Meeting Report

"Challenging Orthodoxies in Economic Thinking in Africa"

September 2, 3, & 4, 2019, Dakar, Senegal
Overview

Overview .................................................................................................................................................. 2
Summary .................................................................................................................................................. 3
Introduction ............................................................................................................................................. 6
I. The Opening Panel ............................................................................................................................... 8
II. Panels followed by discussions ......................................................................................................... 10
   1. Main Panel: Location of orthodoxies ................................................................................................. 10
   2. Group reflection and plenary discussions: localization of orthodoxies .......................................... 14
   3. Panel discussions: the orthodoxies of today ..................................................................................... 16
   4. Main Panel: The gender dimension of economic orthodoxies ......................................................... 21
   5. Panel in plenary: Questioning orthodoxies - an application ............................................................ 23
III. Working group conclusions: mapping of African ecosystems - mapping ways and means of
    challenging orthodoxies and exercising new hegemonies .................................................................... 26
IV. How can the meeting be promoted? Summary of the group work and the closing panel ............ 28
   1. What can be done in the short, medium and long term? ................................................................. 28
   2. Closing Panel: Discussions on how to sustain the meeting ............................................................... 31
Appendices ............................................................................................................................................... 33
   Appendix 1: Summary table of the conclusions of the various group work .................................... 34
   “Appendix 2: Summary of the results of Tuesday morning exercise” .............................................. 37
   Appendix 3: Description of the main components of the neoclassical research program ............ 38
   Appendix 4: Report of the public event at the Museum of Black Civilizations ............................... 39
Summary

a. On September 2, 3 and 4, 2019, a meeting was held in Dakar on the theme: "Challenging orthodoxies on economic thinking in Africa. The meeting, which was co-hosted by TrustAfrica and the Institute for Economic Justice and supported by the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA), was graced with the presence of academics, policy makers and activists from several African countries.

b. The goal of the meeting was to help movements across Africa promote a coherent agenda of rights-based advocacy and economic justice for a tangible impact on the changing of the trajectory of development and human rights on the continent.

c. For three days, the participants exchanged, in several sessions of panels and discussions, on several themes related to economic orthodoxy, including its paradigm, manifestations, stakeholders, policies and power relations; its process and implications for, particularly, the lives of people in Africa.

d. First, they exchanged in a series of panel sessions and group discussions focused on the localization of orthodoxy. Thus, in an introductory panel that had several enriching interventions, a historical reminder of the origins of orthodoxy was made. The panelists agreed, following several exchanges, to situate orthodox economy with the advent of the neoclassical economic trend. This trend was also presented throughout this meeting as the matrix of neoliberalism, with some slight differences which relate, particularly, to the role of the State or to interventionism. In this sense, economic orthodoxy manifests itself through the paradigm, or the research program of the neoclassical economy, and according to the neoliberal ideology. In addition, orthodoxy is embodied in economic policies implemented by the Bretton Woods institutions, including the one with the most disastrous consequences for Africa - structural adjustment policies.

e. Second, the meeting also explored the role played by orthodoxies in the face of specific problems that are particularly reflected in the structuring of African economies. In this vein, a presentation of orthodox macroeconomics was made as well as its implications for the formulation of economic policies in Africa. The question of the type of economy to teach in universities and training centers in Africa received attention in the
discussions. The issues of financialization, social protection and the way in which orthodoxy tackles these issues were discussed, yet without orthodoxy fitting into a viable and genuine alternative. Finally, under this exploration, the informal economy was presented as not only a response to the failures of orthodox policies, but a viable alternative that could even be the real economy of African countries where agents have logics that are different from those of neoclassical ontology.

f. Third, the way in which orthodoxy operates particularly on gender issues was the theme of a panel session and several questions were raised on this point in the discussions. Thus, during the meeting, the abstraction of women’s domestic work in the calculation of indicators of socio-economic progress, such as GDP, was highlighted. This ignorance reflected, according to the panelists, the phallocratic nature of orthodox economic thinking. As a result, the feminist economy, strongly embodied in the philosophy of care, was presented as a great alternative to orthodox economics when the emotional dimension and care are integrated into the analysis. Also, the feminist point of view must be sought in the formulation of national, regional or international economic policies. The relationship between orthodoxy and climate change was also an illustrative point alongside feminist struggles to show the consequences of orthodoxy on the environment.

g. Faced with these multiple problems resulting from the policies of orthodoxy, the meeting provided the opportunity for defining some strategies of action. The group work was the laboratory for reflections during the meeting. Thus, regarding critical entry points, different groups agreed on the importance of a theoretical point of view for understanding better orthodox thinking. Regarding the tactics and strategies for more effective intervention against orthodoxy, group work highlighted the need for multi-pronged strategies. The stakeholders to mobilize in order to set up a community against orthodoxy are to be found in civil society (trade unions, social movements, NGOs, etc.), government institutions, academia, international organizations and, more generally, among the populations. In terms of processes, the outcome of the group work showed the importance of the university space for the promotion of research (using articles or doctoral theses) and teachings that are pro-heterodox. Today, this space has assets which are discourses, knowledge, actors or practices to be consolidated through a mapping of
alternatives. However, the reaction of orthodoxy is to be anticipated. It could range from absorption or neutralization to marginalization or dis-crediting of the movement.

h. To sustain this initiative, some actions need to be carried out on the short, medium and long-term period. Among these actions, there was need to emphasize on communication and enlargement of the group; mapping of stakeholders; the setting up of a magazine intended for the dissemination of heterodox intellectual productions; the establishment of a social movement, etc. In addition, this initiative, through which the issues of youth were not considered enough at this meeting, should also be open to this group of the population. It should also be inclusive and open to reflections from diverse disciplines.
Introduction

1. Africa is the continent that faces the most major socio-economic development and social well-being challenges. The prevalent problems include poverty, social exclusion, vulnerability, youth unemployment and inequalities. The reasons for this situation, in most African countries, can be traced to their historical trajectories that are marked by the disposssession of their natural and human resources as well as several years of colonization. These reasons can also be traced to the post-independence period, when African countries implemented (chosen or dictated) economic policies that increased the fragility of the nascent States and the precariousness of their populations. The most illustrative of these policies include the Structural Adjustment Programs, Washington Consensus Policies and post-Washington Consensus which are all part of neoliberal ideology. In addition, these policies have a theoretical framework that is a dominant economic approach, a mainstream, referred to here as "the orthodox economy." Orthodoxy presumes then the existence of heterodox spaces where dissenting or even progressive opinions are expressed.

2. Based on this observation, TrustAfrica and the Institute for Economic Justice, supported by the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) took the initiative to organize this three days symposium to understand and challenge the dominant economic orthodoxies; develop new forms of economic thinking and strengthen the power of action of Africans.

3. The targeted objective of the meeting was to help movements across Africa to promote a coherent advocacy agenda based on rights and economic justice for a tangible impact on the change of trajectory regarding development and human rights on the continent. As a reminder, the meeting's objectives were:
   i. The critical analysis of conventional economic assumptions and the political structures designed to strengthen the system;
   ii. Questioning the types of economic paradigms that lead to inclusive and increased development and best serve the pressing need for social justice in the African context;
   iii. The emergence of alternative models and the provision of a safe space for alternative thinking;
4. It is based on this perspective that African intellectuals, decisionmakers and activists gathered in Dakar on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of September 2019 to examine and discuss economic orthodoxy and new forms of alternative thinking. The conference was organized around sessions made up of panels and discussions; group work and a public event.

5. This report is a synthesis of the different key observations, important conclusions and discussions during the meeting on: "Challenging Orthodoxies in Economic Thinking in Africa" For the reader's sake, we sought, herein, to reproduce the salient points made, rather than everything said through various contributions. In addition, the reporting plan is in accordance with the two main types of sessions held at this meeting: panels and discussions and group work. The reason for this choice lies in the fact that the different themes chosen for the panels require the speakers/contributors to share knowledge on orthodox thinking, its areas of manifestation, stakeholders, and critics, etc. On the contrary, the group work focused more on defining the different approaches to be adopted to create an epistemic questioning community and an alternative movement to orthodox thinking.

6. Accordingly, this report is structured as follows. The first part will be a summary of the opening panel. The presentation of the different panels and discussions (except for the opening and closing panels) will make up the second part.

