

**CODESRIA DOCUMENTATION, INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION CENTRE
(CODICE)**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LATE PROF. THANDIKA MKANDAWIRE
(May 2020)**

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I. DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED WITH CODESRIA

I.1 Books, Reports and Book Chapters

1. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2005a. "African intellectuals: rethinking politics, language, gender, and development". London; New York: Zed Books in association with CODESRIA. 248p., (Africa in the New Millennium / CODESRIA). ISBN: 2-86978-145-8
2. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2005b. "African intellectuals and nationalism." in: African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development. Africa in the new millennium. Zed Books in association with CODESRIA Books, London, UK, pp. 10-55. ISBN 9781842776209
3. Mkandawire, Thandika and Charles Soludo (eds). 2003. "African Voices on Structural Adjustment. Trenton, NJ: CODESRIA/IDRC/AWP.
4. Mkandawire, Thandika, 1999a. "Agriculture, Employment and Poverty in Malawi." Harare, Zimbabwe : ILO/SAMAT Policy PA Series.
5. Mkandawire, Thandika and Soludo, Charles C. 1999b. "Our Continent, our Future : African Perspectives on Structural Adjustment." Dakar/Trenton, NY: CODESRIA / African World Publications. 176p.
6. Mkandawire, Thandika ; Soludo, Charles C. 1999c. "Notre Continent, notre Avenir : Perspectives Africaines sur l'Ajustement Structurel". Dakar: CODESRIA, 1999, 208p. ISBN: 2-86978-084-2

7. Mkandawire, Thandika ; Olukhosi, Adebayo (eds). 1995a. "Between Liberalisation, and Oppression: The Politics of Structural Adjustment in Africa". Dakar : CODESRIA, 430p.
8. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1995b. "Fiscal Structure, State Contraction and Political Responses in Africa" in: *Between Liberalisation and Repression: The Politics of Adjustment in Africa*. Thandika Mkandawire and Adebayo Olukoshi eds. Dakar: CODESRIA, p. 20-51.
9. Mkandawire, Thandika and Adebayo Olukoshi. 1995c. "Issues and perspectives in the politics of structural adjustment in Africa" in *Between Liberalisation and Oppression: The Politics of Structural Adjustment in Africa*. Thandika Mkandawire and Adebayo Olukoshi eds. Dakar: CODESRIA, p. 1-18
10. Mkandawire, Thandika, 1989a. "Structural Adjustment and Agrarian Crisis in Africa: a Research Agenda". Dakar: CODESRIA. 30 p. (Working Paper / CODESRIA; No. 2)
11. Thandika Mkandawire, 1989b. "Ajustement structurel et crise agraire en Afrique : projet de recherche". Dakar : CODESRIA. 34 p. (Document de travail / CODESRIA, n° 2)
12. Mkandawire, Thandika ; Mamdani, M. Wamba-Dia-Wamba, E. 1988a. "Social Movements, Social Transformation and the Struggle for Democracy in Africa". Dakar: CODESRIA 26p. (CODESRIA Working Paper, No.1/88)
13. Mkandawire, Thandika ; Mamdani, M. Wamba-Dia-Wamba, E. 1988b. "Mouvements Sociaux, Mutations Sociales et Luttres pour la Démocratie en Afrique". Dakar : CODESRIA. 26p. (Document de travail du CODESRIA, No. 1/88)
14. Mkandawire, Thandika and Nacer Bourenane eds. 1987a. "The State and Agriculture in Africa". Dakar: CODESRIA. 385p.
15. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1987b. "The State and Agriculture: Introductory Remarks" in: *The State and Agriculture in Africa*. Thandika Mkandawire and Nacer Bourenane eds. Dakar: CODESRIA.
16. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1980. "The World Bank and Integrated Rural Development in Malawi." Dakar: CODESRIA, 30p.

