate on the Africa crisis and development alternatives in the short and medium term;
- it was strongly recommended that CODESRIA should publish the results of the work done by the RGs and see to it that these publications get the necessary diffusion;
- it was also suggested that each RG should be as autonomous as possible, selecting its own coordinator and informing CODESRIA's Secretariat of its activities and of the support it needs;
- it was forcefully claimed that the RGs should not become clubs with highly personalized relations between members; that they should not reach too premature a closure; that they should coopt members from the younger generations of social scientists; and, that they should be as much as possible representative of the various schools of thought and politico-intellectual perspectives within the African social science community; and finally,
- it was recommended that these RGs meet only when real advances have been made in the research work of their members, thus avoiding improvised meetings on papers which are too general in nature and which do not represent real increases in knowledge or in research strategies.

6.6 Sub-Regional Focus

With regard to the RGs but more generally to all other activities organized or sponsored by CODESRIA, it was recommended by a great majority of those interviewed that whenever possible CODESRIA operate on a sub-regional basis, initially bringing together researchers from more closely related countries and subsequent developing activities which would cover the whole continent. It was suggested that this strategy might yield better results and that, in any case, it was a more realistic approach to the present problems of communication within Africa and of Pan-African fragmentation:

- a few suggested that CODESRIA should set up sub-regional RGs for the time being;

- others recommended that CODESRIA should set up a diversified plan of action, e.g. through defining sub-regional priority areas for research, to be lead by sub-regional coordinators, etc.; and
- finally, a majority suggested that CODESRIA establish much closer contact with already existing sub-regional social science organizations (Vide Intra 10).

6.7 Africa Development

A strong and widely-made proposal was that Africa Development be managed more independently. This could be achieved with the help of a professional editor and a more representative editorial board. Greater representation would stem not only from the participation of the various intellectual schools, but also from the participation of social scientists from different sub-regions, age groups, and from both sexes, etc.

6.8 Dissemination of Knowledge

It was generally proposed that CODESRIA should play a more active role in the dissemination of social science knowledge throughout the continent:

- first of all, CODESRIA was called upon to improve information about its own activities;
- secondly, CODESRIA is expected to circulate the results of its RGs, workshops and seminars more widely;
- thirdly, some institutions and individuals expect CODESRIA to support the local efforts made to publish research results; and
- finally, it was thought that CODESRIA should become more actively involved in the publication efforts of sub-regional organizations and of other regional organizations such as AAPS, AAWORD and others.

One of those interviewed also suggested that CODESRIA publish a series of books on the African countries, drawing on the existing studies and bringing together for this purpose the best qualified researchers. The aim of the series would be the setting up of a basic social science library on Africa, to be used mainly by the African scholars and students but also by the social science institutions in the Third World.

6.9 Internal Organization and Functioning

With regard to CODESRIA's organization and functioning, the following specific proposals were made:

- that CODESRIA should adopt a more flexible and decentralized structure, thus creating an incentive for participation and becoming more responsible to the initiatives from below;
- that CODESRIA should be aware of, and attempt to counteract, the bureaucratic tendencies that tend to develop over time in these type of organizations, particularly when the main executive body is identified over a long period with one and the same person;
- that in integrating its Executive Committee, CODESRIA bear in mind the heterogeneity of the African social sciences, not only in ideological terms but from the standpoint of sub-regions, institutional experiences, research interests, generations, gender, etc.;
- that CODESRIA should favour whenever possible the renovation of its personnel, and particularly the composition of its governing bodies, both collective and unipersonal; and,
- that CODESRIA's General Assembly should become a more formally institutionalized body with a clearly defined membership and a set of publicly known rules both for the organization of its meetings and for the procedural aspects of its functioning.

6.10 Sub-Regional Organizations

A major number of those interviewed recommended that CODESRIA act more closely with the sub-regional organizations:

- it was suggested that a combination of resources and a complementation of efforts would allow for a more efficient use of the former and would yield better results;
- it would tend to diminish current competition for funding or at least avoid the situation in which competition gives greater leverage to the Donor Agencies and reinforces the dependency of the organizations;
- it was recommended that with regard to the setting up of RGs, CODESRIA and the sub-regional organizations should tend to operate concurrently and not competitively; and finally,

- one of those interviewed suggested that CODESRIA should act either as a Pan-African umbrella institution, executing its activities whenever possible through the subregional organizations, or, alternatively, CODESRIA and the sub-regional organizations should agree on complementary programmes, priority areas, levels of intervention of each type of organization, ways of optimizing the use of the resources, etc.

6.11 Support and Reforms

On the most general level, a consensus seems to exist on the following proposition: that CODESRIA should receive all the necessary support from the African social science institutions and researchers and from the Donor Agencies. At the same time, it should adopt a series of reforms and introduce wide ranging improvements along the above specified lines.

7. SOME PERSONAL CONSIDERATIONS

7.1 Preliminary Remarks

So far this report has dealt mainly with the materials obtained from the interviews and the written documents, most of which were published by CODESRIA. In the first chapter an attempt was made to outline what can be called CODESRIA's ideology (not in the derogatory sense of the term, but meaning an intellectual project). The two following chapters dealt with the successes and failures or insufficiencies of CODESRIA as perceived by the social scientists in four African countries, and the ideological and functional context of those perceived problems in CODESRIA's organization and functioning. The last chapter reviews the proposals made by the interviewed social scientists and more specifically, the recommendations put forward for improving both CODESRIA's presence in the African social science scene, and its organization and activities.

In this final chapter, some personal considerations will be added. They are made with extreme reluctance, and in full awareness of the harsh judgement made by one African scholar of what he called the "mercenary type of academic", i.e., "those experts who visit a developing country for a few days to a few weeks to undertake some kind of study or some such exercise and then write reports and make recommendations that often have far reaching consequences" (Nkinyangi, 1983:210).

It might be, if a personal excursion is here permitted, that such academics or experts of the "mercenary type" view themselves in much the same position as Henderson in Bellow's novel (1959). In fact, Henderson has gone deep into the African continent, and "it had done me some good already, I could tell."

But he desperately wanted "to do something for them"; for the Africans, of course. If only I would have been a doctor he thought, then I might have found it easier to help. But he was not. "I felt singularly ashamed of not being a doctor -- or maybe it was shame at coming all this way and then having so little to contribute. All the ingenuity and development and coordination that it takes to bring a fellow so quickly and so deep into the African interior! And then - he is the wrong fellow!" So, Henderson felt very much embarrassed in the midst of the Arnewi who were cattle raisers and who went on crying in his presence without him understanding why. But then someone explained the thing very clearly, that they were mourning for cattle which had died in the drought, and that they took responsibility for the drought upon themselves -- the gods were offended, or something like that, a curse was mentioned. Anyway, as we were strangers they were obliged to come forward and confess everything to us, and ask whether we knew the reason for their trouble.

"How should I know -- except the drought? A drought is a drought" I said, "but my heart goes out to them, because I know what it is to lose a beloved animal." And I began to say, almost to shout, "Okay, okay, okay. All right, ladies -- all right you guys, break it up. That's enough, please. I get it." And this did have some effect on them, as I suppose they heard in the tone of my voice that I felt a certain amount of distress also, and I said to Romilayu, "So ask them what they want me to do. I intend to do something, and I really mean it."

"What you do, sah?"

"Never mind. There must be something that only I can do. I want you to start asking."

This might be by extension also the best picture we can get of the academic expert who comes to the Third World. My reluctance in putting forward some personal considerations is that I myself went to Africa to visit social scientist colleagues, without pretending "to do something for them", such as explaining for example that "a drought is a drought."

So let this personal exercise come to an end and turn to the concluding considerations I want to put forward. They relate to the broader context within which CODESRIA operates and also with the internal organization of CODESRIA. The fact that they are framed in the way of various tensions is not to be taken merely as a presentational device. On the contrary, it is intended to portray the nature of the problems that CODESRIA faces, and to convey the sense that there are no clear cut distinctions and options to be made.

8. CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

8.1 Institutionalization and Coordination

It seems to me that the most important tension that one can easily identify from this evaluation exercise is the tension that exists between supra-national continental coordination of social science research, and the available research capacities that have so far been institutionalized on the national level throughout the African region.

To put it bluntly: either research coordination is supposed to build upon pre-existing research or it runs the risk of becoming purely rhetorical in nature because it lacks the pre-conditions required for a continuing coordination to go on, and it must become something else, such as promotion of research capacities or coordination of efforts invested in institution building, etc.

It seems rather obvious that from CODESRIA's point of view, this question is not a trivial one. In fact, as suggested by some of the interviewed social scientists, a coordinating body of a weak research capacity can easily become artificial or increasingly self-centred if it cannot develop sufficiently deep roots on the national level.

Clearly, the organizational character of CODESRIA reflects this tension. CODESRIA might for example want to favour tendencies towards a more flexible decentralization, but as long as its constituency is not strong and supportive enough, it will eventually gain very little. In fact, in such circumstances, decentralization becomes very difficult, and centralization is more likely to be preferred. But one should also be aware of the implications of this argument. As suggested by one of the interviewed social scientists, CODESRIA may misuse this argument by allowing it to become a vicious circle: as institutions are supposed to be weak a more interventionist and centralized approach will be favoured, thus reinforcing the clientelistic nature of CODESRIA's networks. This in turn will favour passivity on the side of the member institutions, leading to a still more active role on the part of CODESRIA's Secretariat.

The very same tension will arise once again in terms of the balance to be drawn between initiatives originating from above, and initiatives taken from below. If CODESRIA is to become a more network-type of organization, as many would like, then strong support from the national institutions is called upon. Otherwise, CODESRIA will be compelled to continue to act more as a bureaucratic-type of organization, defining programmes on its own terms and taking the initiative itself.

One sees this tension arising again when the question is addressed as to how CODESRIA's RGs should be structured and how they should function. If national research capacities were sufficiently institutionalized, the RGs could more easily evolve into more or less stable research networks composed of individual researchers focusing on common research topics and having the support from both their institutions and from CODESRIA. This is the manner in which most RGs set up by CLACSO function in Latin America. However, because the circumstances are so different from one continent to another, CODESRIA seems to have opted for a different strategy in its objective to set up such RGs. As

mentioned earlier, here RGs are supposed to evolve through a closely guided and monitored process along which CODESRIA's Secretariat plays a very central and active role. But eventually, CODESRIA's RGs must also rest on the support of the individual researchers and local institutions throughout the region. In fact, as stated in CODESRIA's charter, "members of the groups undertake such research in their own countries and as part of their institute's programme of research" (Charter, 6.1.b). Therefore, if these RGs, as seems to be the case, have not yet been successfully transformed into more or less stable and productive networks of individual researchers with a capacity of their own to pursue their work and define their own agendas, it is probably either because they do not find it easy to draw on the pre-existing local research capacities, or because the interventionist approach prevents these capacities from evolving and becoming supportive of CODESRIA's RGs.

In short, all these are symptoms of a more structural tension that seems to heavily burden CODESRIA's potential to become a real coordinating body for social science research in Africa. Whether CODESRIA has adequately handled this tension, is again another question. Nevertheless, the fact remains that this structural tension which is the outcome of an insufficiently established social science research profession exists. In the words of one African social scientist, the establishment of such a profession is therefore still a pending challenge in this region.

"For it is only by trying to create a community of 'home-grown' researchers and scholars, capable of initiating, organizing and executing their own research into indigenous socio-economic issues, will we also have a local reservoir of social literates from which the state can recruit its planners and the university its researchers and teachers. The concern of the New International Academic Order is to begin a process of a self-centered academic growth in terms of intellectual formation (through local graduate schools), research conception, organization and execution (through native researchers and institutions) and research communication (through local journals, publishing firms, etc.)." (Anyang'Nyong'o, 1978:80-81).

As mentioned before, the interviewed social scientists demonstrated an awareness of the difficulties that exist or have recently arisen as a consequence of the crisis which hampers the formation of such a community of "home-grown" researchers and scholars. In fact, the social science research community is too small, the available positions for professional researchers is scarce, the community of scholars is disaggregated, the

peer group functions cannot be exercised, there is a lack of an institutionalized research tradition, and the whole system of rewards that is supposed to regulate the professional activity of researchers is lacking.

At the same time, there are other closely related factors that stand in the way of the development of such a social science community, e.g., those related to the structure and functioning of the academic market place. As has been rightly stressed by Anyang' Nyong'o (1978:76), the problem here is how to make "academic work competitive in the academic market place." In this respect, the situation in some African countries seems to be paradoxical: there is in fact a demand inflation originating mainly from the actions of external agencies within a context characterized by a scarcity of competing internal or local demands. This aspect of the African research environment has been submitted to detailed analysis by Court (1983:181-84). His systematic findings reinforce what was learned from the interviews: that external resources are increasingly dominating the pattern of research funding which has a serious impact on the domestic social science communities. In effect, a "pragmatic" style of research is being favoured through the demand for feasibility studies and project evaluations. Research is beginning to be legitimized in terms other than those which are supposed to define the normative structure of a community of scholars: the reward system within the social sciences is increasingly being defined and controlled from outside the technical assistance agencies, the competition for research services is increasingly limiting the time and motivation of researchers to devote themselves to purely academic work leading to a dispersion of research interests that must accommodate the shifting demands of the agencies, thus precluding long-term work and investments by individual researchers on specific research topics. This in turn means that the disciplinary specialization of researchers becomes more and more difficult, and with it, the division of labour within the academic field tends to develop erratically making it almost impossible for researchers to participate in long-term research teams and to collectively build their own theoretical frameworks, define long range research strategies, and acquire visibility and reputations within a particular specialized area of the scientific field.

In short, the institutionalization of professional research roles that could lead to structured interactions within a community of scholars has yet to be accomplished in the African social sciences. This achievement will not depend solely on the supply of capable African researchers (which are already there) but on structural factors that include the development of an internal research demand originating within the social science community; the change of the prevailing patterns of research funding; and, the acquisition of a more competitive edge on the part of the academic work done by the "home-grown" community of scholars and researchers.

One should not overlook in this context either the additional factor which deeply affects both the nationally "home-grown" research capacities, and CODESRIA's ability to use those capabilities. That is the political factor which was variously expressed throughout the interviews that strongly influenced the development of the African social sciences (12). For example, governments were said to generally look upon the social scientists and social science institutions with great mistrust, leading in some cases to direct intervention, and tough repressive measures. The fact that national governments usually fund the larger part of social science institutions' budgets provides them with still greater leverage in dealing with these institutions. Some of the interviewed social scientists believed that this fact also accounted for the preference for a type of "policy-oriented research" which was said to be for the most part a research conducted to legitimize the status quo, independent of its political and ideological nature.

To sum up, CODESRIA must operate within these constraints. The success or failure of CODESRIA along with its future potential must be considered within the context of these constraints.

8.2 Regional and Sub-Regional

A different but related tension that was identified throughout the interviews is the tension that exists within the scope of CODESRIA's research coordination. That is, should the Council's activities reach throughout the whole continent or if it should reduce its extension to the sub-regional level and then operate through a process of

gradual growth. This tension manifests itself with regard to various dimensions of CODESRIA's organization and activities: should it opt for more centralized or decentralized forms of functioning and/or internal organization; should it define its policies on a continental level or on the level of the sub-regions, and, should it mobilize resource priorly for continental or for sub-regional endeavours, etc.