The third part is a summary of the group work on the mapping of ways and means of challenging orthodoxies and the exercise of new hegemonies. The final part which is the closing panel and the group workshop is, a summary of the different avenues of sustaining this initiative in the short, medium and long terms. The report on the public event is presented in the appendices as well as the outcomes from the workshop, the second day, which focused on the knowledge of orthodoxy in its paradigms, areas of manifestations and spaces; its policies and relations of powers etc.
I. The Opening Panel

7. The opening ceremony moderated by Ms. Maréma TOURÉ of UNESCO, saw the participation of three (3) speakers,

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dr. Ebrima SALL</th>
<th>TrustAfrica</th>
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<tr>
<td>Neil COLEMAN</td>
<td>IEJ</td>
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<td>Ibrahima AÏDARA</td>
<td>OSIWA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moderator</td>
<td>Ms. Maréma TOURÉ</td>
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8. At the beginning of his remarks, **Dr. Ebrima SALL** reiterated the importance of this meeting, which should be the beginning of a process, a basis for profound reflection on a very pertinent subject on thinking of orthodoxies in Africa and on their consequences in the trajectory of the continent. He argued that orthodoxy in economic thinking is dominant both in education and economic policy. In the same vein, the speaker also emphasized what could be considered as the mystification of the economy through the acuity of technicality and promotion of mathematical tools to explain economic facts. Thus, this excessively technicalized economy which drives the dominant discourse participates in the production of a dominant thought, notably through the implementation of several programs for the propagation of neoclassical economic ideas. It is in this vein that he called for reflection during the three days on the structures of powers put in place to consolidate this orthodox thinking, and the pseudo-alternatives which, in some cases, contribute to the perpetuation of this orthodoxy. To this end, according to Mr. Sall, it is also necessary to question the dynamics of orthodox economic thinking in the light of its various alternatives by documenting and questioning the cases of failures and successes around the world and, particularly, in African societies. Finally, he stressed that the importance of issues related to the continent's problems of inequality and development is enough to trigger reflection on the construction of viable economic models that are humane.

9. **Mr. Neil COLEMAN** started his speech by questioning the cliché of an Africa experiencing growth. For him, this weak, progressive, non-enriching growth is based on an unstructured economy. Indeed, his argument is supported by the observation of the existence of a dualistic model showing urban development (buildings, roads, etc.) which contrasts with the visible increased impoverishment and vulnerability in rural areas, where people cannot
access basic social infrastructure. Consequently, the standard measures of orthodox economy, like the GDP, do not reflect the degree of inequalities in living conditions in Africa. For him, there is an urgency for Africans to create a space for reflection on how to overcome their problems. Reflections on economic orthodoxy during the 3-day symposium will contribute to the creation of this space. It will involve putting Africa on a trajectory of progress by proposing a different agenda, after several years during which orthodox economic policies resulted in social, economic and political failures. Ultimately, Mr. Neil believes that it is important to highlight alternatives to economic orthodoxy. It involves demonstrating as a motto of the third world forum, that a different type of world is possible. Subsequently, he insisted on the fact that an economy that places people at its core is not a utopia and to prove it, it is imperative to rethink our approach to economic systems, by going beyond the sterile debates, pushing back the barriers of discussion and investing concretely, to have an impact on political actions.

10. In his opening remarks, the OSIWA representative, Mr. Ibrahima AÏDARA, spoke about the reasons which motivated his organization to support such initiatives. These can be summed up by the fact that the rise in poverty and socio-economic inequalities in the continent, reflects a failure from theories and policies based on economic thinking. From this perspective, the speaker stressed that it is in the interest of Africans to position themselves at the centre of the reflection on alternatives to neoliberal thinking.

To that end, all initiatives should consider two essential points: multi-disciplinarity and inclusion. Finally, he ended his speech by calling for the reflection to be both theoretical and practical over the three-day meeting.
II. Panels followed by discussions

1. Main Panel: Location of orthodoxies

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<tr>
<th>Panelist</th>
<th>Dr. Ndongo Samba SYLLA</th>
<th>Development Economist, Rosa Luxembourg Foundation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Moderator</td>
<td>Dr. Bethule NYAMAMBI</td>
<td>Trust Africa</td>
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11. This panel, moderated by Dr. Bethule NYAMAMBI (TrustAfrica), in an introductory perspective, had the objective of preparing the ground by exploring how economic orthodoxy has evolved over time and what it means today. This was done in two main phases. Firstly, Dr. Ndongo Samba SYLLA’s presentation, and secondly, followed by discussions with the participants.

12. Dr. Ndongo S. SYLLA based his remarks on five major points:

- What does "orthodox economics" mean?
- Different economic paradigms that coexisted before the emergence of neo-liberalism
- What is neo-liberalism?
- How it operates and what are its ...?
- Ortho" medicines as an endogenous production in Africa.

13. Under the first point, it was not only a presentation of orthodoxy based on its etymology, but also about its acceptance in economics. Subsequently, the panelist drew attention to the neoclassical movement which has been presented as the embryo of the current orthodox economy. The meaning of orthodox economy was presented, in this sense, by mobilizing the Lakatos notion of a "Research program." This notion made it possible to summarize neoclassical thinking in economics according to three points: the hard core, the protective belt and the positive heuristic (see Appendix 4). In addition, this neoclassical research program establishes a noticeable difference between the classical and neoclassical movements. The former was more critical, while the latter was characterized by its apologetic aim, as it wanted
to justify nascent capitalism and make the economy a kind of social physics. Finally, on the first point, the panelist emphasized how neoclassical thinking with its mathematical formalization has permeated a large part of economic disciplines, including the economics of development. Moreover, this prompted him to qualify neoclassical thinking as being "epistemicide," that is an organized murder of knowledge.

14. **In his second point, the panelist addressed the evolution of orthodoxies in economy.** He cited the paradigms which challenged the dominant paradigm of neoclassical economics: Keynesianism, the economics of development, historical Marxism. These paradigms had the common factor of giving the State a central place in the conduct of economic progress. However, the return of neoclassical thinking corresponds to a project of restoration of dominant economic powers by attacking other paradigms such as Keynesianism. In the policy section, the 1970s also corresponded to the quasi global adoption of neoliberalism as a reference for economic policy in all countries worldwide.

15. **But what is neo-liberalism?** In response to this question, Dr. SYLLA identified neoliberalism as a societal project that promotes the development of private property. Although it has affinities with the neoclassical economic movement, neoliberalism is closer to the Austrian school of thought with economists such as Frederich Von Hayek. In addition, neoliberalism thinkers are opposed to the mathematical formalization of markets promoted by neoclassical economists. The fundamental difference between neoliberals and neo-classicals (and liberals of the XIth century) is the interventionism of the State in the market. Indeed, for neoliberals, the self-regulating market is a myth. “The invisible hand cannot operate without the visible hand of law,” said Dr. Ndongo S. Sylla. In this sense, neo-liberalism is an ideology that places regulation at the core of political action. The state is therefore a major player, but its action must focus on the protection of private property through the efficient functioning of financial markets, and the promotion of international trade through bilateral treaties and free trade agreements. Thus, neo-liberalism is a permanent restructuring undertaking by the State for the benefit of mobile capital. Therefore, it justifies legal interventionism on a global scale by adopting as approach: the establishment of identical rules worldwide in order to promote private investors. This latter must in this neoliberal perspective, take precedence over the resources and rights of peoples and nations. Moreover, in the 1970s in countries newly emerging from colonization, the object of neoliberalism manifested through the denationalization (privatization) of the State, dispossessed of its economic policy instruments
and resources. Therefore, any process of real democracy, economic sovereignty and the expression of rights of the masses is perceived by neoliberals as powers that promote the expansion of the nation state and restrain the free movement of capital. For this last reason, neoliberalism presents itself as an adversary to the nation state.

16. The fourth point of this inaugural panel focused on the **different processes of operationalization of neoliberal thinking in Africa**. First, the agents promoting the neoliberal orthodoxy discourse are the World Bank, the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the WTO (OMC), which influence development programs and policies on the continent. Institutions such as the World Bank, through funding research and data production, disseminate neoliberalism ideas and establish a unique discourse on development that is framed by orthodox thinking. From a practical viewpoint, the neoliberal frame of reference in Africa is the Washington Consensus. It was described by the economist Williamson as the consensual economic policy vision in Washington in the 1970s between the IMF, the World Bank, the Federal Reserve, and think tanks, etc. Structural Adjustment Policies (PAS) are a model for operationalizing this consensus in Africa. Today, the paradigm of this consensus is maintained although we find a discourse that may seem different.