I.2 Journal Articles

17. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2013. "For my Generation, the Death of Mandela Marks the End of Africa's Liberation Struggle." *CODESRIA Bulletin*, No.3/4, p.6-7
18. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2011. "Running While Others Walk: Knowledge and the Challenge of Africa's Development," *Africa Development*, Vol. 36, No. 2, p. 1-36

Abstract : This article argues that Africa's quest for 'catch-up' and economic development dates as far back, at least, as its humiliating encounter with the West which led to enslavement and colonisation. 'Development' is thus not an externally imposed 'discourse', but a response to the many challenges the continent has faced over the years and still faces today. Africa lags behind in many social indicators of wellbeing. As a 'Late, Late Comer' Africa will, as Nyerere suggested, have to 'Run While Others Walk'. This demand on the continent to 'run' has to contend with a pessimistic discourse that has, against all evidence, insisted that Africans cannot do what many other 'late comers' have done or are doing today. The 'Running' will demand radical rethinking of institutions of collective response to the many challenges about the generation and mastery of the knowledge up to the task, once again placing the universities at the centre of the continent's development efforts.
19. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2006. "The Intellectual Itinerary of Jeffrey Sachs." *African Review of Books*, Vol.2, No.1, p. 4-5.

20. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2006. "Global Funds : lessons from a not-too-distant past ?" *Africa Development*, Vol. 31, No. 4, p. 1-21

Abstract : This paper suggests parallels between earlier attempts to address poverty through integrated rural development and current institutional arrangements for combating HIV/AIDS through the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (GFATM). The paper suggests that there are a number of lessons that can be learned from the integrated rural development (IRD) debacle if the current initiatives are to avoid some of the problems that plagued the IRD. The errors included top-down management, application of a standardised institutional template in different contexts, overburdened local institutions, internal brain drain and non-sustainability of initiatives.

21. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2005a. "Towards a Development, Democratic and Socially Inclusive Africa Once Again", *CODESRIA Bulletin*, No. 3-4, p.47-49

22. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2005b. "Maladjusted African Economies and Globalisation." *Africa Development*, Vol.30, No.1-2, p. 1-33.

Abstract : The policies of adjustment pursued in the 1980s and 1990s promised African countries not only 'accelerated development' but also a means to end Africa's marginalisation from the process of globalisation by encouraging foreign investment and the expansion and diversification of exports. While for much of the 1980s and early 1990s, the poor performance of African economies was blamed on the failure of African governments to adopt 'the right policies', by the mid-1990s, international financial institutions were saying that the significant adjustments made by African economies had led to economic recovery. However, the performance of African economies with respect to both investment and trade diversification remained poor. Since this could no longer be explained away by saying that African economies had not adjusted, other explanations were needed: these included institutions, geography, culture and ethnic diversity. In this paper I argue that it is the deflationary policies under the structural adjustment policies (SAPs) that have placed African economies on a 'low growth path' which has discouraged investments, trade expansion and diversification, by undermining the investment-growth-trade nexus. Indeed, as a result of this, African economies have been so maladjusted that they responded poorly to a wide range of economic stimuli.

23. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2005c. "Guy Mhone, 1943-2005." *CODESRIA Bulletin*, No.1/2, p.25-26

24. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2002. "Globalisation Equity and Social Development. Keynote Address: Annual Conference of the South African Sociological Association, Pretoria, July" *African Sociological Review*, Vol.6, No.1, p. 115-137.

25. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1999. "Social sciences and democracy: debates in Africa." *African Sociological Review*, Vol.3, No.1, p. 20-34.

26. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1995. "Three Generations of African Academics: a Note," *CODESRIA Bulletin*, No 3, p. 9-12.

27. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1994a. "Comments on Democracy and Political Instability." *CODESRIA Bulletin*, 1.

28. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1994b. "Crisis, Conflicts and Transformation: Responses and Perspectives." *CODESRIA Bulletin*, No.4, p.1-2

29. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1994c. "African Perspectives on structural adjustment." *CODESRIA Bulletin*, No.4, p.3-7

30. Mkandawire, Thandika; Mandaza, Ibbo. 1992. "A Communique on Democracy and Human Rights in Africa." *CODESRIA Bulletin*, No. 4, p.8

31. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1991. "Further Comments on the Development and Democracy Debate." *CODESRIA Bulletin*, No.2, p.11-12

32. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1990. "The Crisis in Economic Development Theory." *Africa Development*, Vol.15, No. 3/4, p. 209-230.

33. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1989a. "Comments on Democracy and Political Instability." *CODESRIA Bulletin*, No.1, p.11-12
34. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1989b. "Further Comments on Democracy and Political Instability." *CODESRIA Bulletin*, No.2, p. 11-13
35. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1988a. "The Road to Crisis, Adjustment and de-Industrialisation: The African Case." *Africa Development*, Vol.13, No. 1, p. 5-31.
36. Mkandawire, Thandika, 1988b. "Comments on Democracy and Political Instability." *Africa Development*, Vol. 13, No. 3, p.77-82.
37. Mkandawire, Thandika, 1988c, "Agricultural Economics Training and Research in Africa." *CODESRIA Bulletin*, n° 3, p. 9-11.
38. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1988d. "Introductory Remarks on the African Social Science Research Environment." *CODESRIA Bulletin*, No.4, p.1-4
39. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1987a. "Academics watch-out: 'Chapter Six': is out to get you." *CODESRIA Bulletin*, Vol. 8, No.3, p.1-2
40. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1987b. (Book reviews) "The development of Capitalism in Africa' by John Sender, Sheila Smith", *Africa Development*, Vol.12, No.2, p.166-170.
41. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1986. "The Informal Sector in the Labour Reserve Economies of Southern Africa, with Special Reference to Zimbabwe." *Africa Development*, Vol.11, No.1, p. 61-82.
42. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1985. "'Home grown' (?) Austerity Measures: the case of Zimbabwe". *Africa Development*, Vol. 10, No. 1-2, p. 236-263.
43. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1984. (Book review) "Export-Led Industrialization and Development' by Eddy Lee; 'The New International Division of Labour' by F. Frobel; J. Heinrichs, O. Kreye", *Africa Development*, Vol.9, No.2, p.144-148.
44. Mkandawire, Thandika.1983a. "Le Plan d'action de Lagos et la Banque mondiale : étude comparative des deux points de vue sur l'alimentation et l'agriculture en Afrique". *Africa Development*, Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 20-34.
45. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1983b. "The New International Economic Order, Basic Needs Strategies and the Future of Africa." *Africa Development*, reprinted in Danish Nyvarld.
46. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1982. "The Lagos Plan of Action (PLA) and the World Bank on Food and Agriculture in Africa: a Comparaison", *Africa Development*, Vol.7, N° 1/2, p. 166-177.
47. Mkandawire, Thandika ; Bujra, Abdalla S. 1980a. "The Evolution of Social Science in Africa: Problems and Prospects." *Africa Development*, Vol. 5, No. 4, Oct.-Dec, p. 21-40.
48. Mkandawire, Thandika, 1980b. "The New International Economic Order, Basic Needs Strategies and the Future of Africa." *Africa Development / Afrique et Développement*, Vol.5, No. 3, July -September, p. 68-90.
49. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1980c. (Book reviews). "Unequal Exchange, Imperialism and Underdevelopment: an Essay on the Political Economy of Imperialism' by Ranjit Sau", *Africa Development*, Vol.5, No.2, p.84-87.
50. Mkandawire, Thandika ; Amin, Samir; Atta Mills, C.; Bujra, Abdalla S.; Hamid, G. 1978. "Social Sciences and the Development Crisis in Africa Problems and Prospects: a