As mentioned before, a majority consensus seems to be building up throughout the East African sub-region that would like to put more emphasis on those actions carried out at the sub-regional level, wherever these originate (e.g., in a local institution, in one or more countries, in the sub-region itself, in sub-regional organizations or at the regional level and in Pan-African organizations or associations). Those in support of this position claimed that Pan-Africanism as an ideology is losing its initial élan; that the intra-regional differences are too great and too many to be overlooked or set aside; that there exist difficulties in communicating across the region; that continental forms of coordination are bound to be inefficient and too costly; that with the crisis the concensus be political, ideological, economic or cultural in nature on a continental scale was rapidly deteriorating and, that regional organizations were forced to develop a heavy bureaucratic apparatus and thus become bureaucratized themselves.

The arguments held in favour of regional types of organizations and/or forms of coordination were also forceful: it was claimed that they were part and parcel of the much needed effort to build up a Pan-African identity and thus its achievements had to be judged on a long-term basis; that they were a direct response to the inherited divisions and fragmentations that Africa has to live with both as a consequence of the colonial legacy and as product of its present condition of underdevelopment and dependency; that they do not artificially reduce the complexity of Africa's diversity but on the contrary, build upon the existing situation and take from that variety its richness; that they seek to reinforce the Pan-African perspective at a time when it is being threatened both from within and outside by the economic crisis; and, that they are being responsive to the actual needs and potentialities of Pan-Africanism which as shown by the Lagos Plan of Action, for example, is becoming the sole effective response to the crisis throughout the continent.

CODESRIA is caught in the dilemmas produced by this specific tension, and has no easy solution in sight. Precisely because of this, it should not put aside these questions as if they did not exist. They are deeply felt by the social science community, and they must be faced accordingly. It is also true that there are many possible solutions which do not entail a mere decision against or in favour of regional versus sub-regional types of approaches. It was widely felt in this respect that Donor Agencies should not reach premature conclusions nor should they try to use funding as a means to solve the above mentioned dilemmas. If this should happen, the social science community would probably be demoralized and a deeper mistrust between the institutions and the Donor Agencies would tend to arise.

8.3 Academic Disciplines and Interdisciplinary

On a very different level, a tension arises between the interdisciplinary nature of CODESRIA's endeavours, and the conflicting demands of academic life structured increasingly around specific and well compartmentalized disciplines. Some will argue (as for example in Amin et al.,1978) that the interdisciplinary approach is essential to the analysis of development problems, and for the building of a theory of development. Thus, it is sometimes felt that "the division of the social sciences into its various disciplines, the bureaucratization of these disciplines, and the mystification of their autonomies from each other, have all led to the debasing of the knowledge that social science teaching and research can have in the capitalist world" (Anyang' Nyong'o,1978:69).

At the same time, it is claimed that interdisciplinary approaches are not per se any better. In fact, even "when attempts at a more holistic view are made (like the so-called interdisciplinary approaches) they are ultimately vitiated by the fundamental weaknesses of the various disciplines, since each discipline in its own way brings to the totality its own ahistoricism, its functionalism and its implicit values disguised under the veil of its parts" (Amin et al.,1978:35).

Be this as it may, there seem to be some deeper factors which underlay this specific tensions which CODESRIA is bound to face. First, social science teaching is expanding all over the African continent and as a result of the prevailing forms of the classification of knowledge and the need to diversify the certification of cultural capital, it can be expected that the movement towards increasing discipline-identity will become stronger. Secondly, inasmuch as the disciplines provide each one an avenue for professionalization and academic mobility, and that each one makes it possible for its practitioners to control a segment of the social science academic market, (not to say anything of the strong international pressures that are playing its part in the diffusion of the several specialized social science professions), the demands for the establishment of a professional career for the social science researchers will also tend to strengthen the disciplinary boundaries. Thirdly, as some of the interviews indicated, people are becoming increasingly aware that the reputational system of the sciences depends on specialized communities of scholars possessing their own paradigms, esoteric languages, specialized journals and their own internal hierarchies and disciplinary culture.

It is only natural that this tension should not be CODESRIA's primary preoccupation. The fact remains that there is a growing awareness of the dilemmas involved in this tension as became clear, for example, when discussing the future of Africa Development, or the nature of the RGs, or the present working programme of certain sub-regional organizations such as OSSREA which already tends to act more along disciplinary lines than using the interdisciplinary approach.

8.4 Commitment and Representativeness

CODESRIA is also faced with the tension which has a conventional-Weberian ring, between value-free coordination and a coordination that is ideologically committed. The fact that CODESRIA made an early choice (as shown in Chapter I) has not been without consequences as can be seen from the interviews. While some African social scientists believe that CODESRIA's decision was not only correct but necessary, the majority feels that CODESRIA could become stronger and more representative if it would move towards a more uncommitted interpretation of its own Charter and act with a more open style.

This is not to imply that this tension might have become an explosive one within the larger social science community that is the natural constituency of CODESRIA. On the contrary, people felt that this tension was a more or less easily manageable one, but stressed the need for CODESRIA to come to terms with it.

Curiously enough, the more pointed criticisms in this respect were made, with one exception, by a good number of social scientists who identified themselves as critical social scientists. It was they who felt that CODESRIA's self-styled definition as an organization established to challenge orthodox theories and favour critical approaches tended to constrain the intellectual climate of its activities, and eventually do CODESRIA more harm than good. This seems to be the major risk that CODESRIA is assuming through its self-definition as a critically oriented organization. In fact, there seems to be a difference in the perception people have between the commitments that researchers and research institutions can make and probably have to make if they want to give to their endeavours a wider cultural horizon, and the commitments that a coordinating body of a regional nature has or needs to make. Coordination of a committed type, so it was said, can easily lend itself to exclusionary tendencies or practices, and can also lead to a type of intellectual atmosphere wherein people, topics, interpretative codes, languages, styles of approach, knowledge, interests, etc. keep reappearing, thus creating the image of what one of those interviewed called a fossilized and always previsible debate.

Moreover, it was felt to be somewhat contradictory that precisely at the moment when everybody is talking about the deterioration of previously held paradigms and ideological forms of consensus and of the failure and dismissal of hitherto strongly advocated models, that there should be a social science coordinating body that somehow is perceived as trying to elude this situation. However, it is also true that in times of economic, political and socio-cultural instability, ideological tensions tend to surface more strongly, and require attention. As the interviews indicated, CODESRIA's natural constituency seems precisely to be engaging in this activity. From this point of view, it seems only natural to expect that CODESRIA will face demands to move towards a more flexible position, and this will have to become visible, for example, in the composition of the RGs, in the editorial policy of Africa Development, etc. In so

doing, as one of those interviewed claimed, CODESRIA would diminish the risk of becoming cornered in a marginal position and would probably extend its intellectual influence.

8.5 Incumbents and Contenders

It might be said that the tension that emerged from the interviews between a widely held view of CODESRIA's self-understanding as an organization of the already well known or established social scientists and an organization of the newer and upcoming generations of social scientists is easy to control. But one should not overlook its potential divisiveness. In fact, the normal reproduction of the organization itself hinges to a great extent on how this tension is going to be managed and eventually resolved.

It is obvious that CODESRIA, like any other organization will try to draw a balance between the participation of the already reputed or recognized social scientists, and those who are just starting their careers as researchers. But this is more easily said than done. Who has not heard the accusation that intellectual associations tend to be controlled exclusively in their own interest by the already established members in the profession? And who might dismiss this assertion as completely false? It is true, therefore, notwithstanding the efforts made to counteract these tendencies, that intellectual associations tend to be like machines that continuously reproduce the Matthew effect as Merton described it, i.e. that to those who already have more shall be given, and that those who have little, this little will be taken from them.

It is only normal that academic organizations such as CODESRIA should be interested in involving in their activities the well established social scientists, thus adding to the organization's prestige and the reputation of those who are willing to participate in its activities. Yet an effort must be made to also engage new talent, i.e., those young researchers who most need to interact with the older generations, to participate in seminars, to publish in well established journals, and to have access to the intellectual and material resources that an organization such as CODESRIA can offer.

From interviews, one would conclude that CODESRIA's efforts to engage the younger generations of social science researchers have not been very successful. Again, the problem does not rest solely with CODESRIA. The research institutions must also share the responsibility, as it is their responsibility to promote their own researchers, to support them and to encourage their participation in CODESRIA and other regional or sub-regional organizations. Other factors (some of which have already been mentioned) are also playing a role in the shaping and maintaining this tension. For example, it is felt by some that the younger generation is not sufficiently committed to the Pan-African perspective, and that its members tend to be more nationally oriented. Others felt that once the young researchers completed their doctoral studies, they tended to get involved or are forced to get involved in endeavours other than academic research, and consequently became disinterested in activities such as those sponsored by CODESRIA. Yet others would say that CODESRIA is too heavily involved with its own clientele, and that this was because the clientele was selected both in terms of their commitment and in terms of their capacity to carry out CODESRIA's activities, thus ensuring that the organization will be able to "deliver the goods" it is asked by the Funding Agencies. Be this as it may, the tension seems to exist in the perception of the larger social science community, and must therefore be dealt with.

8.6 Centralization and Decentralization

From the point of view of its organizational structure, CODESRIA faces the tension between adopting a centralized form of organizing its decision-making process and developing a decentralized form of organization. As mentioned previously, this particular tension is expressed through the conflicting demands within the organization coming either from above and/or from below. Various other adjustments will depend on the resolution of this particular type of organizational tension: whether the institution will operate from one strong centre towards a periphery of local institutions (a centrifugal type of network) or if it will act on the basis of the initiatives taken by the local institutions and by the individual researchers (a centripetal type of network) whether CODESRIA will move towards a sub-regional type of intermediate coordinations; and, whether it should favour a leadership based on bureaucratic arrangements or a more loose type of leadership based on the mobilization of ideas and the coordination of communicative processes, etc.

In each alternative case, a different role for the member institutions is called upon. If on the one hand they act merely as recipients of services and expect the initiative to come from above, then a more centralized organization will emerge. If on the other hand the member institutions are willing and have the intellectual and material resources to take the initiative, then a more decentralized type of organization will probably develop. In either case, the nature of the institutional leadership will tend to vary.

The internal organizational arrangements will also be affected by the actual capacity of CODESRIA's collective governing bodies to exercise their responsibilities as defined in the institution's Charter. The General Assembly, for example, need not be merely a nominal instance. If the member institutions should decide to participate more actively in designing CODESRIA's policies, they could do so through the Assembly. This at the same time would reinforce the mandate of the Executive Committee, allowing it to programme not only the annual activities, but also the destination of the resources through a clearly defined budget.

8.7 Continuity and Change

Finally, there is one last tension that in times of political redefinitions and of economic crisis is inescapable, that is the tension between institutional continuity and change. CODESRIA was formally set up by a group of concerned African social scientists during the year 1973. It has thus survived during more than ten years. But not only that: it has also achieved greater legitimacy for the social sciences, it has developed both as an institution and has undertaken a variety of significant activities. During these years, CODESRIA has mobilized both resources and people to strengthen the communication amongst social science researchers throughout the continent. It publishes a relatively well known and widely accepted social science journal, Africa Development. A representative sample of social scientists throughout the countries that were visited during this evaluation exercise believed, and very strongly advocated, that CODESRIA should be considered an integral part of the African social science community and looked forward to its continuing presence amongst them.

All this is of significance and must be taken into account. In spite of CODESRIA's limitations and insufficiencies, the Council is the outcome of a collective experience, and the product of a collective learning process not only in the sphere of institution-building but also in the substantive field of the African social science research. Yet it is clear that the social science community would like to see CODESRIA go through a process of profound change.

There are pre-conditions and elements of that process which are external to CODESRIA, and, consequently, that CODESRIA can therefore neither control nor bring about. These pre-conditions and elements are mainly those related to the institutionalization process of the social sciences in the various African countries. While CODESRIA is probably doing its best to support this process, it can do relatively little in this area. In turn, it is a fact that the above mentioned pre-conditions and elements, i.e. those underlying the growing institutionalization of an autonomous professional research capacity and tradition within Africa, are determinant for CODESRIA's success or failure, and also for its future development.

But there exists also a set of conditions that CODESRIA can directly act upon and which will govern both its orientation and its effectiveness during the coming years. We have tried to identify those conditions as tensions that must be faced and acted upon. This does not mean that these tensions once acted upon in one or another direction will immediately disappear. The most probable outcome is that once these tensions are collectively discussed, and then formulated into strategies, policies and decisions, they will lead to other conflicting demands but probably (and hopefully) on a more developed level of institutional evolution and organizational arrangements.

In short, CODESRIA is asked by its natural constituency to both maintain a tradition and to continue and expand the experience so far gained, but at the same time, to change various fundamental aspects of its organization and functioning.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a more detailed picture of the role of manufacturing in the African economies see UNIDO (1982).
2. It should be kept in mind that in 1960, the total enrollment in higher education for 435 African countries amounted to no more than 142 thousand students, representing only 0.8% of the overall enrollment in the three levels of the educational system. The estimated number of faculty members for the whole continent on that same year was 8 thousand (Cf. Saliuf, 1983).
3. One can illustrate this for example with the extreme Congolese case: "In 1960, at independence, the Congo had only sixteen graduates out of a population of more than 17 million". The overall educational situation for the African region was very much alike: "UNESCO statistics for Africa in the eve of independence, in 1960, after 75 years of colonialism, revealed an estimated illiteracy of 80/85 per cent (nearly twice that of the average world figure). Out of a population of 170 million at that time, just over 25 million were of school age. Half of the latter had no opportunity of going to school. Of those who did go to school, half did not complete primary education. Only 3 per cent of children went to secondary school; a proportion of these dropped out. Less than two in every thousand had a chance of higher education in Africa itself." Finally, one last illustrative case: "in Southern Rhodesia in 1958, while 77,000 African children entered Standard I, only 13 completed Form IV. In the same year, no Africans graduated from the University College in Salisbury, and only three did so in 1960!" (Cf. Mazrui and Tidy, 1984:42-43).
4. One could dispute this statement on the basis of the Latin American experience of the 1970s and 80s, where foreign funding has made it possible for local researchers working within the conditions brought about by the authoritarian regimes to carry on with a critically oriented research (Cf. J. Puryear:1983). But the comparison is neither fair nor well grounded: in fact, there is a marked difference in the previous development of the social science throughout both continents, the main feature of which probably lays in the fact that already in the 70s there was in Latin America a well established social science community, both with an institutionalized research tradition and a relatively high degree of professional diversification. In these circumstances, it could be expected that external funding of the social science research activity would play an altogether different role, because the local institutions could autonomously define their demand for external funding and at the same time, negotiate with the donor agencies in terms of a relatively well established social science tradition.
5. With respect to these developments in the Latin American social sciences see CEPAL (1969) and Solari, Franco y Jutkowitz (1976).
6. A list of the seminars organized and/or sponsored by CODESRIA can be found in CODESRIA (1983), Annex I.
7. The CODESRIA's list of publications (1973-81) comprises 3 books, 4 Occasional Papers and 21 Working Papers. For the articles published in Africa Development see INDEX (1983).