17. Moreover, the neoliberal orthodoxy action is also seen through the discourses that spread fictions about Africa. Two myths are used to illustrate the neoliberal discourse on Africa: the marginalization of Africa in the early 2000s and the emerging Africa after the 2010s. The discourse on the marginalization of Africa in globalization is a myth, in that it relies on biased statistics from international trade with an overestimation of over 30%. A correction of this bias shows that Africa is one of the continents that participates the most in international trade. The other myth borne by neoliberal discourses on Africa is more recent and focuses on emergence (*Africa Rising*). The emerging African narrative is partly based on the rate of growth in Africa in recent years. Between 2000 and 2010, 30 countries of the continent have achieved a growth rate of over 4%. This has pushed neoliberals to see Africa as a continent of the future which is about to achieve transformations and socio-economic progress if it follows the orthodox advice of opening its market and accepting negative integration into the world economy. However, for Dr. Ndongo S. SYLLA this discourse is a myth for the following reasons: recorded growth corresponds to the end of the IMF's austerity measures, the decline of conflicts on the continent, and the rise in raw material exports. Moreover, this growth is described as a recovery growth, that is, it catches up on the growth lost during the structural adjustment period. In addition, the myth of an Africa that achieves growth overshadows the quality of this growth as it does not
lead to an improvement in the living conditions of Africans but provokes illicit financial flows (IFFs).

18. **The fifth and final point of this introductory lecture showed how African researchers and policymakers integrate neoliberal orthodoxy in their approaches.** To this end, two regional integration projects: the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) and the creation of a single currency are used as an illustration. The project of creating a CFTA which came into force last May aims to strengthen trade between African countries and industrialize the continent. Being an African initiative would have given it the seal of Pan-Africanism and the approval of most economists and politicians. However, Dr. Ndongo S. Sylla drew attention to the fact that this initiative embraces the neoliberal paradigm both in its objectives and in the scientific discourse that seems to justify its merits. In fact, the goal of the CFTA is to give precedence to trade exchange and not to production, which is a totally neoliberal practice. In addition, this initiative does not question the effectiveness of free trade. Furthermore, the effect expected from this initiative is the development of African countries. However, free trade in economic history has never guaranteed the development of a country. The theory of comparative advantages which underlies it is yet to receive an empirical validity to this day. On the contrary, the effects of free trade in a country result in job losses and a dislocation of the economic fabric, among others. The CFTA project has also been accompanied on the continent by an economic discourse that justifies its advantage for African countries. This economic discourse, although produced by African economists on Africa, is based on unrealistic neoclassical assumptions such as that which stipulates the full use of African economies. As for the second example, the speaker returned to the project of creating a single currency. This initiative, although African, is part of the continuum of neoliberal orthodoxy in that it is an imitation of one of the greatest political achievements of neoliberalism: the European Union. Through the definition of convergence criteria that are devoid of scientific validity, this initiative participates in the neoliberal projects of denationalization of States by dispossessing them of their economic policy instruments. Overall, these projects may seem to have pan-African motivations, but a more objective examination reveals that they are not alternatives to neoliberalism; and it would even be justified to speak of "Afro liberalism."

19. Ultimately, the speaker emphasized at the end of his speech that thinking about alternatives to orthodox economics requires two axes. On the one hand, the aim is to set up an inclusive research project that integrates, into economic reflection, women rights and ecological
discourse, broadly speaking, all other forms of knowledge excluded from the field of mainstream economics. On the other hand, it is important to belong to social movements to make real and practical changes in the political arena.

20. **At the end of this presentation, the second part of this panel were the discussions.** Stakeholders touched on a few points through contributions or/and questions. In this sense and through the discussions, it was suggested that alternative economies are those that establish links between wealth accumulation and redistribution to increase social well-being. Similarly, it appears to set itself up as stakeholders, who ensure a link between the market and the State, on the one hand, and the State and the population, on the other hand. Another point raised was the problem of the current context that is characterized by a degradation of productive forces and technological society. In this sense, the question was raised on how to examine the design of an alternative within the context of a digital economy whereby orthodox thinking has technological tools and big data at its disposal, thus giving it a grip on the behavior of individuals. In addition, questions were asked about the type of rationality that drives human actions in Africa and how it would be different from that which defines the behavior of the *homo-economicus* in the orthodox economy; the nature of the State and the role of other types of community organizations; and the appropriate actions to reverse the hegemony of orthodox neo-liberal thinking on political action in Africa. In this regard, the essential question that best summarizes the various contributions is this one: In the 21st century, what would Africa need as an economic paradigm? By reflecting on this question, it would be possible to ponder the rationalities that govern the behavior of Africans and other issues such as demography and technology.

2. **Group reflection and plenary discussions: localization of orthodoxies**

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<tr>
<th>Panelists</th>
<th>Liepollo Lebohang PHEKO</th>
<th>Activist/Researcher</th>
<th>South Africa</th>
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<tr>
<td>Demba Moussa DEMBELE</td>
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<td>Economist/Researcher</td>
<td>ARCADE</td>
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<td>Moderator</td>
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21. **The purpose of this session was to further decipher the political economy of economic thinking across the continent, historically and presently.**

22. **Liepollo Lebohang PHEKO emphasized in her speech the problem of globalization.** It is in this perspective that she called for further exploration of the relationship between the North and the South in globalization regarding economics and politics. Issues such as the position of the State, the redefinition of concepts like growth and development, etc. should be re-examined in the light of a reality that is peculiar to Africa. In addition, criteria for measuring social progress such as the GDP are to be overridden. The reason is that this indicator is flawed and requires all countries to adopt a fetish of growth as dictated by orthodox economy. In this sense, it is important to consider globalization as a process that does not bring states together but aims to put all countries on the same path of a State model of progress comparable to that of the United States and the United Kingdom. Additionally, the panelist, in her remarks, drew attention to the new continuities of the neoliberal model namely through the BRICS. Following the SAPs, emergence seems to be the leitmotif of neoliberal politics in Africa. Thus, it is important in proposing alternatives to reformulate international relations, assert our nationalities and pursue inclusive policies aimed at rural development.

23. **In his speech, Mr. DEMBELE maintained continuity with the introductory panel’s presentation.** Thus, by exploring the history of orthodoxy in economics, he returned to the two periods of neoclassical economy. The first being that of Leon Walras which came into being in opposition to the thinking of Karl Marx and which ended with Keynes during the Great Depression. The second was after the glorious 30s which can be defined as a neoclassical counter-revolution. This counter-revolution is symbolized by Milton Friedman and the Chicago School. In terms of economic policy, this second period marks also the triumph of neoclassical thinking in the implementation of economic policies defined from the Bretton Woods institutions which are dominated by the Chicago Boys. Thus, the strength of neoclassical thinking lies as much on the hegemony of its theory as on the political strength of some States such as the United States and the United Kingdom that were present in the countries of the South. It is in this dynamic of interference from Bretton Woods institutions that the States in the countries of the South were dismantled notably through SAPs, despite the intellectual and political resistance in Africa or Latin America. Subsequently, he showed that the 2008 crisis was an illustration of the future without promise for neoliberalism and that this latter owed its survival to the interests derived, by some countries, from this system.
24. Following these two speakers, the plenary discussions focused again on the origin of orthodox economic thinking. One of the speakers considered it necessary to situate orthodoxy in the history of economic thinking with Walras and his formulation of the theory of general equilibrium which was completed by Vilfredo Pareto with the addition of the notion of Pareto optimality. These notions, which are at the heart of neoclassical thinking, justify the inequalities and inequitable trade that the neoliberal system highlights. Other speakers focused on the different actions to be undertaken once the analysis has been established on the origins of orthodoxy in economic thinking. In this sense, an interest emerged from the discussions to create an alternative social way of thinking inspired by social movements; by science that is based on experienced reality. A suggestion was made for the definition of a political project which would guide the actions to be undertaken.

3. Panel discussions: the orthodoxies of today

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<tr>
<th>Panelists</th>
<th>Prof. Jayati GHOSH</th>
<th>Prof. in Development Economics, School of Science, India</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pr. Brahim MORCHID</td>
<td>Prof. of Economics, Université Cadi Ayad, Marrakech</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gamal IBRAHIM</td>
<td>Head, Development Planning Department, ECA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pr. Kate MAEGHER</td>
<td>Associate Prof., London School of Economics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pr. Fatou SOW SARR</td>
<td>Professor, IFAN - Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Senegal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pr. Alemayehu GEDA,</td>
<td>Associate Researcher, AERC, Nairobi</td>
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| Moderator       | Uchenna IDOKO | Consultant, UN WOMEN |

25. The purpose of this discussion session was to explore the role of orthodoxies in dealing with specific issues that are particularly reflected in the structuring of African political economies.