I.3 Conference Papers

51. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1995. "Beyond Crisis: Towards Democratic Developmental States in Africa." Dakar : CODESRIA, 42p.
Conference: Crises, Conflicts and Transformations: Responses and Perspectives: CODESRIA Eight General Assembly, Dakar, Senegal, 26June-2July 1995.
52. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1993a. "Rapport du Secrétaire Exécutif." Dakar: CODESRIA, 1993.- 48p. *Conférence: Les sciences sociales dans l'Afrique Post-Indépendance : Passé, Présent et Futur, Dakar Sénégal, 29 Novembre-1 Décembre 1993.*
53. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1993b. "Report of the Executive Secretary." Dakar: CODESRIA, 46p. *Conference: Social Sciences in Post-Independent Africa: Post, Present and Future, Dakar Senegal, 29 November-1 December 1993.*
54. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1992a. "Adjustment, Political Conditionality and Democratization in Africa." Dakar: CODESRIA, 28 p. *CODESRIA 7th General Assembly on Democratization Processus in Africa: Problems and Prospects, 7th--Dakar--Senegal--10-14 February.*
55. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1992b. "Problems and Prospects." Dakar, Senegal. *CODESRIA 7th General Assembly on Democratization Processus in Africa : Problems and Prospects, 7th--Dakar--Senegal--10-14 February 1992.*
56. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1991. "Fiscal Structure, State Contraction and Political Responses in Africa." Dakar : CODESRIA, 35p. *Conference: The Politics of Structural Adjustment, Dakar, Senegal, 9-12 September.*
57. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1988. "The Rise and Fall of Development Economics." Dakar: CODESRIA, 45p. *CODESRIA General Assembly, 6th.Africa and the World Economy--Dakar--Senegal--5-10 December.*
58. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1986a. "Structural Adjustment and Agrarian Change in Africa: a Preliminary Note." Dakar : CODESRIA, 30 p. *Conference on the Social Impact and Responses to the Economic Crisis in Africa, Dakar, Senegal, 21-23 July.*
59. Mkandawire, Thandika ; Atta-Mills, C.; Bujra A. S.; Hamid, G. 1978a. "Social Sciences and the Development Crisis in Africa." *CODESRIA / DSRC Conference: Social Science, Research and National Development in Africa, Khartoum, Sudan, 4 - 8 November.*
60. Mkandawire, Thandika ; Atta-Mills, C.; Bujra A. S.; Hamid, G. 1978b. "La science sociale et la crise du développement en Afrique : problèmes et perspectives." *CODESRIA / DSRC Conference: Social Science, Research and National Development in Africa, Khartoum, Sudan, 4 - 8 November.*
61. Mkandawire, Thandika; Bujra, Abdallah S. [s.d.] "Firmes transnationales, denrées alimentaires et agricoles en Afrique." Dakar : CODESRIA, 15 p.

II. DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED OUTSIDE OF CODESRIA

II.1 Books, Reports and Conference Papers

1. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2018. "Towards another 'Great Transformation'." In: *Inclusive Development in Africa: Transformation of Global Relations*, edited by Vusi Gumede, Chapter 13, p. 269-288.
2. Mkandawire, Thandika; Abdul-Gafaru, A., Hickey, S., Abonyi, N., et al. 2017. "Explaining Zambian poverty: a history of (non-agricultural) policy since independence." In: *Fiscal Policy and the Natural Resources Curse: How to Escape from the Poverty Trap*, Manchester: World Bank, Vol. 9, p. 1-7.

Abstract: This chapter suggests that fiscal policy can increase the rate of export diversification if, as in Indonesia and Mauritius, it is driven by the needs of exporters rather than importers, and if subsidies focused on exporters are combined with consistently competitive exchange rates. The coalitions of political forces which have been able to frustrate equitable development, sometimes development of any sort, in natural resource economies have been changed in very poor as well as in middle-income countries, enabling, in Sierra Leone, at least a restart of the momentum of development, and in Uganda, much more than that. In both countries, the switch to an activist real exchange rate policy empowered exporters, notably of cash-crops, and local NGOs, in a manner that laid the basis for, although it did not directly create, a strategic state-business alliance and a stable developmental state.

3. Mkandawire, Thandika; Pieper, Henning; Van der Hoeven, Rolph. 2016a. "Africa's recovery in the 1990s: From stagnation and adjustment to human development. Springer

Abstract : While the design of adjustment policies in the latter part of the 1980s has generally shown greater attention to their impact on growth and social implications, this book argues that several orthodox adjustment policies are still incongruent with long-term development in Africa. It goes on to discuss a development strategy which could lead to a much awaited economic recovery and improvement in social conditions in Africa in the 1990s drawing its conclusions from a general theoretical discussion and national case-studies.

4. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2016b. "Colonial legacies and social welfare regimes in Africa: an empirical exercise" UNRISD Working Paper, No. 2016-4, UNRISD, Geneva

Abstract : This paper identifies three types of welfare regimes in Africa, based on the insight that tax and expenditure regimes are closely associated. Using cluster analysis, the author highlights historical legacies in current welfare policies, demonstrating that welfare regimes in Africa have been strongly determined by the ways in which different countries were incorporated into the colonial economy. The author finds that many of the new social welfare reforms are taking place in what he refers to as labour reserve economies, and are generally internally rather than aid-driven. He stresses the importance of thinking of social expenditure in relationship to domestic resource mobilization, and finds that the focus on aid and social expenditure has tended to obscure this important aspect of welfare regimes in Africa.

Full text : <http://hdl.handle.net/10419/148763>;
<https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/148763/1/861317653.pdf>

5. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2015a. "Africa: Beyond Recovery". Legon-Accra: Sub-saharan publishers for University of Ghana, 80p. (The Aggrey-Fraser-Guggisberg Memorial Lectures Series; 32).

Abstract: Professor Thandika Mkandawire, the first to hold the Chair in African Development at the London School of Economics, delivered the thirty-second in the Aggrey-Fraser-Guggisberg Memorial Lecture series at the University of Ghana in 2013. In these lectures, combining imagination with down-to-earth political economy, he traces Africa's attempts at growth and development since the independence era, her attempts at recovery from a string of serious socio-political set-backs, and advocates for the role of universities as essential agents in the drive to sustained development.

Full text: <https://thandikamkandawire.codesria.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Thandika-AFGM-lectures1.pdf>

6. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2015b. "Fifty Years of African Independence : Personal Reflections." *Reimagining Pan-Africanism : Distinguished Mwalimu Nyerere Lecture Series 2009-2013*, Dar-es-Salaam : Mkuki Na Nyota Publishers, p. 199–258.

Full text : www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvgc61cg.9.

7. Mkandawire, Thandika and Yi, Ilcheong. 2014a. "Learning from the South Korean Developmental Success: Effective Developmental Cooperation and Synergistic Institutions and Policies." Palgrave Macmillan.
8. Mkandawire, Thandika., & Yi, I. 2014b. "Overview: Learning from Developmental Success." In *Learning from the South Korean developmental success*, Palgrave Macmillan UK. p. 1-7.

Abstract : In his seminal work, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (1962), Alexander Gerschenkron pointed out that only in a loose sense could the less advanced countries be said to follow the path traced by the 'pioneers' or forerunners of development. There are, instead, a multitude of actual paths taken by the latecomers to development that are fundamentally different. There are many reasons for this. First, the nature and attributes of the 'backwardness' of the followers today are not the same as those of their forerunners; the 'initial conditions' are different. Secondly, and most significantly, the followers have at their disposal knowledge and lessons that were not available to the forerunners, so that the path followed to development may be based on the 'advantage of backwardness' derived from their exploitation of the knowledge and experience of forerunners. Thirdly, followers are driven by an entirely different 'spirit' or ideology, which includes the drive to 'catch up', a drive that did not exist for the pioneers. This nonlinear view of history and development suggests the importance of learning from others so as not to mechanically retrace the path traversed by the forerunners with the purpose of avoiding some of the errors that they may have made over certain periods, of discovering new possibilities and of 'leapfrogging' over various phases.

DOI :10.1057/9781137339485_1

9. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2014c. "Lessons from the Social Policy and Development of South Korea: An Interrogation." In *Learning from the South Korean Developmental Success*, Palgrave Macmillan UK. p. 11-30.

Abstract: This chapter is not about the social policies of South Korea. Rather, it is an attempt at interrogating the South Korean experience with social policy with the view of distilling some lessons for developing countries. The perspective is obviously developmentalist in the sense that it is concerned with the role of social policy in development trajectories such as that traversed by South Korea during the last half-century or so. The chapter does, of course, touch upon other issues of social policy in developing countries, hopefully in a way that does not suggest a subordinate status for those concerns. It is concerned not only with the state's policies pursued consciously, but also with those pursued unconsciously albeit with consequential social and developmental outcomes. It thus looks at the effects of both omissions and commissions in policy. All this may account for the tentative and speculative nature of the analysis.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137339

10. Mkandawire, Thandika; Msimang Sisonke. 2014d. "There is no Ebola here: What Liberia teaches us about the failures of aid." *Africa is a Country*, October 19.