8. Social science institutions located in four capital cities were visited - Harare, Dar-es-Salaam, Nairobi and Addis Ababa - over a period of approximately 25 days in August and September 1984. A list of the interviewed social scientists and their institutions is provided in Annex I and Annex II which together provide relevant statistical information on the countries visited.
It should be noted that when general reference is made to Africa, we are referring more specifically to East Africa, and in some cases, probably only to the four countries whose capital cities were visited.
9. Throughout this report, the statements obtained from the interviews do not represent majority views unless so indicated. In some cases they might express the view of only one of the social scientists interviewed, which will generally be acknowledged in the text. In any case, interviews conducted in the context of an evaluation exercise are not supposed to produce quantitative measures but qualitative assessments. The value of each response is taken therefore to be independent in principle of its recurrency. Significant agreements are thus important only in a qualitative sense. More generally, the corpus of significant meanings that is the outcome of the interviews is always the result of an interpretive process that takes place both during the interaction and later during the elaboration of the written text. Finally, as shown for example by Dexter (1970), elite and specialized interviewing comprises itself a number of specific problems, some of which probably also apply to interviews conducted in an evaluative context.
10. For a more detailed analysis of the present African situation Economic Commission for Africa (1984), and Annex II.
11. On OSSREA's origin and objectives see "the OSSREA Newsletter", vol. 1, number 1, 1982 and OSSREA's Constitution adopted in Nazareth, Ethiopia, in April 1980.
12. We will not go here into the problems that might arise from government contracting for research. See on this topic A. Abate (1980: 5-6).

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ANNEX I

- ABATE, Alula: Former Director, Institute of Development Research, Addis Ababa University; former member of CODESRIA's Executive Committee; researcher at IDR, Addis Ababa University.
- BUJRA, Abdala: Executive Secretary, CODESRIA.
- HAROUB, Othman: Director, Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar-es-Salaam.
- KINYANJUI, Kabiru: Director, Institute of Development Studies, University of Nairobi.
- KYROS, Yassil: Executive Secretary, OSSREA, researcher at IDR, Addis Ababa University.
- LIRENSO, Alemayehu: Assistant Researcher, Institute of Development Research, Addis Ababa University.
- MABELE, : Former Director, Economic Research Bureau, University of Dar-es-Salaam, researcher FRB, University of Dar-es-Salaam.
- MANDAZA, Ibbo: Secretary General, African Association of Political Science.
- MIGOT-ADHOLLA, Shen: Researcher, Institute of Development Studies, University of Nairobi.
- MKANDAWIRE, Thandika: Deputy Executive Secretary, CODESRIA, visiting Professor, Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies.
- MLAWA, Hasa: Lecturer, Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar-es-Salaam.
- MSAMBICHAKA, : Director, Economic Research Bureau, University of Dar-es-Salaam
- MOGULA, Benedict: Associate Researcher, Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar-es-Salaam.
- MUGA, : Head, Department of Sociology, University of Nairobi.
- MULA, Teshome: Director, Institute of Development Research, Addis Ababa University.
- MUNISHI, Gaspar: Head, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Dar-es-Salaam.
- MUNISI, : Acting Director, Tanzania National Scientific Council.

NDLELA, Daniel: Researcher, Department of Economics, University of Zimbabwe.
OKOTH-OGENDO, : Dean, Faculty of Law and Chairman, Department of Public Law,
University of Nairobi.
OYUGI, Walter: Lecturer, Department of Government, University of Nairobi;
Member of OSSREA's Executive Committee.
RUKOBO, A.M.: Acting Director, Zimbabwe Institute of Development Studies.
SELASSIE, Seyoum G.: Dean College of Social Sciences, Addis Ababa University.
WAGAO : Head, Department of Economics, University of Dar-es-Salaam.
WANGWE, Samuel: Dean, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of
Dar-es-Salaam.

The following other interviews were conducted, but with the sole aim of providing background information:

AIYEBURI, Director of Planning and Programme Coordination Division, ECA.
HYDEN, Gorham, Representative, Ford Foundation, Nairobi.
NKINYANGI, John, Regional Program Officer, Social Science Division, IDRC, Nairobi.
VANDEN REYSSEN, Joseph, ECA.

Annex II. (Statistical Annex)

Note: All the figures are taken from Economic Commission for Africa (1984)

TABLE I
Basic Indicators, 1982

	Population	GDP	GDP Growth	Consumer
	Millions	Per Head Dollars	Rate a/ Percentage Change Over Previous Years	Index
Ethiopia	33.3	147	2.0	5.9
Kenya	17.8	313	2.2	20.5
Tanzania	19.0	295	-4.5	29.0
Zimbabwe	8.0	596	0.8	10.7
African OPEC Members	105.5	1426	-2.4	7.5
Least Developed Countries	153.7	297	1.8	18.9
Other Countries	208.6	596	2.4	15.1
All ECA Members	462.8	686	-	12.0

a/ Aggregates were computed at constant 1980 market prices.

TABLE II
Sectoral Distribution of Labour Force
(percentage)

	Agriculture		Industry		Services	
	1960	1979	1960	1979	1960	1979
Ethiopia	88	80	5	7	7	13
Kenya	86	78	5	10	9	12
Tanzania	89	83	4	6	7	11
Zimbabwe	69	60	11	15	20	25
Africa OPEC Mbrs.	70	51	10	19	19	30
LDC	88	81	5	8	7	11
Other Countries	75	66	9	16	16	18
All ECA Members	79	69	8	13	13	18

TABLE III

Health Indicators: Life Expectancy and Medical Services

	Life Expectancy in 1981	Population Per Doctor 1980	Population Per Paramedic 1980	Population Per Hospital Bed a/
	Years		Number	
Ethiopia	46.0	58.490	5.440	3.016
Kenya	56.0	10.500	550	601
Tanzania	52.0	17.560	2.980	---
Zimbabwe	55.0	6.580	1.190	374
Africa OPEC Mbrs.	50.5	5.734	1.700	734
LDC	46.6	21.563	2.905	1.002
Other Countries	52.9	3.298	1.335	450
All ECA Members	50.3	5.292	1.727	607

a/Data for a year in the period 1972-79, according to availability

TABLE IVEducational Enrollments a/
Enrollment Ratio In

	Primary Schools	Secondary Schools	Institutions Higher Education
	Percentage of Relevant Population b/		
Ethiopia	46	12	1
Kenya	109	19	1
Tanzania	102	3	0
Zimbabwe	126	15	0
Africa OPEC Mbrs.	98	21	3
LDC	54	10	1
Other Countries	87	28	5
All ECA Members	79	20	3

a/ Data for latest year for which data are available.

b/ Population in age-group conventionally associated with attendance at institutions concerned. In practice, there may be pupils outside that age-group.

TABLE V

Literacy and Newspaper Readership

	Literacy Rate	Newspaper Circulation 1977
	Percentage a/	Number per 1,000 Inhabitants
Ethiopia	47	2.0
Kenya	47	10.0
Tanzania	79	11.0
Zimbabwe	69	16.0
Africa OPEC Mbrs.	34	22.0
LDC	39	3.7
Other Countries	43	13.1
All ECA Members	40	9.0

a/ In various years, generally lying between 1978 and 1982.

PART IV

CODESRIA'S REPLY TO
THE EVALUATION



Tel.: 23.02.11 - Telex: 3339 CODES SG.
Postal Address: CODESRIA B.P. 3304
D A K A R (SENEGAL).

Director,
Social Science,
The Ford Foundation,
320 East - 43rd Street,
New York, N.Y. 10017.

Date 26th June, 1985
Reference: OF 1883/85/337

We refer to your memo of April 26, 1985 and to the meetings I held with Dr. Horowitz and Dr. Steedman.

I believe that you have by now received the preliminary response of the Executive Committee of CODESRIA to the Evaluation Report. However, I am enclosing another copy just in case.

After working on this preliminary report, the Executive Committee decided to study all major documents dealing with CODESRIA to get our bearings and to decide how we might proceed. In the course of this study we have found that even though CODESRIA's achievements are outstanding, there is much that is unsatisfactory about it and that far reaching changes are essential. We have already embarked on these changes.

One import of this is that we will not be sending you a fuller response to the Evaluation Report. It seems that the best response at this point is to communicate to you some sense of the changes that we are trying to effect, as well as address briefly the specific points that you raised in your memo. We are effecting changes in three broad areas and since these changes are far-reaching and their specifics involved, we have set up three Committees of the Executive Committee to work out the details in regard to each area.

DEVELOPMENT

The changes being worked out in this area include the following:

1. To look at the objectives of CODESRIA and to determine how its mandate might be reinterpreted in the light of changing realities and how its activities might be focussed for maximum effectiveness.
2. To draw up a long-term plan and a short-term plan for the development of CODESRIA and the pursuit of its activities. What exists now appears to be a set of activities rather than a programme or a plan. To devise appropriate ways of carrying out the programme (in terms of action plans) and ways of monitoring performance relative to objectives.
3. To review the publication programme to find ways of strengthening output, improving distribution and the commercialization of publication,
4. and the attainment of linguistic balance (there is much Anglophone bias currently) in the publication programme. Africa Development will now be published separately in English and French.

.../...

Exécutif/Executive Committee

President/Chairman	Claude Ake	- Nigeria
President	Frej Stambouli	- Tunisia
Secretary	A. S. Bujra	- Kenya

Membres/Members

H. Babassana	- Congo	Habib El Malki	- Maroc
M. Mamdani	- Uganda	J. M. Mwanza	- Zambia
N. G. Simelane	- Swaziland	T. Thiombiano	- Burkina Faso

5. *To devise more efficient ways of carrying out the research activities of CODESRIA.*
6. *To look into the possibilities of doing more for the disciplines that have been neglected in the past especially Sociology, Anthropology and Education, to do more for the regions in which the development of the social science organization and research lags such as Francophone Central Africa and Portuguese Africa to find ways of broadening the participation in CODESRIA activities both in the sense of increasing the number of participants and the varieties of social science tendencies represented.*

FINANCE

The Committee in this area is trying to carry out the following tasks:

1. *To find ways of increasing African contributions to finance CODESRIA's activities.*
2. *To devise or adopt a rigorous accounting and budgetary system. This will include among other things sectoral budgeting.*
3. *To devise appropriate financial procedures for day to day operations.*
4. *To work out the financial implications of the present reforms.*
5. *To find an appropriate level of financial reserve and ways of creating it for the security of Secretariat staff and to avoid keeping CODESRIA on a short leash.*

ADMINISTRATION

The Committee responsible for this area is dealing with the following tasks:

1. *To recommend formal administrative procedure in those areas where they do not now exist as CODESRIA has grown too big for informal processes which also often cause uncertainty and suspicion.*
2. *To work out modalities of internal democratization.*
3. *To reexamine conditions of service in order to enhance morale and «esprit de corps».*
4. *To find means of ensuring that CODESRIA does not become ossified but remains open to new ideas. To find means of keeping the Secretariat sensitized on a continuous basis to CODESRIA's role as an agent for promoting research for African development and for servicing the social science community in Africa.*

This will entail changes in the nature of personnel, duration and other conditions of tenure at the top.

So much for the changes that we envision. Let me comment briefly on the two major points raised in the memo referred to above. First the question of an endowment fund. CODESRIA does not in fact have an endowment fund. Nonetheless we understand the concern behind raising this point and we share it fully.

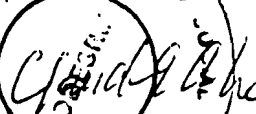
Some of the money in question is tied to projects and represents a time lag (perhaps unacceptably long) in project execution. Some of it is due to excessive caution about spending money. We will speed up uncompleted projects and at the same time curb our sense of insecurity. We are trying to find an appropriate way of ensuring the financial security of Secretariat staff. But donors' money will not be put into any reserve fund without prior consultation.

Finally the question of the proportion of funds spent on Secretariat as opposed to activities. We are greatly disturbed by this as this pattern of distribution is hardly in the interest of CODESRIA. However, we feel that this problem is more apparent than real; most likely a matter of accounting classifications and procedures. Before leaving Dakar I arranged for the Accountant of CODESRIA to get together with the Accountant of the Ford Foundation to look at CODESRIA accounts together and determine the correct proportions.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you for making possible what is almost certainly the best NGO in Africa, which apart from its contributions to development research has, by virtue of providing an independent association, a base for the intelligentsia become a bulwark of pluralism and democracy in Africa.

I am enclosing herewith the response of the Executive Committee to the External Evaluation Report, with briefs from the Secretariat as Annexes I & II.

I remain,

Yours Sincerely,

Claude AKE,
Chairman.
COUNCIL FOR DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

BRIEFS FROM THE SECRETARIAT

PART I

INTRODUCTION

The evaluation of CODESRIA could not have come at a more appropriate time. Within the organization itself there have been strong pressures to evaluate all activities, programmes and priorities after a decade of the organization's existence. Furthermore the multiple crises facing Africa today have added a sense of urgency to Social Science research calling for reconsideration of modes of operation and CODESRIA's role in a continent whose research institutes are faced with debilitating financial and manpower shortages, collapsing research infrastructure, growing intolerance by beleaguered regimes and uncertainty about paradigms, analytical tools, theories that all seem so inadequate for the task.

Indeed even prior to the donors' evaluation of CODESRIA, the Executive Committee had set up a committee headed by Professor ONITIRI whose terms of reference were "to take stock of how far we have come and where we go from here. Should CODESRIA continue to function on the same basis with the same resources, structures, etc., and with the same orientation, or should there be a change? It is also necessary to look at the constraints within which the Secretariat has functioned e.g. : the objective conditions of the Research environment in Africa, personnel, finance, administration, etc., to see the possibilities for removing some of these constraints in order to better enable CODESRIA to achieve its objectives. "A decision was made to organize the 1985 General Assembly on the utilisation of Social Sciences in Africa.

The extensive travel and interviews by the three social scientists with such diverse backgrounds has provided CODESRIA with the kind of information we would have been financially hard put to collect. It has also provided the CODESRIA Executive Committee, General Assembly and the Secretariat with valuable insights into needs, expectations and commitments of the African social science community. There is no doubt that a careful consideration of the reports will greatly enhance CODESRIA effectiveness in its task.

The Social Science community must also have benefitted from the opportunity to air their views about an organization that they so obviously value. Indeed the very process of responding to the interviews may have rekindled their interest in CODESRIA work and compelled them to focus their reflections on the organization more sharply than they do in their day to day work.

CODESRIA's brief is divided into two parts - the first part consists of responses on specific issues raised in the evaluation teams's report. The second part is a factual account of the historical evolution of CODESRIA - its aspiration problems and progress and the peculiarities of the environment within which the organization has evolved. A fuller understanding of the organization demands a familiarity with its historical development and the socio-economic context of this development which is covered in this part.

We would stress at the outset that CODESRIA - through its various organs - the General Assembly, the Executive Committee and the Secretariat consider the evaluation report of immense significance and of an extremely constructive nature. Our remarks are, therefore made in the light of this understanding. There is no intention to gloss over the issues nor to adopt a defensive attitude. We believe that the evaluation exercise is part of an on-going dialogue between the African Social Science Community and those who have so generously provided material support to their continental organization over many years.

SPECIFICS

(I) Working Groups

One of CODESRIA's major modes of operation are the various working groups organized around some of the priority areas agreed upon by the General Assembly. Several weaknesses of the operations of the working groups have been identified by the evaluation team. It should be pointed out that not all members of the team mention similar points nor do they place similar emphasis on each of these points. We shall here respond to these observations. However, before doing that we would like to note

that CODESRIA secretariat and Executive Committee are far from satisfied with the operations of the working groups and various modalities to make them more efficient have been tried. Our response to the team's observations are therefore not a sign of smug satisfaction with the operations of these groups nor are they an attempt to adopt a defensive posture on the part of the Secretariat. Our hope is that our response will add another dimension to the understanding of the problems of working groups. The weaknesses mentioned by the team and our responses are :

- a) There is a low level of completion of projects conducted within these working groups.