26. The first panelist, Pr. Brahim MORCHID, highlighted his speech on macroeconomics today as a battleground between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. What is
referred to as orthodox macroeconomics brings together economists with liberal ideology. It brings together four schools of thought: Neokvnesianism, the new classical economy, John Hicks IS-LM model, and monetarism with Friedman. Heterodoxy is also characterized by four movements namely: the Postkeynesianism, the Regulation school, Institutional economists, and Neo-Marxists. Each movement has evolved in a particular context. He also argued that the weakening of a movement has never led to its disappearance. Clearly, orthodox macroeconomics dominates the economic domain and eight factors make it possible to explain it:

i. The neoliberal ideology;
ii. Resilience (the adaptability of orthodox economists);
iii. The "scientificness" of the arguments of orthodox macroeconomics;
iv. Political legitimacy;
v. The networking of orthodox macro economists;
vi. The ease of operationalization of orthodox theories (econometrics, quantitative technique);
vii. The blindness of researchers to the stories of orthodox models; and
viii. The illusion of heterodoxies.

Beyond these factors, some remarks showed how macroeconomics operates in the structuring of economies, especially African economies. It is in this sense that the panelist, firstly, emphasized the fact that in terms of scientific production, priority was given to macroeconomic studies relating to empirical applications and not to critical reflection or to the re-conceptualization of models. Secondly, the validity of macroeconomic models, does not often depend on the role of non-economic factors. Thirdly, the macroeconomic reality in Africa remains dominated by orthodox thinking which continues to define the metrics of socio-economic progress on the continent. To this end, there has been suggestions to reformulate a macroeconomics from below alongside a macroeconomics from above. The fourth remark challenges the correctness of macroeconomic analyses on the continent, since databases set up in Africa are, for the most part, estimates. A fifth remark raises the question on the institutional aspect of macroeconomics. Macroeconomics is a dimension that is not only economic but also political. For this reason, it must be more inclusive. Finally, a seventh remark is that orthodox macroeconomics poses a problem of demagogy; with economists who persist in believing in their models despite their proven imperfections.
28. **Jayati GHOSH** focused her discussion on the new challenges of finance and financialization. To this end, she advanced two aspects that banking institutions should consider, particularly in Africa. Firstly, the issue of financialization for basic social services such as education and health. Secondly, the financialization of services entails high costs for households. This aggravates the impoverishment of households. This is also the case for microfinance in which households are increasingly involved, though the debts they incur to meet their needs do not have the desired effects. This shows in Africa that significant financial challenges remain to be tackled. Given the above, Pr. Jayati Gosh felt that the growing digital finance in Africa is an alternative to orthodox finance. However, the most important thing is that we overlook the involvement of digitization of financial transactions, particularly, around employability, in accessing banking services, and the fact that Africans have become major players in these financial services.

29. **In her remarks, Kate MEAGHER spoke about the importance of social protection in African economies as a response to neoliberal policies.**

To this end, she argued that it is important to understand the dynamism of neoliberalism, which ensures that its economic policies reinforce the maintenance of its paradigms in decision-making spheres. In this sense, she mentioned the political dimension, which is social protection, as an example. Social protection management is sometimes so corrupt in some developing countries that it reinforces more than it corrects the inequalities created by neoliberalism. Moreover, according to the speaker, it is necessary to think about how neoliberalism is adapting to changes in an inclusive way and this is already reflected in the agenda of the objective of sustainable development. Since the 1990s, there has been a fundamental question at the heart of debates. Debates that fill the gaps in the markets to really understand, strengthen and deepen reflection on social investment. In addition, these debates must provide a basic social policy to close wage gaps or inequalities in the economies and on the liberal market. All these questions are necessary to allow flexibility of economies in a context where it is becoming increasingly difficult for workers to initiate start-ups. The development of social policies calls for a new social contract to rebuild the relationship between the status of society. This seems very progressive. It often focuses on issues such as tax mobilization in national process, mobilizing public revenues to cope with social policy spending. Focus on a more transformative and productive social policy is an economic principle that must be linked to the thoughts evidenced in global development.
30. **At the onset of his communication, Gamal IBRAHIM addressed the need to embrace diversity and plurality in the constitution of a heterodox thinking.** Subsequently, he stressed on the role of institutions in such an enterprise. This reflection on institutions, he did by drawing from thinking based on development practices and not on relations of domination. Global development objective is accompanied, Mr. Ibrahim said, by the impact of the economy in the social sphere. This should begin, at first, with a re-examination of how economics is taught in universities, where the focus is more on technique than on society or history. The role of institutions is to increase effective demand which, when it is weak, can have the effect of crowding out Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Thus, institutions should function in the most optimal way rising in the promotion of good governance. In all, according to the panelist, prospects will consist of providing answers to orthodoxy on different levels. First, there is plurality, because it is important to establish the link between knowledge production and political leadership. There must also be coherent political discourse and strong leadership in Africa. How can the role of the South be defined in a coherent way? In this sense, it will be necessary to group the various initiatives around a coherent global project.

31. **In her remarks, Prof. Fatou SOW SARR addressed the issue of the informal economy and its implications on the labor market.** Therefore, the informal economy cannot be examined without referring to the history of the relations of domination between Africa and its former colonizing countries. In this respect, the informal economy is presented as playing a role like that of the economies of the South. Today, the informal economy has a relationship with the formal economy that allows workers in modern power sectors to be able to provide for themselves, masking the shortcomings relating to wages in the labor market. Consequently, there is a relationship of domination between workers in the formal economy and those of the informal that could be comparable to that between the North and South. However, the informal economy is an alternative to economic orthodoxy and, as such, requires a reversal of perspective or even further theorization and conceptualization. This informal economy is, according to the panelist, like the real economy, that is, the one that best defines the economic fact in Africa with an embedding of the social. Reforms would then consist of examining the needs of the informal actors in terms of skilled labor to increase their productivity. Other initiatives can be remedies for the ills of informal economy actors. Thus, the financialization of women or financial inclusion is not a viable alternative that could have a real impact on the living
conditions of its beneficiaries. A viable alternative in this economy should focus on training and capacity building of actors.

32. **At the beginning of his speech, Pr. GEDA argued that structural transformation and good policies are needed to lift Africa out of poverty.** To achieve this requires a production of knowledge in economics that frees itself from neoclassical thinking. To this end, given the mixed results of the Washington Consensus, SAPs in particular, on the well-being of the populations of the South, it is imperative to think of economic science not by abandoning some of its tools like econometrics, but revisiting the positivist methodology on which knowledge production of the neoclassical economy is based. This will require a more realistic approach, considering unstructured economies and defining behavioral rationality assumptions. In practical terms, political economy and resource distribution must be at the center of macroeconomic analysis. Within this perspective, there is need to establish a politico-economic approach that will be part of a heterodox approach that draws attention to the issues of the future. In conclusion, the panelist favored the idea of an economic research that considers the structure of African societies. For that, it will be necessary to jettison market fundamentalism by adopting mathematical analysis in the African context.

33. Following the various presentations of this panel, the discussions focused mainly on the question of the informal economy. Thus, in relation to the objective of formalizing the informal economy, the idea of allowing this economy to take its course and not to seek to insert it into the formal economy was widely supported. In addition, suggestions were made, following Enda Tiers Monde work, to focus on the Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE), which makes it possible to surpass the dualism between the formal and the informal economy. The social and solidarity economy takes into consideration dimensions that the orthodox economy does not in its analysis, such as the issues of ethics and sustainable development. Other points of discussion focused on the need for leadership capable of implementing voluntarist policies that go against alternative ideology. Discussions focused on the process of implementing alternative policies in a context where opinions may differ in several areas. Discussions on this subject revealed the intermediate position which consists of reasoning from a context of possibility. In other words, it would be a question of implementing actions in some areas where viewpoints converge. For example, the problem of illicit financial flows is one of the points that could bring together different actors.
4. Main Panel: The gender dimension of economic orthodoxies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Panelists</th>
<th>Fatimah KELLEHER</th>
<th>Technical Advisor on Women Rights, Nigeria</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crystal SIMEONI</td>
<td>Head of Advocacy and Economic Justice Lead, African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marina DURANO</td>
<td>Professor of Economics, New School for Social Research</td>
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| Moderator          | Souad ADEN OSMAN | Executive Director of Coalition for Dialogue on Africa (CoDA) |

34. The Panel’s objective was to Highlight how economic orthodoxies are differentiated by gender and what this means for the forms and nature of orthodoxies and for the subsequent role of women on the continent. This panel worked in two stages before the discussions with the assembly.

35. To start with, Crystal SIMEONI and Fatimah KELLEHER presented, each speaking in turn, on the gender aspect in orthodoxy policies. First, they emphasized that orthodoxy ignores the gender issue in its analysis by ignoring the population of women who are generally at the bottom of the pyramid and who suffer the most adverse effects of orthodox policies. This implies not considering economic metrics such as GDP, gender inequalities in the domestic sphere and domestic work performed by women. In economic analysis, consideration of women's unpaid work, which is one of the focus for reflection by female economists, can be a relevant entry point in the establishment of an alternative economy. Moreover, orthodox public policies that focus on women's empowerment, increased income, or giving women more rest are not alternatives, as they seem to be out of step with the laws of the market. Considering feminist concerns also requires rethinking power relations in knowledge production between the North and the South. Thus, as far as the African continent is concerned, the fight for Pan-Africanism cannot be independent of that of feminism. Indeed, even knowledge on the living conditions of women is based on a framework of statistical and epistemic productions proposed by the West. In this perspective, the two panelists suggested nonparticipation in the productions of knowledge which are part of projects, whose terms of
reference and agenda are imposed by Western donors. Thus, it will be about being part of a clean agenda in order to connect the African feminist discourse to the real situation of women of the continent. When women's empowerment is mentioned, for example, the issue will be about finding out what they can do and their real freedoms. Ultimately, thinking about alternatives to orthodoxy from the feminist perspective could help to identify certain phenomena such as poverty in rural areas. Taking feminist voices into account could also have an impact on certain macroeconomic policies of regional dimension. It is in this sense moreover that attention from feminist analysis has been drawn on a question like that of the Continental Free Trade Area (ZLEC.) Consequently, the description of an international trade situation in zero-sum game must be ditched and surpassed. The issue of taxation and its impact on the lives of women at the bottom of the pyramid must be considered in such economic policies. The feminist vision is to redefine the goal of the economy by proposing an alternative blueprint that makes well-being the ultimate outcome instead of growth.

36. Secondly, the panelist Marina DURANO focused her presentation on the feminist economy, especially the consideration of the issue of care or the economy of care. As a result, and firstly, the focus has been on the issue of classes. The fact is that the orthodox political agenda has managed to divide the working class into several members, because the objective of using adjectives is to divide in order not to favor unity. The same is also true for feminist movements. The division of women on certain issues reinforces the weakness of the feminist struggle, such is one of the strategies of the policies of orthodoxy. Thus, she emphasized the need to go beyond the Marxist definition of class reproduction. She defended the use of the concept of care which goes beyond this notion of reproduction. Emotional content is required to surpass the notion of class. The alternative is to reinvest emotional content in the economy. For this purpose, consideration of care work or its enhancement are avenues that feminist economics can bring as an alternative.

37. Discussions following these presentations raised several questions, the most salient of which focused on some dimensions of the feminist struggle. It is in this sense that the various social security initiatives such as the universal basic income (UBI) have been assessed as insufficient because they do not take into consideration gender inequalities. Moreover, various social security systems in existence in Africa do not fall within the formal framework of orthodox economics and they are driven by women (tontines, for example). These mechanisms that structure our societies and are driven by women are to be documented and
further explored. Another issue that was also discussed in this panel was that of demographics in current feminist thinking. On this subject, the panelists revisited the interest, presented by the care economy, which makes it possible to manage issues such as population decline and maternity in the reflection for alternatives. Other contributions touched again on the place of emotional work that makes the link and provides a human face to certain conducts unlike the orthodox economy. Beyond these issues, questions were asked by the assembly and proffered answers deserve to be axes of reflection by feminists in the consideration of alternatives to orthodoxy. This is about, among other things, what can be done in time and space; the possibility of evaluating and measuring to better define political orientations.

5. Panel in plenary: Questioning orthodoxies - an application.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Panelists</th>
<th>Jimi ADESINA</th>
<th>Full Professor of the DST/NFR Chair, Geneva</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Million BELAY</td>
<td>Founder, MELCA, Ethiopia</td>
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<td>James MUROMBEDZI</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Moderator</td>
<td>Pr. Mame Penda BA</td>
<td>Prof. of Political Science, Université Gaston Berger, Saint-Louis, Senegal</td>
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38. This Panel brought together three speakers and was moderated by Pr. Mame Penda BA, Professor of Political Science at Gaston Berger University in Saint-Louis, Senegal. The Panel’s objective was, on the one hand, to provide better understanding of critical issues to be addressed and, on the other hand, to see how previously discussed tools can be applied.

39. Prof. Jimi ADESINA of the South African Academy of Science addressed social policy issues using practical examples. To illustrate the fact that neoliberalism manifests itself through oppositions of forces and disputes with social movements, he gave as a first example the 1980 protest of the Nigerian Liberal Congress. The NLC leadership convened a social movement but also put up a strong resistance in the struggle for social rights. He stressed that in the fight against neoliberalism, resistance is of paramount importance as it is truly a response to the nature of the social conflict it creates. In this sense, faced with unequal allocation of social resources and injustices in redistributive policies, social movements should drive the resistance against neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is an ideology that has a certain aversion to social transfers. In this sense, an alternative to this orthodoxy should favor social security, which is enjoyed, only, by a small number of beneficiaries presently. Therefore, it is important to place
redistributive mechanisms, at the center of alternative political action, that contribute to the well-being of the less fortunate. In conclusion, China is given as an example, by the speaker, as a country that has made progress in terms of development and alternatives through the implication of the idea of industrial policy. Yet the Chinese model is as heterodox as can be imagined in terms of determination.

40. This presentation by Million BELAY focused on the presentation of an association whose actions are part of an alternative perspective to the orthodox economy. It is the Alliance for Food Sovereignty (ASA) that would be one of the most important networks in Africa made up of peasants, fishermen, etc. As a result, in the first instance, a distinction was made between food security and food sovereignty. The first concept is considered as not taking complete account of the sources of food production. On the other hand, the notion of food sovereignty, which is preferable to that of food security, takes complete account of important dimensions, especially for sustainable development. These dimensions are of a cultural, environmental or social justice nature (including land justice). The first agenda which is food security is paired up with the agricultural policy of orthodoxy, because its aim is to always maximize food production to the detriment of small producers and endogenous agricultural practices and knowledge. Also, this agenda implies other problems in the agricultural sector of African economies. That of land grabbing for the benefit of large foreign investors with large means of production. Faced with this agenda, that of food sovereignty seeks to be less consequentialist by aiming solely at the goal of maximum production. The means of production and their social and environmental implications are essential dimensions of food sovereignty. Therefore, the panelist reminded that the paradigm they advocate is to provide a focused discourse on healthy food, while considering agroecology. Within the ASA, the organizational structure in several working groups makes it possible to consider all the relevant dimensions and to be more inclusive by considering the objectives of the stakeholders and the consumers. Finally, by highlighting the example of Mariama Sonko, who suggested alternative products, (broths) from organic production, to the chemical industry, the speaker concluded by offering a mapping of her initiatives and making a call to join the ASA.

41. In his speech, James MUROMBEDZI highlighted the relationship between orthodox economics and climate change. Thus, he showed the relationship between climate change and the different methods of production and distribution of consumer goods and equipment that mostly meet the neoliberal teleology: the consumer society. The direct
relationship between GDP and the destruction of the environment is, according to the panelist, enough to argue that climate change is the result of capitalism whose primary objective is growth and not human action. Given this relationship, the panelist did not fail to make a diagnosis of the current state of international policy against climate change. Based on these analyses, most international agreements have resulted in failures, be it the Kyoto Protocol or the Paris Agreement.

The main reason given by the panelist is that the measure defined in these agreements relates to the consequences of climate change and not to the causes. As a result, the political measures aim more at combating the manifestations (the temperature) and not the causes (the greenhouse effect). What is Africa's position on this issue? Such was the panelist’s question before addressing the second point in his speech. As an element of response, firstly, he recalled the injunction, under international agreements, to Africa to develop its economies without emitting carbon. This has the effect of highlighting and perpetuating inequalities between Africa and the Rest of The World (RDM) based on the knowledge that the continent does not have the means for its energy transition and that it is impossible to use carbon reserves that it has put in place with the RDM. The problem of climate change in agriculture is more urgent than in industry. Secondly, he touched again on the fact that the problem of climate change in Africa is more urgent in agriculture than in industry. Lastly, he ended his speech by emphasizing that Africans do not participate enough in the production of knowledge on the climate. As a result, the climate change discourse does not include the views of Africans. The alternative perspective should, according to Mr. Murombedzi, embrace the issue of climate change in its initiatives.