Comments : CODESRIA, through its Executive Committee, agrees that research groups are not working satisfactorily despite instances of impressive success. It should be noted that "working groups" at the present levels of funding are a relatively new mode of operation within CODESRIA, (see appendix II) a fact that partially explains the obviously unsatisfactory level of completion of the projects. Our own perception of the problems of working groups has undergone significant changes over the years as experience has provided us with valuable lessons. In the initial phases of the working group's mode of research co-ordination we were perhaps overly optimistic about the speed with which they could be started and projects completed. There was implicit in our expectations an assumption that researchers in the various priority areas already existed within member institutes and that our major task would be to simply bring them together. We soon found out that assumption was misleading and that a new format which included training and actually stimulating researchers' interests in these themes would have to be adopted. That format is relatively new and under it, five working groups are currently at work. Two of them completed their work and three books - one a country case study and two collections of various studies - should come out this year.

- b) Preparatory work is insufficient

Comments : Under the new format, we have included in the preparatory phase the commissioning of "State of the art" papers to give a common background to prospective members of the working group. By appointing more

APPENDIX I

Institutes, Faculties and Departments Visited

<u>Ghana</u>	<u>No. of Interviews</u>
1. Ghana Investment Centre	2
2. Department of Economics, Legon	1
3. Department of Sociology	2
4. Institute of African Studies	1
5. Faculty of Social Sciences	1
6. Regional Institute for Population Studies	1
7. Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research	1
8. Department of History	1

<u>Liberia</u>	
1. President, University of Liberia	1
2. Institute of Research	1
3. Department of Urban and Regional Planning	1

<u>Sierra Leone</u>	University of Sierra Leone
1. Institute of African Studies	1
2. Faculty of Social Sciences	1
3. Department of Sociology	1
4. Department of Political Science	1
5. Department of Economics	1
6. Demographic Unit	1
7. Department of Extra Mural Studies	1
8. Institute of Public Administration and Management	1
9. Institute of Education	3

<u>Nigeria</u>	
1. Department of Sociology, Unijos	5
2. Department of Political Science	1
3. Department of Economics	1
4. Center for Development Studies	1
5. Other Informal Interviews	3

APPENDIX I (cont'd)

No. of Interviews

International Institute of International Affairs

1. Directorate of Research 1

ECDMAS Office, Lagos

1. Directorate of Research 1
2. Directorate of Social and Cultural Affairs 1
3. Executive's Office 1

University of Lagos

1. Department of Sociology 1
2. Department of Political Science 1
3. Faculty of Business Administration 4

University of Ibadan

1. Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research 3
2. National Social Science Council 1

University of Ife, Ile - Ife

1. Department of Public Administration 1
2. Department of Political Science 1
3. Department of Sociology 2
4. Center for Industrial Research and Training 1
5. Department of Economics 1

Number of Mailed Responses

1. Ghana Investment Centre 1
2. International Institute of Tropical Agriculture 1
3. Centre for Social and Economic Research, Zaria 1
4. Department of Sociology, Unife 1
5. Department of Political Science, UniJos 1
6. Department of Economics, University of Sierra Leone 1
7. Department of Sociology, University of Ife 1
8. Faculty of Law, University of Ife, Ile-Ife 1
9. Faculty of Business Studies, University of Lagos 1

or less fulltime co-ordinators for each of the working groups (a rather recent practice) we have noted substantial improvements in the preparatory work. It should be pointed out that some of the preparatory work involves searching for funds for particular projects. The actual level of funding, the timing of such funding and the "deadlines" can add problems to preparatory work. We are, however, convinced that with increased use of co-ordinators we should see much better preparatory work.

c) The working groups are inadequately funded.

Comments : This we are acutely and painfully aware of.

To highlight this problem, let us look at the experience of EADI or CLACSO. In their case it is reasonable to assume that individual researchers already have funding from national institutions and the regional organization's main task is to bring these already funded researchers together and to sponsor publication of material from their workshops, seminars or conferences. In the case of Africa, this is not the case. Ideally, CODESRIA would wish it was so well endowed as to give full research grants to members of the groups so as to temporarily free them from demands made upon them by institutes that are funding their full-time activities.

In recognition of the financial strains we have sought to allocate funds to researcher as "honoraria". In our specific applications for projects funding we have sought to persuade donors of the importance of providing funds that would go directly to researchers. We are pleased to note that there is greater receptivity to the idea by donors.

There should, however, be no illusion that given current and the foreseeable levels of funding CODESRIA can ever give to individual researchers the kind of funding given by donors. Much of funding will continue to be either "seedmoney " or honoraria. It must be said, to the credit of the research community, that rather substantive research results have been produced on such meagre resources.

d) The working groups appear as "sporadic" intellectual exercise and lack stability and cohesiveness and openness to new members.

Comments : There is some contradiction in the remark - a contradiction reflective of conflicts between stability and cohesiveness on the one hand, and openness to new members on the other. Striking a balance between these two objectives is not easy.

Let us, nevertheless, look at these points separately. Strictly speaking the "completion" of a particular working group's project, including publication of its research results, has meant the dissolution of the group. We have, however, sought to hold the groups together by encouraging some of the members of the group to join new groups dealing with closely related themes. For example about half of the members in the working group on "transnationals and Agriculture" have moved onto the group on "The State and Food Policies". In this way, we have kept some of the older members of the group while creating room for new ones.

It should be pointed out that African social science researches are rather "mobile group". For financial and other interests they are usually unable to sustain interest in research in one theme for extended periods. There are always pressures to jump on to the bandwagon of "in" themes for which lucrative consultancies may exist. It is as if they were afraid of putting their intellectual eggs in one basket. One possible way out would be longterm funding by CODESRIA. This would probably mean creating a stable, reasonably well funded group but also tend to make the group exclusive if for no other reason than financial constraints. The recruitment of new members to working groups is a rather complex process involving the project co-ordinator, directors of research institutes, member institutions internal politics and researchers themselves. It is however surprising that some members of the evaluation team really thought this was one of the working group weaknesses. It is our strong feeling that we have done our level best to always bring in new members to the working groups. One has only to look at the composition of the working groups to see this. Indeed one of the problem we have had with working groups has been with new recruits with limited research experience. We have chosen the risk of not having all research studies well completed by bringing in unknown researchers rather than having assured results from well-established researchers whose working capacity we are familiar with. One has the feeling that the

evaluators got their views from two different types of researchers. The older ones complaining about lack of stability while the new ones see the working groups as closed coteries.

e) Researchers do not consider them as "authentic research networks".

Comments : It is hard to figure out exactly what is meant by "authentic research networks".

f) Preparation and execution of the projects take too long and are time consuming.

Comments : This is largely true and we have tried to reduce the time. For those projects funded entirely out of the regular budget the period of preparation is quite short. For projects funded separately the process is indeed too long. Usually we use the regular budget as "seedmoney" or for financing the project formulation or identification phase. The proposals are then taken to donors for funding. This can take quite sometime before the donors decide. As soon as the funds are allocated to us we are then usually compelled to rush the project, leading to poor preparatory work referred to above. Researchers can find waiting a rather frustrating process and at times by the time we go to the researchers, they may have abandoned the topic for another one.

g) CODESRIA ideological bias restricts networks by turning off researchers of other ideological persuasions. It was also "distracting from the search for an alternative model" (Afonja). Recommendations were that CODESRIA should "reappraise its critical leftist outlook in order to accommodate the positions of moderates". CODESRIA should further recognise the "changing ideological terrain" in Africa and the crisis of dominant ideologies - pan-Africanism and nationalism. One member discussed at the "critical research" towards which CODESRIA is oriented.

Comments : The point about "leftist" exclusiveness was stressed by one member of the team. There were rather contradictory observations by this particular member who on the one hand accused CODESRIA of being Marxist

while at the same time pointed out that "prominent leftists" were left out of CODESRIA work.

Regardless of the ideological dispositions of members of the Secretariat, what CODESRIA has sought to do was to raise the questions with the hope that researchers of different ideological leaning and intellectual backgrounds will address themselves to a set of common questions. Obviously the choice of questions is not "ideologically neutral" but there is no doubt in our minds that research co-ordination will always involve this problematic about who defines the questions. The call that CODESRIA secretariat play a more active intellectual role further underscores the problematic since on the one hand the Secretariat is being called upon to help map the terrain to be traversed by researchers while at the same time it is called upon to merely note this changing terrain.

It should perhaps be pointed out that the general temper of social science research in Africa is "critical". One member of the team, the most emphatic about CODESRIA's leftist bias, stated that most of the researchers working with CODESRIA were "reactionaries" who "reacted" against State Policies. Semantics aside, the truth of this claim would not surprise us much. There is in Africa a growing gap between the State and the research community partly as a result of the dismal failure of the various regimes in meeting the basic needs of their peoples, and safeguarding the sovereignty of their nations and their increasing repressiveness. As evidence of this, there is not a single major social science journal that is glumly "conventional" let alone apologetic about the status quo in Africa. Furthermore, it so happens that most of the social science activists in regional or national non-governmental associations of social scientists tend to be "critical" and often alienated from the authorities while the more "orthodox", being closely related to authority may be under less pressure to publish or seek association with fellow social science researchers. It is often the critically committed social scientists that will voluntarily do the work demanded by such NGOs. This is the general environment within which CODESRIA is working. Given the multiple crises facing the continent, it would be indeed surprising if the social science community was not critical and "leftists". The position of past and current Executive Committee is that CODESRIA should maintain its "critical perspective".

The current Executive Committee is even more emphatic about this point categorically stating, " we are inclined to think that a neutral position will be meaningless and futile and will tend to defeat the mission of CODESRIA." (see Executive Committee response).

- h) One of the evaluators thought that priority areas were "too broad".

Comments : This is a theme recurring at various CODESRIA meetings and over which there is much disagreement with one group agreeing with the evaluator while the other argues that any attempt to have more precise or narrowly defined areas would simply involve CODESRIA in more intellectual quarrels. In any case one of the other evaluators' view is that the priorities were generally accepted by the Social Science Community and were "broad enough" to accommodate different institutes on-going research. It is of great significance is that the recent General Assembly of CODESRIA endorsed the presentation of priorities in the manner CODESRIA has done in the past.

It should also be pointed out that greater precision of topics is often left to working groups and Co-ordinators, a point which was emphasized by the General Assembly. As an example, under the broad category of Science and Technology, we have set up one working group on the capital goods industries and transfer of technology.

(II) - ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS

Here four issues were raised :

- (i) That there was absence of professionalism at the Secretariat's administration and publications.
- (ii) That there were bureaucratic tendencies and centralisation which tended to " estrange" the research community.
- (iii) That there was the danger of "clientelism" as chosen few tended to be coopted to CODESRIA activities.

- (iv) That CODESRIA lacked internal democracy largely due to the fact that the General Assembly was "an ineffective or easy manipulable body".
- (v) That CODESRIA secretariat should exercise a more clearly defined intellectual function and not interpret its mandate in a bureaucratically restrictive manner. The Executive Secretariat should "avoid becoming" a mere administrator of intellectual resources and should focus on intellectual debate.

Comments : Point (i) has been generally true as CODESRIA tried to keep down the organization overhead costs. Following strong recommendations by the Executive Committee the situation has improved considerably in both respect. A second Deputy Executive Secretary with strong credentials in administrative matters has been appointed. In addition a new administrative officer has been added on to the Staff. On the publication side, a full editor has been added onto the Secretariat and as recent issues of Africa.

Development clearly show there has been greater professionalism in the editing, proof-reading and general appearance of the Journal. With the acquisition of new printing equipment and word processing facilities we should see a substantial improvement in the quality of the journal.

We still have problems with the distribution side although even here we have sent a member of Staff to courses on that aspect of publication.

Point (ii) is difficult to deal with and came as a surprise to us. Comparing ourselves with pan-African or regional other organizations we were often made to feel we were the least bureaucratic of organizations. The Executive Committee holds to the view that CODESRIA is too informal and may have to be "bureaucratized a little in order to formalize its structure and systematize its work. Of course the administrator is probably the last to view him or herself as bureaucratic. One cautionary point should, however, be made here : our constituency - social science researchers are particularly sensitive to bureaucratic tendencies and may tend to overly react to any administrative demands made on them. The word "estrangement" to describe their posture towards CODESRIA seems a little too strong and seems to contradict the overall impression given by the team of the research communities commitment to CODESRIA as an institution. Nevertheless, if that

perception of CODESRIA style of work has been voiced then a serious re-examination by the Secretariat is called for.

The point about "clientelism" is also difficult to deal with since apparently it emerges not by design on the part of the Secretariat but by the "nature of things". Furthermore the notion of "clientelism" impinges on the integrity of the African social science community and is a rather emotional issue .

It should be noted however that this point, taken together with an earlier one about lack of stability and cohesion, confirms the dilemma CODESRIA secretariat faces. Stability of groups may demand that the same people attend seminars or conferences on closely related issues, leading to charges of "clientelism" and exclusiveness. On the other hand, efforts to bring in new faces may suggest lack of continuity and stability in working groups.

We are aware of the problems of internal democracy and the role of member institutes and the General Assembly. A number of explanations for this problem are spelt out by one of the evaluators (BRUNNER) and need not be repeated here. One major source of the problem is the high turnover rate of directors of research institutes and the sparsity of information about other social science research and research institutes. This partly explains why in the past the Executive Committee was often asked to short list names of prospective members of the succeeding Executive Committee. A new approach will have to be made to request institutes of a particular region to nominate candidates to represent their region. Since it can be reasonably presumed that members are more likely to know more about research in institutes of a particular region, the nominations will be more democratic. More significantly it is imperative that the Executive Committee, as the elected representative of the member institutes be more engaged in CODESRIA's activities. Recognition of this is clearly spelt out in the Committee's own reflections on the various evaluations of CODESRIA.

Finally, on the intellectual content of the Secretariat's work. CODESRIA professional staff has been small and has had to carry a rather heavy burden of administration and coordination and their own intellectual

activities have suffered instead. We would not agree more with the evaluators that additional substantive staff should be brought to the secretariat to monitor CODESRIA working groups and research, publications. This would not only create a broader intellectual atmosphere in the secretariat itself but would enable CODESRIA to play a much more intellectual role. Towards this end, CODESRIA has decided ; (a) to encourage co-ordinators of the projects to spend considerable time at the Secretariat (b) to encourage African scholars to spend their sabbaticals at CODESRIA Secretariat ; (c) in order to make the stay in Dakar attractive and intellectually rewarding, to build up CODESRIA's documentation and library facilities so as to complement the already rather considerable resources of Dakar (IDEP library, ENDA library, UNESCO-BREDA library and the University library).

(III) DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION AND PUBLICATIONS

Several points were raised under these headings. Although some echo points discussed under other sections, it is useful to include them once again here. The major points made are :

- (a) The Africana newsletter is narrowly distributed and is received by institutes and not social science faculties ;
- (b) AFRICA DEVELOPMENT has a "leftists image" and needs to be more open to other schools of thought other than "marxist" ones. One member of the team suggested that CODESRIA needs a more representative editorial board which could be constituted to reflect different intellectual schools, regions and gender ;
- (c) CODESRIA has not overcome the language problem in its publication ;
- (d) Printing and distribution are not professionally done.
In addition, equipment is inadequate to the task.

Comments : The Africana newsletter is sent to all research institutes and faculties of social sciences and university libraries. Part of the problem with accessibility of the newsletter to a wide range of social

scientists may reflect purely internal problems of distribution of information at the national or institutional level.

The "leftist image" of Africa Development is similar to the "leftist image" of the Secretariat. We would like to reiterate that editorially Africa Development is quite open. What may have happened is probably a process of self-elimination because of a belief in a "leftist image" thus further reinforcing the image. We already noted that there are few continental journals in Africa that are orthodox and this is not because of editorial policy but because of trends in Africa social sciences.