42. **During the discussions, the speakers returned to several points raised by various panelists.** Thus, the moderator, in the first place, agreed with ADESINA by supporting interest in the further exploration of orthodoxy which should lead to real epistemological and methodological challenges. In this sense, there is reason to think of models that put complexity at the core of their analyses. Regarding the presentations of other panelists, she argued that they provide information on the interest in thinking biopolitics. In other words, the questions - how we produce; how we use land - are essential to the production and reproduction of life on earth; hence their crucial place in the reflections around alternatives. Following this commentary, other speakers touched again on the interest of setting up social movements to take charge of initiatives related to the environment and food. The issue of producing knowledge on the climate was the subject of several questions and suggestions. Generally, the participants thought
that it was necessary to open the field of knowledge on the climate to other sciences, particularly, the human and social sciences, rather than leaving it as the privilege of physicists and climatologists, among others. A final contribution in this panel focused on the interest of including foresight in the reflection on alternatives to orthodoxy.

Indeed, events such as digitization will disrupt many patterns and even, in some ways, reverse orthodoxy.

It is therefore relevant to include the prospective approach in the analysis on alternatives.

III. Working group conclusions: mapping of African ecosystems - mapping ways and means of challenging orthodoxies and exercising new hegemonies

43. The group work was held based on a framework that describes 5 axes around which the reflections and discussions were to take place. These are the critical entry points; the different processes to implement in order to intervene effectively; needs in terms of stakeholders and approaches; gains from heterodoxy at the present time and actions to anticipate from orthodoxy as reactions to the various initiatives that will be implemented.

After two successive work sessions and within the established framework, the three groups presented various conclusions relating to each of the five axes and drawn from shared experiences and discussions. The different conclusions of the groups are summarized in the table in the appendix.

44. Regarding the critical entry points, the different groups agreed on the importance of a theoretical viewpoint for knowledge of orthodox thinking. To this end, it is important to propose a critical and alternative discourse whose goal is to claim and build the sovereignty, on all plans of African countries. Beyond this theoretical point, suggestion was made for a practical and political approach that consists of forming a coalition for progress. This will also require working with stakeholders with different entry points, such as universities and program designers.

45. Regarding the axis on the fundamentals and strategies for more effective interventionism against orthodoxy, group work underscored the need for multi-pronged strategies. On a theoretical level, it will be necessary to elaborate a discourse which signals a
radical break (criticism of neoliberalism, affirmation of intellectual autonomy, conceptualization of economic facts, etc.), or represents a subversion (Aggravation of the internal contradictions of the system; human dignity, pan-Africanism (abandoning nationalism and militarism), human development, solidarity and social minima ...). At a practical level, for most groups, it would be appropriate to set up mechanisms for the dissemination of knowledge production that are radically different from that of orthodox thinking. In this sense, it will be necessary to use, in a broad spectrum, the media and university presses. Education is also a space that has been proposed as a strategic area. Concretely, it is important to be resolute in transforming curricula and re-enhancing general education in order to render the knowledge of economic fact more democratic and accessible to everyone. All these strategies should be subject to benchmarking. Based on the conclusions of one of the groups, it is important to break with the imaginary dualism between the North and the South. This split makes it possible to explore the alternative thoughts and practices that exist and are developing in the countries of the North.

46. It emerged that the group work on the third axis identified stakeholders and processes for operationalizing their intervention. Regarding stakeholders, those that can be strategic pillars will be sought from the civil society (trade unions, social movements, NGOs, etc.), government institutions, academics, international organizations and, more generally, populations. In terms of processes, the outcome of the group work showed the importance of the academic world, where research work will be promoted (articles or doctoral theses) and teachings that are pro-heterodox. More practically, it is also important to lobby, popularize and mobilize using social movements.

47. The gains from heterodoxy, which form the fourth axis of the working group's reflection, can be compiled into discourse or knowledge; with stakeholders and alternative practices in different countries of the world. Hitherto, enough knowledge has been accumulated on heterodoxy on the contradictions, failures and negative implications of orthodox policies on African economies. This also gives it an ethical legitimacy that reinforces the credibility of discourse on it. As far as the stakeholders are concerned, the group discussions are in line with the multiplicity and diversity of the stakeholders of progress, who are aware of the urgency of the moment to create and rethink the political economy of African countries. These stakeholders are the: civil society; trade unions; social movements; academic world; and creative youth; etc. In addition to the stakeholders, it is important to add the new means of communication. In
practice, heterodoxy boasts of many projects from civil societies; academic community; international organizations and governments that demonstrate the possibility of accomplishing significant achievements with approaches that are antithetical to orthodox thinking.

48. **Regarding the last axis**, it emerged from the discussions from the three working groups that the reactions from orthodoxy to heterodox initiatives may range from a docile response strategy of absorbing or neutralizing them to a more radical one of discrediting, marginalizing, even destroying the movement. Different spaces have been pinpointed in which the reaction of orthodoxy could unfold universities; government bodies, markets and the private sector, and other political spaces.

49. Following the presentations of the rapporteurs of each work group; plenary discussions lasted about 20 minutes. The main idea from the different presentations was, indeed, to propose a return to the way things were before. In fact, there are initiatives on the continent that once existed; it would be interesting as a point of entry to better document them in order to see when they were successful, and research the factors that favored their successes and/or failures? In this vein, the participants proposed to continue with initiatives that already exist in Africa and in other geographical areas (Asia, Latin America, etc.). The mapping of stakeholders is therefore a procedure that has been strongly recommended. Other issues were also raised concerning the discourse to adopt against orthodoxy and to whom to address it.

### IV. How can the meeting be promoted? Summary of the group work and the closing panel

50. The last day of the meeting culminated in two activities during which different avenues for the sustainability of this meeting were presented. We hereby present, in chronological order, the proposals from the workshop before those resulting from the final discussion in the form of a Panel.

1. **What can be done in the short, medium and long term?**

51. The last working group to focus on the definition of the actions to be undertaken at different periods in three stages: the short, medium and long term. The working groups were formed based on this timeline and discussions were held for over half an hour on the types of
actions to be undertaken based on these three deadlines. The following conclusions emerged from the presentation of the working groups.

52. In the short term, participants agreed to the realization of the following actions:
   - Produce and share the report of this symposium;
   - Use communication tools to track groups (mailing list, WhatsApp Group, etc.);
   - Define the identity of an epistemic community;
   - Map existing alternative initiatives and experiences;
   - Identify the places and times when such epistemic community can be present and represented, as well as the ideas it defends;
   - Identify theories that support the work that the epistemic community wants to realize;
   - Set up a library; and
   - Document the experience of the populations;

53. In the medium term, the actions to be undertaken should be of a temporality that surpasses the year. At the end of discussions in the different groups, it was decided to undertake the following actions:
   - Have an agenda for research and actions;
   - Enlarge the group;
   - Set up a website/blog;
   - Build a database of knowledge and expertise
   - Have a journal/Newsletter;
   - Produce an annual letter/note (monthly);
   - Set up an African journal;
   - Work in partnership with the Nyerere Resource Center;
   - Encourage the fields of heterodoxy in teaching and research; and
   - Revive working groups (in places where curricula are developed).

54. In the long term, the different actions to undertake are:
   - Give political dimension to the action of the group;
   - Connect with social movements;
   - Connect with decisionmakers at different levels (national, international, etc.);
• Identify forces that would like to see change happen;

• Profile researchers working in different fields
• Do self-evaluation;
• Relaunch the momentum; and
• Use the Arts.
2. Closing Panel: Discussions on how to sustain the meeting

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Panelists</th>
<th>Tessa DOOMS</th>
<th>Independent Consultant, AU, UNFPA</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moussa MBAYE</td>
<td>Sec. General, Environment Action, ENDA Tiers Monde</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carlos Castel BRANCO</td>
<td>Researcher, CESA, Lisbon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moderator</td>
<td>Alvin MOSIOMA</td>
<td>Executive Director, Tax Justice Network in Africa</td>
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55. As a conclusion, this panel aimed to answer the question of how to promote the meeting.

56. **Mrs. Tessa DOOMS, in her speech, emphasized on the youth angle.** For her, during this meeting, this dimension has not been sufficiently taken into consideration over the course of the three days. It is therefore appropriate to ask the question, and attempt answering it in the next meetings. It concerns the following two questions: What do we do toward the empowerment of young people? What is the category of young people we want for the job market? These questions should make it possible to see the job market differently as the place where one can achieve something for oneself and not where one finds work. Likewise, having young people as targets means understanding their psycho-social composition and doing everything to make them act as change agents.

57. **Mr. Moussa MBAYE, for his part, indicated four avenues for the continuity of the meeting.** Firstly, it will be necessary to define a position and a state of mind. In other words, and according to Mr. Mbaye, it is about not reacting only, but moving to affirmation, on the one hand; and focusing on intellectual transformations, on the other hand. Secondly, he stressed the need for commitment and determination to consolidate such an initiative. As a third avenue to explore, he mentioned the establishment of organizations that should be mobilized as knowledge brokers, that is social movements. Finally, as a last avenue to explore, he insisted on the establishment of spaces that give credibility to the group’s production and reflection on alternatives; to launch and consolidate an agenda that recasts thinking on development and to work on our capabilities.

58. **Prof. Carlos Castel BRANCO indicated a dozen avenues that could be grouped into two major axes.** The first axis deals with avenues that pertain to different methodological
reflections or approaches to initiate or extend in order to further question the orthodox economy. It is in this sense that against the hegemony of the neoclassical economy, he proposed the creation of a pluralist thinking on the economy that will mobilize different methodologies and analytical tools. He also proposed additional work to better understand the current political situation in order to react effectively against the dominant thought; on different approaches and clarification of concepts so as not to use orthodoxy or heterodoxy to conceal the issues to be discussed. Finally, in relation to this theoretical axis, he proposed the examination of different themes to be discussed and the determination of the levels of analysis as well as the themes. The second axis of his discourse brought together more proposals that revolve around practical actions to be undertaken in the field of education, and particularly on the economy. According to him, it is important to transfer research results into the teaching of economics by introducing, for example, new courses. There is also need, under the same momentum, to reconsider the quality and organization of teaching of and research in economics in African schools and universities. The establishment of training centers for researchers working on economic policy analysis was the last proposal under this axis. In addition, Mr. Carlos Castel BRANCO called on researchers, who espouse this initiative, to publish their research in magazines that are dedicated to the issues discussed over the three days. The Review of African economic policy (ROAP) is, for him, a space which could be used to publicize this initiative.
## Appendix 1: Summary table of the conclusions of the various group work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Critical point of entry</th>
<th>Tic Tac/strategies/how to intervene</th>
<th>Resources available for intervening (Who and how)</th>
<th>What we have now / the gains of heterodoxy</th>
<th>Anticipated reactions from orthodoxy/or resistances</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group 1</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Theoretical: Criticism of orthodoxy and alternative proposals</td>
<td>• Strategy of rupture</td>
<td>• To produce fundamental knowledge</td>
<td>• Ethical legitimacy: aims, values, consideration of the interests of vulnerable groups</td>
<td>• Dis-credibility and marginalization</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Policy: Coalition for progress</td>
<td>• Subversion strategy</td>
<td>• To promote heterodox intellectual work</td>
<td>• Accumulation of knowledge about orthodoxy and its policies in Africa</td>
<td>• Absorption and neutralization</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Convenient: Popularization, activism and social Movements</td>
<td>• To develop counter-agendas: diagnosis, objectives, chronograms and indicators</td>
<td>• Stakeholders for progress: civil society, trade unions, social movements, intellectuals, creative youth, ...</td>
<td>• The new means of communication</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Community Research</td>
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<td>• Teach and adapt university curricula and research training locations</td>
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<td>• Communicate and Lobby</td>
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<td>• Popularize: journalists and activities</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Animate and popularize activism with social movements to build momentum</td>
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### Group 2

- **How to think orthodoxy:**
  - Who analyzes it?
- **A multi-pronged strategy**
  - the market approach is an entry for neoliberalism - and one for us
  - Work with other different stakeholders with similar objective
  - Universities, the Departments of Economics; Designers of study programs.
  - Claimed sovereignty / building sovereignty
- **Populations**
  - intellectual autonomy, sovereignty and the ability to conceptualize
- **Universities**
  - Social Movements
  - Institutions
  - Endogenous development model
  - Political and economic sovereignty
- **Redefining a social contract between States and their peoples**
  - Political spaces

### Group 3

- **Understanding orthodoxy**
  - Breaking the divide between the North and South
- **Academics (Teaching and Research)**
  - Transformation of curricula in universities
  - Civil society
  - Academic: Insertion of feminist issues in a master's program
  - State institutions
  - Government: Prohibition in Brazil in 2009 of the teaching of neoliberal economy
- **Civil society: support to small farmers in 12 African countries (Trust Africa); formulation of agricultural policies in Senegal following the Bottom-up approach; the Sama gox project in Senegal (participatory budgeting)**

- **Two levels of challenge:**
  - Challenge within the system
  - Challenge outside the system
- **Return to the generalization of popular education.**
- **State institutions**
• Use of media and university presses to disseminate heterodox productions

• NGOs/Intergovernmental organization

• International Organization: Fight against illicit financial flows / Definition of an African measure of the Corruption Perception Index (AU)
“Appendix 2: Summary of the results of Tuesday morning exercise”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paradigms</th>
<th>Spaces and places</th>
<th>People</th>
<th>Power relations</th>
<th>Processes</th>
<th>Policies</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Market fundamentalism</td>
<td>Universities and research training centers</td>
<td>Vulnerability of women and youth</td>
<td>The state and the people</td>
<td>MDG/SDG</td>
<td>Liberalization</td>
<td>Lobbying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market equilibrium</td>
<td>Think tanks</td>
<td>Inequalities between different classes</td>
<td>Domination of the masses</td>
<td>Reinforcement of the nature of hypotheses in economics</td>
<td>Privatisation</td>
<td>Philanthropy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Methodological individualism</td>
<td>Civil societies</td>
<td>Jobs</td>
<td>Economic negotiations</td>
<td>Investments</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP)</td>
<td>Dominant Discourse</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Governments</td>
<td>Social movements</td>
<td>Pressure</td>
<td>International aid</td>
<td>Agricultural policy with land grabbing</td>
<td>How the system promotes the same aspirations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parliaments</td>
<td>Limitation of collective actions and validation of individualism</td>
<td>Class conflicts</td>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>Limitation of state interventionism on the market</td>
<td>Mass consumption</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The private sector</td>
<td>Social exclusion</td>
<td>Destabilization of alliances</td>
<td>Diffusion of orthodox scientific production (reviews)</td>
<td>Austerity/rules of fiscal discipline</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Financial markets</td>
<td>Structures of economic knowledge production</td>
<td>Media</td>
<td>Central Bank independence</td>
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<td></td>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Universities</td>
<td>Economic policies elaboration</td>
<td>Bilateral/Multilateral Agreements</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intellectual for a and communities</td>
<td>Media</td>
<td></td>
<td>liberalization and democratization</td>
<td>Other forms of marginalisation</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3: Description of the main components of the neoclassical research program

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hard Core:</th>
<th>Hard Core:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Capitalism= best system of social organization. It delivers efficiency and fair outcomes</td>
<td>• Capitalism= best system of social organization. It delivers efficiency and fair outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Society= sum of individuals.</td>
<td>• Society = sum of individuals.</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Individuals are selfish and rational</td>
<td>• Individuals are selfish and rational</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Protective belt:</th>
<th>Protective belt:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Perfect markets, perfect information, constant returns to scale, etc. As well as the opposite hypothesis.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Positive heuristics:</th>
<th>Positive heuristic:</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Instrumentalism</td>
<td>• Instrumentalism</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Start from the individual instead of social classes as unit of analysis</td>
<td>• Start from the individual instead of social classes as unit of analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Mathematical modelling</td>
<td>• Mathematical modelling</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Dr Ndongo Samba SYLLA’s presentation, Main panel.
Appendix 4: Report of the public event at the Museum of Black Civilizations

The goal of the panel that changed venue to the Museum of Black Civilizations, was to initiate reflections on economic issues, especially those related to economic orthodoxy, to allow a wider public to participate in the debate. The panel was made up of five speakers, who exchanged on the possibilities and alternatives available to Africa from the perspective of rethinking economic orthodoxies.