The language problem is difficult to resolve, it is not clear whether resolution of the language entails a policy of fifty-fifty articles in French and English. This is virtually impossible given the preponderance of Anglophone Universities and research institutes. Secondly, CODESRIA does not receive articles from as many francophone Africa probably as a result of the tortuous process of getting Doctorat d'Etat and (French domination through ORSTOM) of research in Francophone Africa. Immediate plans are to make Africa Development a biannual published separately in English and French.

The problem of equipment has dogged CODESRIA ever since. However, the Frederich-Ebert Foundation has helped with the purchase of new equipment and, as already mentioned above, we are also installing a word processor. We should therefore expect significant improvements in the quality of all our publications.

(IV) TRAINING

Two points were raised here. One was that CODESRIA has done little in the field of training. Another was that CODESRIA links were stronger with research institutes and not teaching faculties. As regards the first point one member of the team felt that CODESRIA should not involve itself with training.

Comments : In a broad sense through its publications, CODESRIA does provide teaching materials and its working groups are proving a valuable training ground for junior researchers. However, coming to the main point

CODESRIA has over years sought modalities of being involved in training. One CODESRIA proposal involved identification of "Centres of excellence" in particular fields and encouraging graduate students to attach themselves to these institutes. There are, unfortunately formidable obstacles to the scheme. First, we have the problem of diversity of university education specially with the end of colonialism. Secondly, we have foreign exchange problem that has made exchange of students and staff extremely difficult. Thirdly, other organizations such as African University Association have apparently failed to establish joint study programmes and comparability of examination grades.

Nonetheless, we plan to bring Deans of Social Sciences to discuss the possibility of organising regional programmes. Of course what the heads of faculties ultimately do with the newsletter is beyond our control.

BRIEFS FROM THE SECRETARIAT

PART II

THE CONTEXT: HISTORICAL AND FACTUAL EVALUATION OF CODESRIA

It is important and necessary to put on record on a step by step basis, the evolution of CODESRIA for a number of reasons:

1) Only one member of the evaluation team actually visited CODESRIA and despite long and extensive discussions with him, these were not enough to give the evaluator adequate information and a perspective of the struggles and constraints inherent in the development of CODESRIA. Thus on this aspect of CODESRIA, the team, in addition to interviews and questionnaires, relied heavily on CODESRIA's brochures.

2) Factual and processual information on CODESRIA's secretariat and its activities have been very inadequately systematised for obvious reasons - lack of staff, facilities and information, movement to new location etc. Only now is this information (in a large number of files) being painstakingly searched for, properly stored, documented, systematized and evaluated.

3) There is an implicit assumption in one of the evaluator's report that CODESRIA has existed in its present 1984 form for ten years i.e. since 1973, an assumption which may have made it difficult for him to appreciate some important aspects of CODESRIA's evolution.

For these and other reasons it is useful and perhaps necessary on our part to try as much as possible to record the history and context of CODESRIA's evolution; our Documentation center is in the process of systematizing this information.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Very briefly it is clear now that the objective conditions in Africa in the sixties and early seventies were, to put it mildly, unfavourable to the effective development of an organization such as CODESRIA, despite very brave attempts.

1) In the mid-sixties, during the euphoric period just after independence (of most African countries) the universities were very strongly linked to (often legally) and controlled (financially, man-power and ideologically) by metropolitan Universities. There were few Research Institutes and most of these were foreign controlled i.e. their Directors and researchers were metropolitan nationals. The African social science "community" was very small, mostly first generation scholars holding low positions, scattered, without any institutional or individual links with each other and divided linguistically as well as by long distances; lacked transport or other forms of communication. There was, in other words, no African social science community to speak of.

2) Despite these formidable difficulties, there were few brave African Directors of Research Institutes who got together and formed the Conference of Directors of Economic and Social Research Institutes in Africa (acronym CODESRIA). Their aim was basically to change areas of priority of research in a direction that they considered would be more conducive to the promotion of economic growth. The few African Directors met occasionally in the late sixties, but CODESRIA as an organization was ineffective for a number of important reasons which we need not go into. Nothing of significance was produced. Nevertheless, this brave effort laid the historical foundation for the second phase of CODESRIA i.e. the present CODESRIA, founded in 1973.

3) In 1972 UNESCO started a move to create an inter-governmental Center for Research and Documentation for Africa South of the Sahara (CERDAS), a move which the independent (NGO) CODESRIA (i.e. the conference of Directors) thought was aimed as a counter to it, and perhaps to eliminate it. CERDAS was heavily funded by UNESCO, the Zairian Government (it was based in Kinshasa) and some other Governments. CERDAS since its inception in 1972 has held 3 or 4 seminars and its Documentation role has been just as ineffective. It is still being funded by both UNESCO and the Zairian Government and it is still largely dormant.

4) The leading generation of independent and, at the minimum, nationalist African scholars, reacted to what they thought was a growing trend against the emergence of an independent social science in Africa.

The clear signal was that under the sponsorship of UNESCO, social science in Africa will basically come under the control of Government through CERDAS;

Additionally there were two but more positive factors which spurred the reaction: (1) the growing size of African social scientists and the radicalization of a section of this budding "community"; (2) the intellectual ferment during the 50's and 60's in other parts of the Third World but particularly in Latin America where, at the scientific level, the Dependencia school was at its apex and organizationally expressed through the existence and activities of CLACSO. The second Executive Committee meeting of CODESRIA clearly states, "the setting up of CODESRIA has been inspired by the achievements of CLACSO".

5) Thus on 1st February 1973, the present Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA) was founded. Its founding took a curious but historically interesting form. The President of the Conference of Directors (the old CODESRIA) was the indefatigable Professor ONITIRI of Nigeria who was also the mobile Secretariat of the conference of Directors. He was at IDEP on sabbatical in 1972/73. The Director of IDEP was Professor Samir AMIN. The former's frustrating nationalist experience of the sixties and the latter's obvious links and enthusiasm with the intellectual ferment in Latin America combined to bring about the founding conference of the present CODESRIA in 1973. The facilities and network of IDEP were effectively used for this purpose.

6) CODESRIA was thus formed partly because of the frustration of the sixties, because of pressure from below and a clear will power to do what others (i.e. the Latin American) can do. It therefore started with very high and noble ideas which could be stated as follows:

- Firstly to reorient social science in Africa, identify its African specificity, unite the social scientists so that they - with the reoriented social science as their tool - will become an important force which can participate in the continent's development process, by either influencing government planning policies or providing alternative policies from the results of their research. .

- Secondly, CODESRIA was to use the CLACSO model of setting up interdisciplinary multinational research or working (WG) groups.

At the first Executive Committee meeting (2nd February 1973) immediately after the founding General Assembly, eight priority research areas (i.e. research projects) were identified and leaders and coordinators* were also identified. A number of other important decisions were taken at that meeting:

- a) CODESRIA should have an independent location, secretariat, and the search for a host country where CODESRIA's secretariat would be based should start immediately.
- b) It should start contacting African Governments for financial contributions immediately.
- c) A full time, high calibre University person should be appointed to head CODESRIA.

By November 1974 (i.e. 22 months later) at the second Executive C. meeting in Kinshasa, there was a review of what had happened during the period. This led to a reflection on the situation and of CODESRIA's prospects. The review revealed three important problems:

- a) Very little, if any, funds had been donated by governments;
- b) None of the eight coordinators had done anything about the projects;

* The present Executive Secretary was one of the eight coordinators identified and assigned the project on the Sociology of Development.

- c) The role of the secretariat was ambiguous: either it was doing too little or the coordinators were expecting too much from the secretariat.

The reflection concluded that:

- a) We cannot mechanically transplant the Latin American experience into Africa;
 - b) The concrete objective conditions in Africa require "different methodologies".
- 7) At the Third Executive Committee meeting held in Dakar (October 1975) a full time Executive Secretary was appointed to head CODESRIA. He was faced with a number of major and fundamental tasks;
- a) To re-orient social science in Africa - a fundamental objective of CODESRIA;
 - b) To build up a secretariat and resolve the question of location;
 - c) To raise funds for the Secretariat and for whatever programmes which are initiated;
 - d) To mobilize social scientists by whatever methodology.

We are now turning to these issues.

CODESRIA: 1976 - 1985

1. Reorientation of Social Science in Africa

This is a complicated issue. It can mean two things: (a) a change in the social science paradigm of the orthodox, traditional Euro-centric social science to a critical social science or what others prefer to call a political economy framework of analyses; (b) the search for the specificity of the African situation (through political economy) in order to evolve a school of thought pertinent and relevant to the concrete African problems. Admittedly, some people would take issue with the distinction between (a) and (b).

Whatever the case, it has, at the very least, two important aspects: (1) the whole aspect of the content of training and research at the Universities and (2) the flow of literature (both critical and orthodox) into Africa as well as the production and dissemination of social science literature. This latter point is of present significance to CODESRIA (CODESRIA has not yet been directly involved in training) since it involves the related steps - research production, publication and dissemination. To the extent that CODESRIA can play a role in these inter-connected stages, it can therefore play a role in the reorientation of social science in Africa. One of the evaluations deals with this point rather extensively and BUJRA's "CODESRIA's first Decade: an Epistemological Overview," specifically deals with the role of CODESRIA on this issue.

SECRETARIAT AND LOCATION

When CODESRIA was founded in 1973 at IDEP, its Director, Professor Samir AMIN, being a founding member and the first part-time Executive Secretary, provided facilities to CODESRIA in the IDEP building. These consisted of two offices, a typewriter, use of the phone, telex etc. With a loan from IDEP, CODESRIA employed a fulltime coordinator and secretary. Thus began the Secretariat of CODESRIA. The Coordinator abandoned his post in mid 1974. The Secretariat thus remained dormant until a fulltime Executive Secretary was appointed in October 1975.

Between 1975 and 1980 the Secretariat personnel increased to 6 at the lower levels of typists, printer, publication assistant and cleaner. The recruitment (all on local terms) was spread over the period. On the other hand the activities of CODESRIA increased steeply. Africa Development started in 1976, Africana in 1975 and a number of Directories of on-going research were produced. The number of Working seminars and conferences increased dramatically (see Annex I).

In 1980 a Deputy Executive Secretary was appointed and this made considerable difference.

During this period (1975 -80) the Executive Secretary had been discussing with a number of Governments on the question of locating CODESRIA. These were Senegal, Algeria, Ghana, Togo and Ethiopia. In fact at the Second General Assembly of CODESRIA in Cairo, (1976), a resolution was passed to locate CODESRIA in Addis Ababa, and discussions were almost finalised. This move was interrupted by circumstances beyond our control. In the mean time the Senegalese Government offered CODESRIA generous terms to be host. This was accepted and an Agreement was signed in 1979. In 1980 CODESRIA moved its offices from IDEP building to the rent free building offered by the Government of Senegal.

The building CODESRIA moved into was new, spacious, and imposing. But CODESRIA had to start from scratch in terms of furniture, equipment, telephone, maintenance etc... It was not an easy task with a small secretariat budget and a small staff. One small but important point needs to be mentioned. In 1980 IDEP was undergoing serious internal conflict, (terminating with the resignations of the Director and the Deputy) and the hostility of the Administration towards CODESRIA was almost irrational IDEP being the custodian of all our past documents, files etc..., it was very difficult for CODESRIA to get back its documents.

Some files were misplaced, others allowed to be soaked in water during the rainy season etc.

As a result, our records are up to the present incomplete and we are still trying to sort out what is missing.

With our "own house" as it were, CODESRIA since 1980 has been able to organize its Secretariat to suit its activities. But the investment cost has been high. Staff has also increased -again mainly local staff - as our printing/publication activities have increased, with the introduction of new equipment and the setting up of CODICE.

The move and the creation of an entire Secretariat, was also costly in terms of efforts and time being directed inwards rather than to major

activities. This is reflected in the low level of activities during the period 80/81. At the end of 1982 the Deputy Executive Secretary went to Zimbabwe as CODESRIA's consultant to operationalize ZIDS. Thus once again the professional staff was reduced to the Executive Secretary only.

The problem of staff has been discussed many times by the Executive Committee. From the point of our "constituents" being intellectual, the last thing we want to have is a highly bureaucratized Secretariat with a large staff. On the other hand a disproportionately small secretariat in relation to the activities of CODESRIA can lead either to ineffectiveness or to a very high cost in terms of "wear and tear" on those running the Secretariat, especially if in addition, they are expected to make sacrifices in their terms of service.

To ameliorate at least the size issue, CODESRIA recently appointed a second Deputy Executive Secretary (Francophone) and a high calibre professional to help in coordination and raise the quality of publication. CODESRIA also appointed a professional accountant. Given the coming consultation and expansion phase of CODESRIA, more needs to be done to strengthen the Secretariat.

A major constraint however, has been the argument by the Funding Organizations that their funds should be spent on programmes with as little as possible on personnel, equipment, furniture etc. Had it not been for the generous terms of one of the organizations, CODESRIA activities would have collapsed because it would have been unable to maintain even the minimum of personnel and facilities (equipment etc...).

FINANCE

At the end of 1975, the newly appointed full time Executive Secretary was faced with two important matters:

- a) CODESRIA owed IDEP US \$ 53,000 for "services rendered" and was being asked to pay it back*,
- b) CODESRIA had just concluded an Agreement with IDRC for a three year grant of US \$ 122,000 for the Secretariat (tied on a line by line bases). This worked out to approximately C \$ 40,500 per year.

The IDRC grant was highly appreciated by CODESRIA and this was conveyed to IDRC. It made a breakthrough for CODESRIA to have its own funds and independently managed; and it did make a psychological impact on CODESRIA and we believe made a positive impression about CODESRIA (given its history) on other funding organizations.

Leaving IDEP at the time was impossible because the location issue had not been solved. The Secretariat continued to be in IDEP premises. This had two implications on CODESRIA. Firstly despite the very strong support of the Director of IDEP, we had to put up with: continuous "guerilla warfare" or sabotage from the senior finance and administrative officer of IDEP who made the facilities (transport, telephone, telexes, translation, etc.) we paid for very difficult to get. This seriously affected the effectiveness of our work. Secondly we had to pay for these facilities and other purchases at the very highly inflated UN rates. We could not go "artisanal" as we did when we moved to our own premises in 1980. Given the small secretariat budget granted by IDRC, this had serious financial implication for CODESRIA.

* At the time of the appointment of the full Executive Secretary October 1975, there was strong pressure from N.Y. on the Director of IDEP to (a) immediately stop giving any loan to CODESRIA; (b) CODESRIA should immediately repay its debt (c) CODESRIA should leave IDEP premises immediately (d) and while they are in the process of leaving (they realised it will take time) all services (including electricity - to be calculated -) must be paid in cash in advance. This was before the conclusion of the IDRC Agreement when CODESRIA had no funds.

Ideally a small secretariat budget* should enable you to start looking around for funds for programmes both from African sources as well as from funding organizations. This we did and the Executive Secretariat spent considerable time doing this. The argument he encountered often was that we want to see what CODESRIA has done. Since CODESRIA could not do much without funds, we end up with the chicken and the egg argument. Miraculously we did survive 1975 and 1976 and even had a number of activities e.g. starting Africa Development and other publications. For research see Annex I.

A highly appreciated second and major breakthrough came early in 1976 when SAREC gave CODESRIA a generous one year grant of approximately 8.770.846 CFA untied to any specific item i.e. open to all CODESRIA's activities, with the implicit understanding of a two year grant at the end. This grant gave us room for manoeuvre. For one thing we began to repay IDEP (we paid US \$5.000) and thus reduced somewhat the UN pressure on us. Secondly we embarked on a number of research activities (see Annex I). Thirdly we were able to buy a few necessary office equipment and recruit one or two typists.