**Neil COLEMAN** started his presentation by reflecting on the current state of Africa, and of the world with the growing rise of populism and fascism, whose major causes are **economic insecurity, and global economic crisis, among others.** Xenophobia and religious extremism are two phenomena that he highlighted as an illustration. In addition, he argued that Africa must start by finding a unique space of thought and how to describe the phenomena that are peculiar to it. In this sense, it is important to attentively read the discourses on Africa, especially in reports where many statistics do not show the state of the economy. To drive this home, he gave the example of Africa that is growing but mirrors a place where the living conditions of rural people are not accurately portrayed. He illustrated this illusion of growth in Africa through statistics. The GDP used by economists to measure socio-economic progress does not show much about the quality of life of citizens, social cohesion or inequality. In addition, this shows that the biggest problem of African growth is that it is not anchored on the performance of the manufacturing sector. Consequently, Mr. Coleman believed that the sovereignty of Africa is neither a question of nationalism nor Pan-Africanism, but of right to development with appropriate development strategies. Finally, he said that the global financial crisis, in a global economic context in mutation, forces us to rethink the economy as well as our approach to the economic system in a way that goes beyond what is being debated. The production of economic knowledge must be put at the service of development. So, when there is talk about an Africa that is evolving, one must really question the part that is growing. In conclusion, the panelist argued that it was not about accusing liberalism and perpetuating the monster we see in it, but about thinking of progressing in the way of thinking about the economy to make things move more significantly.

**Maréma TOURÉ’s presentation tarried on the fact that the feminist economy** could be an interesting source for the creation of alternative economies. In the first place, she asked the question regarding rationality in economics. In fact, this ontological stance of neoclassical economics that projects a social individual without attachment is just unrealistic. The
methodological implications of this stance, at the same time, call into question the relevance of orthodox economic policies. A central element in the determination of individual actions, according to the panelist, is trust. It is this trust, moreover, that justifies human actions, which, in certain cases, can be described as irrational based on the framework of the orthodox economy. The second point of her presentation emphasized the macho nature of economic thought. Indeed, the economic agent as described in economic theory would be male and Western. This is the basis of the abstraction made on certain types of production. The production of the economy carried by the social body is disconnected from economic policies. Therefore, the panelist turned again to the example of calculating GDP in a way that women's work for social reproduction is not considered. It is within this perspective that the contributions of the care economy must be pinpointed through the evaluation of domestic work, as well as any type of work relating to care. But beyond this contribution from feminist economists of care, she stressed the importance of the social and solidarity economy whereby the stakeholders are driven by logic that is different from those of the orthodox economy. In conclusion, she believed that there was an imbalance in society between the thinking head and the social body. In this sense, there should be an articulation of these two elements of a society, including the reference system that explains the logic of the social body. For this, a feasible economic science, like any social science, must be part of the multidisciplinary approach to ask all the questions about the logic of actions. She also proposed, in the reflection on alternatives, to rethink the question of power and leadership by restoring the relations of trust with the populations. This implies, ultimately, to rethink plural projects of society and with a complete understanding of the reference system used by stakeholders, who carry these projects.

At the beginning of her presentation, Liepollo LEBOHANG, a highly committed activist and researcher in South Africa on important issues including governance and family issues, started her topic by underscoring her recognition of past leaders, like Cheikh Anta DIOP, Amilcar CABRAL, Cheikhou TOURÉ and Thomas SANKARA, in order to draw inspiration from their commitment. She said people should be inspired by the energy, wisdom, ideology and ideas bequeathed by predecessors. Thus, the past must be an important source of mobilization. She explained that we live in the past, in the present and in the future. She continued by saying that sometimes we like to forge ahead and follow those who came before us because we believe they had something mystical in them. Thus, today’s generations are also mystical in so far as there will come a time when they will be referred to as the past. In her remarks, she supported the interest in understanding and re-imagining the African continent.
Africa as a continent of great ideas must consequently move the idea of globalization to a new event, which includes a regulated State. This ranking of Africa as carrier of great ideas should, for the invocation and habitation of the African State, rely on public services, and on the persistence of forms of democracy that are either liberal or democratic. It is also understandable that African countries have invested heavily in intellectual capital to determine political independence, but they have not invested enough to maintain and reform what this independence should look like for the African people. Going from a base borrowed from feminist economists, it is a reminder to not lose sight of the values that feminists offer for perspectives on heterodox thinking. Feminist economists provide the world with heterodox thinking, because it blames the inadequacy of States and how they are currently formed. She concluded by calling on all to create the basis for challenging orthodoxies based on the experiences of past leaders, who should, solely, be a source of inspiration.

Fatima KELLEHER's presentation and review focused on how orthodoxy is practiced in the area of women's rights. For example, she discussed how economic instrumentalism has corrupted women's rights programs. Corruption is given as an element of illustration of this instrumentalism of orthodoxies. In addition, this economic instrumentalism contributes to strengthening the spiral of GDP growth and the instrumentalization of women's productivity for the purposes of the orthodox economy. Thus, she gave the example of the representation of woman through a woman carrying a basket on her head to illustrate the discourse on the evolving Africa. In this regard, she supported the idea that this representation of progress is not respectful of the reality of human lives and this instrumentalization of the female body must be avoided and particularly that of the African woman. In addition, she showed in her argument how orthodoxy, in some reports, can downplay women's contribution to the economy. The 2007 World Bank report was given as an example. It focused on gender equality as a very important factor for the economy. However, it turns out that the perspective of this institution since 2007 does not sufficiently consider the idea of empowering women and especially the idea of power, of empowerment. She then questioned the meaning of the idea of empowerment without power if women and especially women in Africa, whether rural or urban, at national or international level are not supported and are deprived of any rights. In this sense, she concluded by calling for all movements to promote the struggle for the rights of women and to encourage those who are already part of the struggle. She ended by wishing that women in rural areas would be more aware of their rights, so that they would no longer be the dominated ones exploited by the current system.
Briggs BOMBA began his speech by referring to previous debates on the tradition of public intellectualism that he believed to be fully represented. He called, particularly, for the intervention of a public discourse of intellectual level to engage the question of public interest. A very practical question that was different from those of the academia. He also emphasized two specific points. The first pertained to the present moment, which was probably the most optimistic given the evolution of the global scene. Then, he shared some thoughts on tasks to be executed in this regard. Reflections on the right moment that puts an end to the possibilities of global and historical transformation. More precisely in a classic sense, it would be important to determine whether the moment was conducive to change.

In this sense, the panelist argued that one of the key issues to be examined at the present time was the existence of a crisis in the ruling classes. To this end, reflections would be needed on how the change can be conducted at this moment of crisis. He gave as an example the idea of the invisible hand of Adam Smith, which though challenged in the past by mainly Karl Marx, is now raised to a higher level of challenge.

The second point of his statement stemmed from the fact that the prophecy of Karl Marx that announced the end of capitalism did not fully grasp the technological advantages offered by the capitalist system to set up populations into a certain commodization. Thus, promoting a consumption-oriented lifestyle means that people have little incentive to explore alternatives. Thus, it is necessary to establish a common desire for change, but also to be prepared for potential revolutionary transformation. This initiative will come from a bottom-up process. We must also begin by examining the social fabric of our communities especially at the intercommunity level. On this last point, the speaker emphasized the urgency of establishing intercommunity solidarity, and at the same time, of finding the ways for taking advantage of the opportunities provided by technological progress to create a collaborative economy at the community level.

Ultimately, he argued that the solution was not necessarily from public decision makers, but from how we think about our lives. He expressed optimism over a change that will no longer come from a slogan telling people that another world is possible, but rather one putting everyone in the dynamic that this world is present and that it is being built.

The second part of this panel was dedicated to discussions with the public and the summary by the moderator, Prof. Alioune SALL. Several contributions from the public were on the question of practical actions to take in order to be part of a real alternative process. Other
suggestions highlighted the contribution of the feminist economy, particularly through the consideration of domestic work. In this same logic, the issue of the relevance of measuring the dimensions of care and the risk of *quantophrenia* that accompanies this enterprise were also raised. The consideration of climate change issues was similarly the subject of discussion with the public. Prof. Alioune Sall, as moderator, re-summarized the various points raised during the meeting. As a result, he touched again on the evidence of a multifaceted crisis that could involve social disintegration, but also an opportunity for reconstruction and innovation. However, the highest threat to societies remains the collapse of not only the economy but also of societies, cultural systems, the environment and technologies. As a result, he presented the dimensions of the crisis as: the economy, the social, the political, the environmental, the cultural and the technological.

Moreover, the risk is also found in lobotomization and in the impoverishment of thought on development. He stressed that this risk of intellectual lobotomization must be rejected. In the end, he noted that an important lesson should be learned from the debates. This one lesson shows that it is possible to rethink development and regain the intellectual sovereignty that has been undermined for centuries. It is important, for that, to convince oneself that the time has come to do it. "Now is the time to act and we have no other alternatives but to take action intellectually and organizationally," he concluded.