In 1978 SAREC gave CODESRIA a two year grant and renewed it in 1980 to 1982 and 1983/1985. Similarly IDRC renewed their grant twice. In 1982 the Ford Foundation concluded a two year grant agreement with CODESRIA for a sum of US \$ 100 000 and renewed it in 1984. Their terms are also generous relating their grant to the broad areas of research, inter-regional cooperation and publication.

* As an example of the small size of the budget, the newly appointed Executive Secretary was before his appointment a full time Professor at IDEP whose salary was at level/4 UN scale. The IDRC grant allocated 15 % of this previous salary to the budget. In order to get to the level of this previous salary he had to get the remaining 85 % from other sources. Since other funding organizations are reluctant to give funds for salaries and since there is no contribution from governments, he was in a catch 22 situations.

We also raised funds from the F.E.S., which has been generous in terms of providing equipment or tickets/per diem for a specific meeting. Similarly funds have been raised from UNESCO and recently from the Dutch Ministry of Development Cooperation.

An important recent breakthrough was a grant from DANIDA (1984) for a specific project on Agriculture and from the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1985) for two of our meetings. We hope to develop our relations with the Danish and Norwegian in the future.

We have recounted in some detail the history of funding links that CODESRIA has evolved in order to highlight a number of important problems:

Firstly the beginning of CODESRIA was underlined by a financial crisis (large debt US \$ 53,000 and no income) of a magnitude that very few NGO's in the Third World, but particularly in Africa could have survived.

Needless to say, that under such circumstances during the period 1973 to 1976, very little if any activities could be undertaken. As Annex I on Working Groups' meetings clearly indicate, most of our activities began in 1977; that is to say, our effective operational period has been from 1977 to 1984/85.

Secondly this history indicated the enormous amount of effort and time we have spent in the search for financial support. This has very significant implications in terms of diverting our energies etc... from the substantive work which CODESRIA is expected to perform. More importantly this seriously affects planning in its real sense i.e. planning ahead for two to four years. This is compounded by the inherent difficulties of planning for research activities on a large continent as Africa.

Thirdly the fundamental problems of uncertainty at a number of levels - particularly in relation to CODESRIA's three main funding organization IDRC, Ford Foundation and SAREC and the possibility that one, or all three might decide at different times of renewal of grants, to withdraw their support - constitutes a serious obstacle. The uncertainty is not

simply in terms of the committed individuals who have made a lot of sacrifices to CODESRIA. But it is in terms of the project itself and the ideals it stands for. On a more mundane level this makes it difficult for us to recruit high calibre people, invest in better but expensive equipments etc... In sum the famous phrase "permanent insecurity" affects both morale and effectiveness.

MOBILIZATION OF RESEARCH WORKING GROUPS

THE COORDINATION ISSUE

This basic objective of CODESRIA was and still is the central task facing the newly appointed full time Executive Secretary. Earlier on we pointed out that at the second Executive Committee Meeting in Kinshasa (November 1974), the Committee was surprised that none of the eight projects had started because leaders/coordinators had not taken any action to initiate them. This prompted the Committee to decide that "different methodologies" were required because the objective conditions in Africa are different from those in Latin America.

What then are the differences between the two regions and what "others methodologies" should CODESRIA use? The Committee did not give any guidelines to this question - at least they were not in the minutes. However, the present Executive Secretary having been one of the eight coordinators appointed in 1973 (at the first Executive Committee meeting) and given his experience in CODESRIA as well as extensive links and discussions with CLACSO and Latin American researchers, a few pertinent observations can be made to indicate the enormity of the task confronting CODESRIA in 1975/76.

Firstly the obvious differences in the "objective conditions" need to be restated: Latin America as a continent has one language (Portuguese/Spanish differences are minor), university tradition (and therefore libraries and record keeping) going back to at least the mid 19th century, Economic History as a very strong discipline occupying almost a hegemonic position in universities, a well established (3 to 4 generations) middle class professionalised social science community, with direct colonial

control having ceased generally around the middle of 19th century. Additionally Latin America with politically independent states began to experience the penetration, manipulation and exploitation of American and some European multinationals at least from the beginning of this century. The intellectual ferment of the 1950s culminating with the Dependencia School and its later development was an end product of a long process and took place within a well established homogenous and interlinked social science community. It was within this context that CLACSO was created (in late sixties) and therefore flourished.

In terms of the contrast only three pertinent points need to be mentioned here: 1) Almost all research done during the colonial period right up to the early sixties was done by researchers and administrators from the metropolitan countries and white ruled South Africa for the express purpose of effective administration and the mobilization of the labour force (for plantations and mining). Social/cultural anthropology thus reigned supreme until the independence period; 2) the few and Research Institutes which existed continued to be controlled by the metropolitan countries until the late sixties paralleled by the expansion of Universities after independence mostly through American aid (the institution building program of the RF* and FF**.) But the aim and orientation of the Universities was for training high of level manpower which would be absorbed in the administration and Government institutions; research per se was not a priority in the sixties and there was no African social science community. There were a first generation University lecturers as we have mentioned earlier on and whose ineffectiveness (and therefore frustration) in trying to create links with each other and bring about minor changes under the umbrella of the conference of Directors, can now be understood within this context. 3) Finally, lack of information

* RF: Rockefeller Foundation.

** FF: Ford Foundation

and data about research and researchers at the national level but more so at the sub-regional and continental level. The best known example of sub-regional cooperation in the field was the East African Social Science Council annual conference (EASSC late sixties and about 1978)* where social scientists from three communities met, debated, exchanged experiences etc... Beyond this area there were hardly any links between institutions or researchers. At the time (and even today) very few researchers knew other researchers at the continental level. CODESRIA's Secretariat in the 1970s had very little information on universities, Research Institutes, researchers, on-going research, what is being published etc. It could not provide the kind of data and information a coordinator would require (assuming he is bilingual) if he wanted to initiate a project. This was therefore a major problem and a challenge for the Secretariat. Hence CODESRIA has since given high priority to this task starting from mid-seventies. Lack of information and data on researchers, institutes etc. (apart from other issues such as funds, language, transportation/ mailing system) was one major constraint on the coordinator.

If lack of information and data was a weakness of the Secretariat and a problem to a prospective and enthusiastic coordinator, the coordinators themselves were and still are a problem.

The late sixties up to the mid-sixties was a period when universities and Research Institutes were being nationalized i.e. nationals taking over from foreigners. Hence heavy concentration on teaching and the preparation (by nationals) of research projects for University and sometimes government consumption. This was also a period of high mobility of researchers within universities and governments or para-statal. It is therefore not surprising that the eight coordinators appointed in February 1973 had not taken any action by November 1974 and even by the end of 1975 when the full time Executive Secretary was appointed.

* The EASSC stopped operating with the demise of the East African Community

Similarly the second Executive Committee simply recognised the realities that Africa cannot create effective, cohesive, inter-disciplinary, multinational workings groups, as they did in Latin America given the different conditions in Africa. Hence the decision to search for different methods to mobilize social scientists.

Strangely enough however the idea of setting up Working Groups persisted and was constantly discussed at the Executive Committee and at other fora. In 1977 an informal meeting of 5 coordinators took place and the issue was discussed extensively. In 1978 it was discussed formally at a conference of Directors of Research Institutes in Khartoum. In 1979 the Executive Committee meeting in Algiers discussed the problem once again and the discussion continues to the present time. Underlying the problem of the coordinators were basic objective realities - factors such as their high rate of mobility, language problem, long distances and difficulties of communication, funding, the fragility of Research Institutes at the national level, the deteriorating "research environment" (i.e. political and economic conditions) etc. Despite the greatly improved information acquired by the secretariat, Working groups on the Latin America model have not emerged in Africa. Various suggestions were made during the many discussions such as:

- a) Provide operational funds to the coordinators;
- b) Bring the coordinators to the secretariat for a period of months to do the preparatory work;
- c) Create sub-regional Working Groups on some themes etc
- d) Create Working Groups on Linguistic lines.

CODESRIA has tried suggestions (a), (b), (c), but once again the basic realities of research at the national level seem to defy these efforts. Suggestions (d) cannot be tried because it will be unconstitutional and against the very ideals of CODESRIA.

In the meantime between 1976 and 1982, CODESRIA's research activities have mainly taken the form of workshops, seminars and conferences, with a

definite pattern emerging by 82/83. The pattern being (1) a background, state of the art type of paper is prepared by a coordinator, often at CODESRIA (2) the paper is then sent to both Research Institutes and individual researchers, soliciting comments and research proposals.

The coordinator with the help of the secretariat then selects a number of (10 to 12) proposals which seem promising and with a bias towards or for young researchers.

Depending on the topic sometimes the coordinator visits selected countries to identify researchers. The selected researchers then have a first workshop (often at the secretariat) where the research proposals are discussed in details, commented upon etc. Often one or two senior researchers in the field are invited to help in the process of refining the proposals and putting them into a clear comparative framework. The discussions in these meetings sometimes resemble "training seminars". Generally a second coordinator (in the second language) is elected earlier on in the seminar. At the end the researchers are expected to incorporate the suggestions made at the seminar. Some seed money is given to them to start their research. A definite time table is set. The coordinators are given a small operational fund. If necessary they may visit some of the researchers who are either behind schedule or whose interim reports are unsatisfactory. A final meeting is then arranged with more people researching in the same field invited (the meeting thus becomes a conference). At the meeting/conference revisions of the final papers are requested and the coordinators begin the process of editing for publication (sometimes coming to the secretariat for a short period) sometimes in a special number of Africa Development and later in a book. CODESRIA does the publication. This "formula" has worked in two Working Groups and seems to be working in a third. Whether these Working Groups will continue to maintain and identify and re-appear later in another project we cannot as yet tell.

The experience we have gathered so far is useful and is helping us to experiment further in the future.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: REACTION TO EVALUATION REPORTS

We see our reaction to this Report as an opportunity for us as a new Executive Committee to set our bearings on CODESRIA and its activities and to clarify our purposes. Accordingly we are taking a somewhat broader approach and taking into account not only the comments of the Funders Evaluation Report but also those of CODESRIA's Own Internal Evaluation, the Agir Report on the administrative structure of CODESRIA and critical remarks on CODESRIA that we have encountered among the Social Science Community in Africa.

1. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

We have taken note of the criticism that in the past the Executive Committee effectiveness has been less than satisfactory, that it has not provided sufficient leadership in regard to setting priorities, devising modalities of operation and of problem solution and overseeing performance. If this is true, it is not in the interest of CODESRIA and the African Social Science community. This new Committee is aware of its responsibilities and it will carry them out with determination.

2. INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

The Executive Committee is well aware that CODESRIA cannot fulfill its mission if its institutional character is defective. We have taken note of the misgivings about the institutional and administrative character of CODESRIA. It may well be that there are serious incompatibilities between the institutional form, administrative style and capabilities of CODESRIA and the effective pursuit of CODESRIA's goals. The Executive Committee will, as a matter of the highest priority, review this question comprehensively and take remedial action as necessary. We are still studying the problem but it seems to us that some change will be needed in the following directions :

(a) Rationalization and Formalization

It would appear that there is need to rationalize the structure of CODESRIA as an administrative entity and also to formalize its procedures and processes. There have been charges of bureaucratic tendencies. However, it seems to us that the problem is precisely the opposite -

the rudimentary development of formal structures and formal processes attendant on the ad hoc development of CODESRIA around a few initial founders and the uncertainties of funding in the past. We need to ensure that CODESRIA is sufficiently rationalized in regard to both its structures and procedures to achieve functional differentiation and structural integration simultaneously, to improve accountability, better communication and promote general effectiveness in the pursuit of CODESRIA's goal.

(b) Enhancing Administrative Capability

It would appear that the administrative capabilities of CODESRIA are too limited for the tasks that CODESRIA has to perform. In our opinion, this is not due to any deficiency in the performance of existing personnel. Considering the staff strength of CODESRIA and its activities it is a singularly cost-effective organization. We feel that the ever increasing demands made on CODESRIA by its activities and constituents have stretched the organization to its limits and made remedial measures a matter of urgency. This committee will look into the question of strengthening the professional and technical staff of CODESRIA and improving its facilities. But this will be done with close attention to cost-effectiveness and bearing in mind the need to give CODESRIA even as an administrative organization an intellectual profile which will make it easier for the social science community which are the major clients to relate to it more easily and identify with it.

3. ON THE SPREAD AND SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES AND PARTICIPATION

We have taken careful note of the criticisms to the effect that CODESRIA: (a) is not known enough in Africa; (b) is not involving the younger generation of social scientists; (c) has a touch of clientelism and has elicited only limited participation from African Social Scientists. We have tried not only to examine the validity of these comments but also the objective conditions that have given rise to them. It seems to us that there is some misunderstanding in some of these critical remarks and that some of them may not have been sufficiently grounded on the realities:

(1) Given the relatively small pool of Social Scientists in Africa and the problems of communications a remarkable proportion of Social Scientists over a wide geographical spread have participated in CODESRIA's activities. This participation may have been sporadic in some cases and its productivity must still remain an open question. Efforts will be made to continue to encourage broad participation but most importantly to make it more systematic and productive. We are still considering the ways of bringing this about.

(2) The concern with the generation gap in the Social Science Community and the marginal involvement of the younger generation may well be misplaced. The field of Social Science in Africa is too small. The development of Social Science on the continent is rudimentary. In the African countries most advanced in Social Science, institutional academic social science is only 10 to 15 years old, in some it is only just beginning. There are much more important and relevant issues than generational gaps.

(3) It is healthy that we are concerned with broader participation with the necessity of getting CODESRIA better known. It may well be that we are in danger of overvaluing these parameters. While continuing to value these parameters the Executive Committee will also take a great deal of interest in the nature and quality of participation and on its productivity. For instance we will (a) explore ways of encouraging the development of areas of Social Science such as Sociology, Anthropology and Education which have received relatively little encouragement, (b) find ways of improving the quality of Social Science output in a manner compatible with the maintenance of broad participation, and (c) try to encourage what one may term, for lack of a better term, grass-roots research. In particular we are thinking of a programme of research support for graduate students, to help their training, and to recognize the importance of the very original, specialized research they do. We are inclined to give very high priority to this graduate programme.

(4) It seems to us that the sense of some of the most important criticisms of CODESRIA is that it is not open enough. We are referring especially to comments to the effect that there is a very biased

selectivity in participation, clientelism, personalism etc. Without prejudging the validity of this criticism, we take them very seriously. Accordingly we intend to make CODESRIA more open and more democratic. This will entail in the first place reviewing the procedures and modes of operation of CODESRIA to ensure that they are governed by clear norms which are rational and fair.

We intend to open up CODESRIA to the African Social Science Community which it is supposed to serve. We will place emphasis on avoiding bureaucratic secrecy, communicate more fully to our constituents in the sense of letting people know not only what CODESRIA does, but how and why. We will try to ensure that the standards, parameters and norms by which CODESRIA's projects operate reflect as much as possible the interests and experiences of the Social Scientists in the field.

RESEARCH, PUBLICATION AND RELATED ACTIVITY

1) Orientation

It has been charged that CODESRIA is too left wing in its orientation and that this is alienating not only some members of CODESRIA, but also African governments. And it has been suggested that CODESRIA should search for a more neutral position.

CODESRIA is committed to a critical perspective. This means a perspective which looks at social science methodologies and theories in a critical manner and tries to find in the light of this critique a manner of proceeding that will be most appropriate for our historical specificities in Africa. To our knowledge this is a point of view on which there is considerable concern not only among African scholars but also among African governments. We are inclined to think that a search for a neutral position will be meaningless and futile and will tend to defeat the mission of CODESRIA. If there is some scepticism in government circles about the social sciences, that is as it should be. Since Social Science necessarily deals with issues such as government, politics, power, the production and

distribution of wealth, legitimacy, administration etc..., it tendentially makes governments uncomfortable whether they are leftists or conservative governments.

2). Research and Working Groups, Publication

We agree that the research groups are not working satisfactorily despite instances of impressive success. We are going to review in some detail the experiences in order to obtain more specific understanding of their difficulties and what can be done about them.

(a) It would appear that the international working groups have suffered from problems of communication, random interactions, supervision and coordination and uneven quality of participation. There is a lot to be said for maintaining collaborative work internationally if these difficulties can be mitigated. The highly localised research groups have been markedly more successful and we are looking into the promise of these groups and into the desirability of directing research effort more to this form of organization.

(b) Quality of research output: the quality of research output has been uneven. This may well reflect the commitment to the involvement of many people over a wide geographical spread. We will look into the question of how to improve output in a manner compatible with the commitment to broader participation. It seems to us that the problem of quality is to some extent structural in the sense that the kinds of financial backing we give to research is so small as to be merely gestural. As a result we do not attract the best researchers and really work superficially on surface phenomena - really the counting of papers rather than research. We need to do a lot of rethinking here. Good research is extremely time consuming and expensive. Since CODESRIA's mandate is currently limited to generally encouraging research often by mere seed money, we cannot really ever begin to expect high quality research especially of a detailed and concrete nature.

Publication:

We have taken note of the criticism which have been made about CODESRIA's publication record particularly the internal evaluation report. We also note the tremendous improvements that have occurred in the last year particularly in regard to Africa Development arguably the flagship of CODESRIA. We need to press on with further improvement.

We are considering the possibility of CODESRIA moving heavily into publication of scholarly books, textbooks and other teaching material. This is a possible response to an alarming development in Africa. Because of foreign exchange control many publishers have millions of dollars which they cannot take out - publishers are withdrawing from Africa. Heinemann, the biggest in the African market, has announced complete withdrawal, Longmans is cutting down to minimum and this trend is spreading rapidly. This means a critical shortage of teaching material and publication outlets for research in Africa. CODESRIA may be in a position to mitigate this problem and we are looking into this possibility.

FUNDING

We have been very impressed by the financial support CODESRIA has received from its major donors. Even more, we have been impressed by the liberality of the conditions of this funding. We must be honest enough to admit that in the last few years our problems have been due less to the shortage of funds as to our own failings and the constraints of the environment in which we operate.

There is one aspect of the whole question of funding that disturbs us. This is the very limited contribution from African sources. With a very few exceptions notably Senegal which has been very generous, African governments are not doing much to fund CODESRIA. This is very disturbing. It is equally disturbing that even the institutes which are members of CODESRIA most often fail to pay their meager dues. One hopeful sign in terms of African contribution is the considerable contributions that local institutions have made in goods and services at CODESRIA conferences.

We are of the opinion that it is extremely important to increase African funding of CODESRIA to avoid delegitimation of CODESRIA, to avoid contradiction of its purposes and to encourage its concrete involvement with its environment. We will work out a plan for increasing African contributions to CODESRIA as well as for generating income within CODESRIA.

CONCLUSION

This Executive Committee has just been elected and has had only a few days to look at the various reports and to appreciate the general situation as it begins its tenure. These conclusions are necessarily tentative.

We have asked for all documentation of CODESRIA's structure, procedures, projects and financial status and practises. We shall be discussing these documents next month.

PART V

ANNEXES

**LIST OF SUGGESTED CONTACTS
PROVIDED BY CODESRIA**

SUGGESTED PEOPLE FOR CONTACT

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>POSITION</u>	<u>INSTITUTION/ADDRESS</u>
<u>FRANCOPHONE WEST AND CENTRAL AFRICA</u>		
<u>SENEGAL</u>		
* Mr. Balla Moussa <u>DIOP</u>	Ministre de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique	DGRST, 12 rue Calmette B.P 3218, Dakar
* Mr. Ibrahima <u>FALL</u>	Ministre de l'Enseignement Supérieur	Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale
Mr. Ibra <u>DIATTE</u>	Dean faculty of Law & Economic Sciences	University of Dakar
Mr. Abdoulaye <u>BATHILLY</u>	Professor - History	Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Université de Dakar
Mr. Makhtar <u>DIOP</u>	Professor and Director of CREA	Université de Dakar
Mr. Bakary <u>TRAORE</u>	Director	Institute of Human Rights and Peace, Dakar
Mrs. Fatou SOU <u>DIAGNE</u>	Researcher	IPAN, B.P 206, Dakar
Mr. Mamadou <u>DIENG</u>	Researcher	IPAN, " "
Mr. Yoro <u>SYLLA</u>	President of Association of Senegalese Researchers	IPAN " "
* Mr. Pape <u>KANE</u>	Directeur de la Formation Permanente	Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur, 71, Av. Peytavin
Mrs Marie Angélique <u>SAVANE</u>	- President of AAWORD - Director	- AAWORD, B.P 3304, Dakar - Food Systems in Africa, (UNRISD), P.O.B 3311, Dakar
Ms. Zenebeworke <u>TADESSE</u>	Executive Secretary of AAWORD	AAWORD, B.P 3304, Dakar
Dr. Bahaminia <u>TROMAS</u>	Deputy Executive Director of	Route de Ouakam. E.P 2215.

Mr. M. ILIABATE	F	: Director	: Institute of Ethno-Sociology
		:	: (IES), B.P 6565, Abidjan
Mr. Moriba TOURE	F	: Researcher	: I.E.S, " "
		:	:
		:	:
<u>CAMEROON</u>		:	:
Mr. SEACIA Mathieu	F	: Director of I.P.D (Institut	: B.P 4078, Douala
		: Panafricain pour le Développement)	:
Mr. Coene DIMOUNE		: Researcher + Interim President	: I.F.I, " "
		: of CASA	:
Mr. S. MELONE		: Dean and Head of Faculty of Eco-	: University of Yaounde
		: nomic Sciences and Economics Dept.	:
Mr. Wilfred NDONGMO		: Director	: Institute of Human Sciences
		:	: University of Yaounde
. G. NGANGO	F	: Minister of State, President's	:
		: Office	:
		:	:
<u>TOGO</u>		:	:
Mr. NATCHABA Ouattara	F	: Professor	: Université du Bénin
		:	: B.P 1515, Lomé
Mr. GOGJE T.A.	F	: Director of ESTEG	: " "
		:	:
		:	:
<u>BENIN</u>		:	:
The Director	F	:	: Institut de Recherches Appli-
		:	: quées du Dahomey (IRAD), B.P 6
		:	: Porto Novo
		:	:
<u>ZAIRE</u>		:	:
. Kankwenda MBAYA	F	: Director of LASK (Laboratoire	: B.P 12 975, Kinshasa I
		: d'Analyses Sociales de Kinshasa)	:
Mr. BAZA		: Prof. Faculty of Social Science	: National University of Zaire
		:	: B.P 257, Kinshasa XI

Mr. BACHOUH, B.	F	Researcher	INSEA, B.P 406, Rabat
Mr. Aliou Samba MALLO	F	Director of CAFRAI	B.P 310, Tanger
*Prof. Dr. A.G. TANZAWY	F	Executive Secretary of AFAA (African Association of Facul- ties of Agriculture)	AFAA c/o Institut Agronomique et Vétérinaire HASSAN II, B.P 6264 Instituts-Rabat
<u>TUNISIA</u>			
Mrs. Alya BAFFOUK	F	Lecturer, Faculty of Economic Sciences	University of Tunisia, Tunis
Mr. Abdelwahed BOUHELA	F	Director of CEPES	23, rue d'Espagne, Tunis
Mr. Fredj STAMBOULLI	F	Researcher	CEPES, 23, rue d'Espagne, Tunis
<u>LIBYA</u>			
Mr. Salem MAALOUL	F	Lecturer	National Academy for Scientific Research, Tripoli
Mr. Abulkasem TOBOLI	F	Director of Research Center	Garyounis University, P.O.B 9521, Benghazi
<u>EGYPT</u>			
Dr. Kamal EL GANOURY	E	Director General of INP (Insti- tute of National Planning)	INP, Nasr City Salah Salem Street, Cairo
Mr. Archie MAFEJE	E	Professor, Sociology Dept.	American University in Cairo Social Research Center 113, Sharia Kasr El Aini, Cairo
Mr. Ismail SABRI-ABDALLA	E	Chairman of Third World Forum	39, Dokki St., Orman, Cairo
*Dr. KHALIPA	E	Director of Center for Criminolo- gical Studies and Arab Center for Research and Documentation	Gerira, Cairo

<u>SUDAN</u>		
Dr. Mohid ABDEL-GHAFFAR	Director of DSRC & Staff	University of Khartoum P.O.B 321, Khartoum
Dr. Ibrahim ABDUL-GALIL	Director of ESRC & Staff	University of Khartoum P.O.B 1166, Khartoum
Prof. YOUSSEF	Director of Afro-Asian Institute	University of Khartoum
Mr. I. TARSIS ALI	Researcher	Faculty of Economic and Social Studies, University of Khartoum
Dr. Ali SALEM	Rector	University of Gondar
<u>EAST & SOUTHERN AFRICA</u>		
<u>ETHIOPIA</u>		
Mr. Duri MOHAMED	President & Staff	Addis-Ababa University P.O.B 1176, Addis-Ababa
Dr. Teshome MULAT	Director of IDR (Institute of Development Research)	IDR, Addis-Ababa University P.O.B 1176, Addis-Ababa
Mr. Fassil KIROS	Researcher	IDR, " "
Mr. Alula ABATE	Researcher	IDR, " "
*Prof. Adebayo ADEDEJI	Executive Secretary of ECA	ECA, P.O.B 3001, Addis-Ababa
*Dr. MAKRAMALLAH	Director Division of Socio- Economic Planning & Research	ECA, " "
*Mr. WAMALWA	Director Division of Manpower Planning & Administration	ECA, " "
*Mr. Sadig RASHEED	Director Division of Social Deve- lopment and Environment	ECA, " "

Mr. Paul FULANG	: Assistant Secretary General for : Economic and Social Affairs	: OAU, P.O.B 3243, Addis-Ababa
Dr. ASSIERO	: Head of Economic Research Unit	: OAU, " "
<u>UGANDA</u>		
Dr. E. TURIAEMAYO-RUGUYEMA	: Executive Director, Makerere : Institute of Social Research	: Makerere University, : P.O.B 16022, Kampala
Mr. Mahmood MADDANI	: Senior Lecturer	: Dept. of Political Science : Makerere University, : P.O.B 7052, Kampala
<u>KENYA</u>		
Mr. Haidira KINYANJUI & Staff	: Director of IDS	: IDS, Nairobi University : P.O.B 30197, Nairobi
Prof. Phillip MHEI	: Deputy Vice-Chancellor	: IDS " "
Seeds	: Department of Government, Eco- : nomics, Sociology, History, etc. : and Staff	: University of Nairobi, : P.O.B 30197, Nairobi
Mr. KIPNEI	: Director of Institute of African : Studies	: " "
<u>TANZANIA</u>		
Mr. N.A. KUBANGA	: Vice-Chancellor	: University of Dar-es-Salaam : P.O.B 35051, Dar-es-Salaam
Mr. Haroub OTHMAN & Staff	: Director of IDS	: IDS, University of Dar-es-Sal : P.O.B 35051, Dar-es-Salaam
Mr. MSAMBICHAKA & Staff	: Director of ERB	: ERB, University of Dar-es-Sal : P.O.B 35096, Dar-es-Salaam
Mr. MASCARENHAS & Staff	: Director of BRALUP	: BRALUP, University of Dar-es- : P.O.B. 35097, Dar-es-Salaam

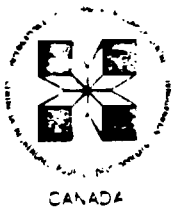
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Prof. J.R.U MYARI	: Dean of Faculty of Social Science; and Staff	: University of Dar-es-Salaam
Mr. Issa G. SHEWJI	: Dean of Faculty of Law	: University of Dar-es-Salaam : P.O.B 35093, Dar-es-Salaam
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Prof. MWANZA	: Vice-Chancellor	: University of Zambia, : P.C.B 2379, Lusaka
Dr. Myamba M'WANALUSEHI	: Dean of School of Humanities and Social Science	: University of Zambia, Lusaka
Mr. D.E. EVANS	: Director of Bureau of Rural Rural Development	: University of Zambia, : P.C.B 30900, Lusaka
Mr. E. GEINCOE	: Director of UN Institute for Namibia	: P.C.B 33811, Lusaka
Mr. G.M. HAMID	: Director of SATEP/ILO	: ILO Office, P.O. Box 2181 : Lusaka
<u>ANGLOPHONE WEST AFRICA</u>		
<u>SIERRA LEONE</u>		
Prof. G.E. PETERSON	: Acting Director of Institute of African Studies	: University of Sierra Leone, : Fourah Bay College, Freetown
<u>LIBERIA</u>		
Mrs. M.A. BROWN-SHERMAN ✓	: President	: University of Liberia, Monrovia
Mr. S. Jabara CARLON	: Director of Institute of African Studies and Staff	: University of Liberia, Monrovia
-	: Dean of Faculty of Social Science	: University of Liberia, Monrovia
<u>GHANA</u>		
Prof. Kankam TWUM-BARIMA	: Director of ISSER (Institute of	: University of Ghana, P.C.B 74

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	<u>NIGERIA</u>	:	:
Prof. E.J.O NWOBU ✓		:	Director Center for Development : University of Jos, P.M.B 2084, Jos.
-		:	Director of Institute of Inter- : 11 Kofo Abayomi Street, national Affairs : Victoria Islands, P.O.B 1727 : Lagos
Prof V.F DIBIOMAOE		:	Director of NISER (Nigerian Ins- : University of Ibadan, P.M.B 5 titute of Social and Economic : Ibadan : Research)
r. FALAEUNSI		:	Director of ESRI : Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria
r. Aisha DUKAN		:	Executive Secretary of Nigerian : Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria : Women Committee
r. Toke ADEBIO ✓		:	Director of EDI (Economic : University of Nigeria : Development Institute) : P.M.B 1080, Enugu/Anambra State
rof. Claude ABE ✓		:	Dean of Faculty of Social Science : School of Social Science, : and Vice-President of Nigerian : University of Port Harcourt : Social Science Council : P.M.B 5323, Port Harcourt
rof. Okwudibia NKOLI		:	President of AAPS and Professor : University of Nsukka, : of Political Science : P.O. Box 1080, Enugu
. Ali MAZRUI		:	Research Professor : University of Jos, : Department of Political Science : P.O. Box 2084, Jos
	<u>ZIMBABWE</u>	:	:
r. Thandika MKANDAWIRE		:	Consultant to ZIDS : 130, Victoria Street, Harare
-		:	Acting Director & Staff of ZIDS : 130, Victoria Street, Harare
rof. KOMBO		:	Vice-Chancellor : University of Zimbabwe, Harare
rof. R. MURAPA		:	Chairman, Dept. of Political and : University of Zimbabwe, : Administrative Studies, Dean of : Box MP 167, Harare : Faculty of Social Science :

QUESTIONNAIRE



INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH CENTRE

CENTRE DE RECHERCHES POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT INTERNATIONAL

EVALUATION DE *CODESRIA* EVALUATION

EVALUATORS EVALUATEURS

S. Afonja, University of Ife, Nigeria
A. Djenflat, Institut des Sciences Economiques, Algerie
J. Joaquim-Brunner, FLACSO, Chile

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Dear

The undersigned have been asked to undertake an evaluation of CODESRIA. In preparing for this task, we have identified you as someone who will have knowledge of social science work in Africa and whose views and comments we should take into account.

It is our intention to interview as many people concerned with social sciences as possible. However, you will appreciate that we cannot talk to everyone we would like to. Once we have settled on the details of our itineraries, we may write to you again to learn if you are willing to be interviewed. However, we would also be most grateful if you would take the time to complete the enclosed questionnaire and return it in the envelope provided. (Please mark the envelope for the attention of Mr. C.C. Smart who has agreed to collect and forward the returns to our various home institutions).

Please accept in advance our thanks for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

S. Afonja,
A. Djenflat
J.J. Brunner.

*Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa
Conseil pour le développement de la recherche économique et sociale en Afrique

Head Office/Siège social: 60 Queen St./rue Queen, P.O. Box/C.P. 8500 Ottawa, Canada K1G 3H9
Tel./Tél.: (613)996-2321 • Cable/Câble: RECENTRE • Telex/Télex: 053-3753

CODESRIA EVALUATION : QUESTIONNAIRE

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Note: Limited space has been provided for answers. Please feel free to write at length on additional sheets of paper if you are so inclined.

I. THE IMPACT OF CODESRIA IN MOBILIZING RESOURCES AND SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH.

Question 1.

What type of resources does your Institution provide to CODESRIA?

(a) Financial resources: (check where applicable)

- _____ Membership fees
 - _____ Air tickets
 - _____ Hotel expenses/per diems
 - _____ Publication grants/facilities
 - _____ Researchers Salaries
 - _____ Local expenses for the organisation of particular events
 - _____ Others
- _____
- _____

(b) Human resources:

- Indicate the number of Institution members who have taken part in CODESRIA's activities,
 - since 1973, _____
 - currently, _____
 - What type of activities? _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

- For how long? _____

- Indicate the number of Institution members who have taken part specifically in CODESRIA's working groups,
 - since 1973, _____
 - currently, _____

- Has CODESRIA benefited from the participation of other type of personnel provided by the Institution?
- Since 1973 _____
- Currently _____

(c) Material resources: (check where applicable)

- _____ Offices
- _____ Typing facilities and secretarial
- _____ Printing facilities
- _____ Computer
- _____ Distribution facilities

(d) Others

Question 2.

What type of support does your Institution provide CODESRIA?

(a) To what extent does it identify with CODESRIA's objectives and aims?

(b) How useful has CODESRIA been in helping the Institution to achieve its objectives?

(c) Are there any incompatibilities you can think of between CODESRIA's objectives and your Institution's objectives?

II. THE CONTRIBUTION AND ROLE OF CODESRIA IN SUPPORT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN AFRICA

Question 1.

What does your Institution think of the priority areas identified by CODESRIA?

(a) Are they useful for the definition of your own priority areas for research?

(b) Does your Institution participate and how in the definition of CODESRIA's research priority areas?

(c) Does the existence of CODESRIA's research priority areas facilitate the setting up of comparative research projects?

Question 2.

Would it be more useful to have a sub-regional definition of priority areas? Why?

Question 3.

What does your Institution think about the activities of CODESRIA's working group?

(a) Do they have any impact on ongoing research within your Institution?

Question 4.

Has CODESRIA contributed and if so how to the legitimation of the role of social sciences and social science research on the African scene?

Question 5.

Do you think that your association with CODESRIA has helped

(a) to mobilize resources (governmental and others)?

(b) to increase your Institution's regional and International contacts and exchanges?

(c) to undertake comparative research projects?

(such as) _____

(d) to increase your Institutions members' panafricain perspective of national issues?

III. CODESRIA'S EFFECTIVENESS IN PROMOTING RESEARCH AND TRAINING OVER THE LAST 10 YEARS.

Question 1.

How many researchers connected with your Institution have been getting support from CODESRIA over the last ten years and what kind of support?

How many? _____

What kind of support? _____

Question 2.

What do you think CODESRIA has done to encourage members of your Institution to undertake research?

(a) How many research projects have been initiated within priority areas as defined by CODESRIA?

(b) How many research projects have been initiated as a result of the direct intervention of CODESRIA?

(c) How many projects were completed under the auspices of CODESRIA?

(d) How many publications resulted from projects undertaken under the auspices of CODESRIA?

(e) How many conferences, seminars, workshops, round tables etc. were organised by CODESRIA:

- within your Institution? _____

- elsewhere and in collaboration with your Institution? _____

- elsewhere and to which your Institution was invited? _____

Question 3.

What role has CODESRIA played

(a) in starting your Institution? _____

(b) in strengthening your Institution? _____

(c) in any other aspect of your Institution's development? _____

Question 4.

What role has CODESRIA played

(a) in setting up post graduate programs?

(b) in strengthening existing post-graduate programs?

(c) in any other training program?

Question 5.

How many post-graduate students

(a) were supported by CODESRIA in undertaking their post-graduate research within your Institution and what kind of support was given?

(b) chose their research topics within the priority areas defined by CODESRIA?

IV. IMPACT OF CODESRIA ON THE DISSEMINATION OF RESEARCH RESULTS.

How many and what kind of CODESRIA's publications has your Institution received?

(a) When did you start receiving them? _____

(b) Do you receive them regularly? _____

(c) Have you subscribed to any of them? _____

(d) Are these publications used by the members of your Institution? _____

(e) Are they used for training purposes? _____

V. THE EFFECT OF THE EMERGENCE OF SUB-REGIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE GROUPS.

Question 1.

Is your Institution a member of one or more sub-regional social science organizations?

- (a) Which ones? _____
- (b) Since when? _____

Question 2.

What kind of activities does your own Institution undertake in relation to these sub-regional groups?

Question 3.

How helpful do you think these sub-regional groups are to your own Institution

- (a) in research? _____
 - (b) in training? _____
 - (c) in publications? _____
 - (d) in other respects? _____
- _____
- _____

Question 4.

What do you think about your participation in both CODESRIA and these sub-regional groups

- (a) is it complementary? _____
- (b) overlap? _____

VI. CODESRIA'S RESPONSES TO CHANGING CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN AFRICA.

Question 1.

What major changes do you foresee in social science research in Africa?

Question 2.

How best do you think CODESRIA can respond to the changing conditions of social science research in Africa

(a) in terms of organisation? _____

(b) in terms of personnel? _____

(c) in terms of finance? _____

(d) in terms of scope of activity? _____

(e) in other respects? _____



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S. Afonja: University of Ife, Nigeria
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J. Jacquart Brunner: FLACSO, Chili

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Monsieur, Madame,

Nous, soussignés, avons été priés d'entreprendre une évaluation du CODESRIA. En vue de cette étude, nous avons retenu votre nom, car nous croyons que votre point de vue et vos observations devraient être pris en considération, puisque vous êtes bien au courant des recherches en sciences sociales menées en Afrique.

Nous entendons interviewer le plus grand nombre possible de personnes travaillant dans le domaine des sciences sociales. Bien sûr, nous devons quand même nous limiter. Dès que nous aurons établi nos itinéraires, nous vous écrirons sans doute à nouveau afin de savoir si vous acceptez d'être interviewé. Entre temps, nous vous saurions gré de bien vouloir remplir le questionnaire ci-joint et de nous le retourner dans l'enveloppe fournie à cette fin. (Veuillez adresser cette enveloppe aux soins de M. C.C. Smart qui a accepté de rassembler les questionnaires et de faire parvenir les résultats à divers organismes canadiens.)

Nous vous remercions à l'avance de votre collaboration et vous prions d'agréer, l'expression de nos sentiments distingués.

S. Afonja

A. Djenflat

J.J. Brunner

*Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa
Conseil pour le développement de la recherche économique et sociale en Afrique

Head Office/Siège social: 60 Queen St./rue Queen, P.O. Box/C.P. 8500, Ottawa, Canada K1G 3H9
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Note : L'espace réservé aux réponses étant plutôt restreint, veuillez utiliser des feuilles volantes, si nécessaire.

1. EFFICACITÉ DU CODESRIA A MOBILISER LES RESSOURCES ET L'AIDE NECESSAIRES A LA RECHERCHE EN SCIENCES SOCIALES

Question #1.

Quel type de ressources votre institut fournit-il au CODESRIA?

(a) Ressources financières (cocher les réponses appropriées) :

- _____ Cotisations
 - _____ Billets d'avion
 - _____ Frais d'hôtel/indemnités journalières
 - _____ Bourses, équipement pour la publication d'ouvrages
 - _____ Salaires de chercheurs
 - _____ Frais pour l'organisation d'événements locaux particuliers
 - _____ Autres
-
-

(b) Ressources humaines :

- Combien de membres de votre institut ont participé à des activités du CODESRIA
 - depuis 1973? _____
 - y participent actuellement? _____
 - Type d'activités? _____
-
-
-

- Pendant combien de temps? _____
- Combien de membres de votre institut ont participé aux groupes de travail du CODESRIA
- depuis 1973? _____
- y participent actuellement? _____

- Votre institut a-t-il assuré les services d'autre type de personnel au CODESRIA

- depuis 1973? _____

- actuellement? _____

(c) Ressources matérielles (cocher les réponses appropriées) :

- _____ Locaux
- _____ Services de dactylographie et de secrétariat
- _____ Matériel d'impression
- _____ Ordinateur
- _____ Services de diffusion

(d) Autres

Question #2.

Quel type d'aide votre institut fournit-il au CODESRIA?

(a) Dans quelle mesure cette aide répond-elle aux objectifs du CODESRIA?

(b) Dans quelle mesure le CODESRIA a-t-il aidé votre institut à réaliser ses objectifs?

(c) Les objectifs du CODESRIA et ceux de votre institut sont-ils entièrement compatibles?

II. LA CONTRIBUTION ET LE RÔLE DU CODESRIA EN MATIÈRE D'AIDE À LA RECHERCHE EN SCIENCES SOCIALES EN AFRIQUE

Question #1.

Que pense votre institut des priorités établies par le CODESRIA en matière de recherche?

(a) Ces priorités vous aident-elles à établir vos propres priorités en matière de recherche?

(b) Votre institut participe-t-il à l'établissement des priorités de recherche du CODESRIA et de quelle façon?

(c) Les priorités de recherche du CODESRIA facilitent-elles la mise en oeuvre de projets de recherche comparative?

Question #2.

Serait-il plus utile d'établir des priorités de recherche au niveau sous-régional et pourquoi?

Question #3.

Que pense votre institut des activités du groupe de travail du CODESRIA?

(a) Ces activités ont-elles une incidence quelconque sur les recherches en cours au sein de votre institut?

Question #4.

Le CODESRIA a-t-il contribué à la légitimation du rôle des sciences sociales et de la recherche en sciences sociales en Afrique? Si oui, de quelle façon?

Question #5.

Votre collaboration avec le CODESRIA vous a-t-elle aidé à

(a) mobiliser des ressources (gouvernementales ou autres)?

(b) multiplier vos contacts et vos échanges régionaux et internationaux?

(c) entreprendre des projets de recherche comparative?

(tels que) _____

(d) élargir l'optique panafricaine des membres de votre institut face aux questions nationales?

III. L'EFFICACITÉ DU CODESRIA À PROMOUVOIR LA RECHERCHE ET LA FORMATION AU COURS DES DIX DERNIÈRES ANNÉES

Question #1.

Combien de chercheurs rattachés à votre institut ont reçu l'appui du CODESRIA au cours des dix dernières années et quel type d'appui ont-ils reçu?

Nombre de chercheurs? _____

Type d'appui? _____

Question #2.

De quelle façon le CODESRIA a-t-il, selon vous, encouragé les membres de votre institut à entreprendre des recherches?

(a) Combien de projets de recherche ont été mis en oeuvre dans le cadre des priorités établies par le CODESRIA?

(b) Combien de projets de recherche ont été mis en oeuvre suite à l'intervention directe du CODESRIA?

(c) Combien de projets ont été menés à terme avec l'appui du CODESRIA?

(d) Combien de publications résultent de projets entrepris avec l'appui du CODESRIA?

(e) Combien de conférences, de séminaires, d'ateliers, de tables rondes, etc. ont été organisés par le CODESRIA

- au sein de votre institut? _____

- ailleurs et en collaboration avec votre institut? _____

- ailleurs, auxquels votre institut a été invité à participer? _____

Question #3.

Quel rôle le CODESRIA a-t-il joué

(a) dans la mise sur pied de votre institut? _____

(b) dans le renforcement de ses activités? _____

(c) dans tout autre domaine ayant favorisé le développement de votre institut? _____

Question #4.

Quel rôle le CODESRIA a-t-il joué

(a) dans la mise sur pied de programmes d'études supérieures? _____

(b) dans le renforcement des programmes d'études supérieures existants? _____

(c) dans tout autre programme de formation? _____

Question #5.

Combien d'étudiants ayant terminé leurs études supérieures

(a) ont reçu l'appui du CODESRIA pour entreprendre des recherches au sein de votre institut et quel type d'appui ont-ils reçu? _____

(b) ont choisi le sujet de leur recherche parmi les priorités établies par le CODESRIA? _____

IV. INCIDENCE DU CODESRIA SUR LA DIFFUSION DE RÉSULTATS DE RECHERCHE

Combien et quel genre de publications votre institut a-t-il reçues du CODESRIA?

(a) Depuis quand recevez-vous ces publications? _____

(b) Les recevez-vous régulièrement? _____

(c) Vous êtes-vous abonné à certaines? _____

(d) Les membres de votre institut utilisent-ils ces publications? _____

(e) Sont-elles utilisées à des fins de formation? _____

V. INCIDENCE DE LA CRÉATION DE GROUPES SOUS-RÉGIONAUX DE RECHERCHE EN SCIENCES SOCIALE

Question #1.

Votre institut est-il membre d'un ou de plusieurs organismes sous-régionaux de recherche en sciences sociales?

(a) de quel(s) organisme(s)? _____

(b) depuis quand? _____

Question #2.

Quel type d'activités votre institut entreprend-il relativement à ces groupes sous-régionaux?

Question #3.

Ces groupes sous-régionaux sont-ils utiles à votre institut

(a) en matière de recherche? _____

(b) en matière de formation? _____

(c) en matière de publications? _____

(d) dans d'autres domaines? _____

Question #4.

Que pensez-vous de votre collaboration avec le CODESRIA et ces groupes sous-régionaux?

- Amène-t-elle une complémentarité? _____

- Un chevauchement? _____

VI. LE CODESRIA FACE À L'ÉVOLUTION DE LA RECHERCHE EN SCIENCES SOCIALES EN AFRIQUE

Question #1.

Quels changements majeurs prévoyez-vous en ce qui a trait à la recherche en sciences sociales en Afrique?

Question #2.

Que pourrait être la meilleure action du CODESRIA face à l'évolution de la recherche en sciences sociales en Afrique?

(a) en termes d'organisation? _____

(b) en termes de personnel? _____

(c) en termes de financement? _____

(d) en termes de domaines d'activité? _____

(e) à d'autres points de vue? _____

VII. DEGRÉ DE SATISFACTION

Votre institut est-il satisfait, en général, de sa collaboration avec le CODESRIA?

Avez-vous d'autres commentaires ou observations à formuler en ce qui concerne la situation actuelle de la recherche en sciences sociales en Afrique et le rôle du CODESRIA?

NOUS VOUS REMERCIONS D'AVOIR BIEN VOULU REMPLIR CE QUESTIONNAIRE.