Full text: <https://africasacountry.com/2014/10/there-is-no-ebola-here-what-liberia-teaches-us-about-the-failures-of-aid>

11. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2014e. "Afro-euphoria is just as misleading as Afro-pessimism". *Africa at LES*, 18th June.

Full text : <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2014/06/18/afro-euphoria-is-just-as-misleading-as-afro-pessimism-professor-thandika-mkandawire/>

12. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2014f. "The social sciences in Africa: breaking local barriers and negotiating international presence", (*Occasional Paper* ; 19), p. 92-119.

Abstract : Let me first thank the organisers for inviting me to deliver the keynote address at this important gathering. It is indeed a great honour to me personally but I also take it as recognition of the endeavours of African social scientists to promote social science research in Africa. One such African social scientist was a colleague and friend, the late Professor Claude Ake who did so much to institutionalise social science research

in Africa. I would like to use this occasion to pay him tribute. Whatever the origins of the name of the series, it is today a salute to the many who struggle for democracy in Africa and a grim reminder that the scourge of militarism still haunts our continent and that those who would rule by the sword are either in power or lurk behind the corridors of power ready at any time to ambush the democratic process.

13. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2013a. "Aid: From Adjustment Back to Development". *SSRN* 2283199. 63p.

Abstract: The paper argues that over the years aid has lost its initial “developmental purpose” which was to help developing countries to overcome structural constraints on their mobilisation of domestic resources or conversion of these resources into investment. This shows up in the low levels of investment in “big ticket” items such as human capital, infrastructure and industrialisation. It also shows up in the impact of aid on structures of imports. The paper argues that the detachment of aid from its structuralist underpinnings and shift towards a neoliberal understanding of the problems of developing countries have undermined the case for aid by suggesting that whatever it can do can be done better by the market.

Full text: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2283199> ; <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2283199>

14. Mkandawire, Thandika., Stewart, F. & Katayanagi, M. 2013b. "Findings and Implications: The Role of Development Cooperation." In: *Preventing Violent Conflict in Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan UK. p. 252-274.

Abstract: The aim of this book is to seek appropriate measures to prevent violent conflict in sub-Saharan African countries, combining the triple perspectives of objective inter-group inequalities, subjective perceptions of inequalities, and the role of political institutions. The underlying thesis is that horizontal inequalities (His) in socioeconomic, political and cultural-status dimensions form a major part of the root causes of violent conflict. Political mobilisation for violence is more likely when His are consistent across different dimensions, in other words, running in the same direction. These considerations are especially relevant to Africa where there are multiple ethnicities and ethnic relations are extremely diverse and complex.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137329707_10

15. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2013c. "Social Policy and the Challenges of the Post-Adjustment Era" In: *Getting Development Right* / Ed. Eva Paus. New York : Palgrave Macmillan. p. 61-82

Abstract: Today, many developing countries are faced with the challenge of devising strategies that ensure both rapid growth and structural changes that are sustainable and socially inclusive. A key element of every development policy is social policy, meaning that any new model of development that emerges from the current state of disarray in policy thinking must be accompanied by social policies that complement this model and provide political legitimacy to it, protecting citizens from the risks that inevitably accompany any development model and enhancing the productive capability of the population.

DOI: 10.1057/9781137333117_4

16. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2013d. "For my generation, the death of #Mandela marks the end of Africa’s liberation struggle"— Africa at LES, 06 Dec.

Abstract : LSE’s African Chair Thandika Mkandawire suffered imprisonment for his role in the struggle for the independence of Malawi and 30 years of exile. In this post, he writes about the role Nelson Mandela played in inspiring his generation of political activists.

Full text : <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2013/12/06/for-my-generation-the-death-of-mandela-marks-the-end-of-africas-liberation-struggle-thandika-mkandawire/>;
[http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/75121/1/Africa%20at%20LSE%20%E2%80%93%20the%20end%20of%20Africa%E2%80%99s%20liberation%20struggle%E2%80%93%20Thandika%20Mkandawire.p
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17. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2013e. Thandika Mkandawire delivers lectures in Accra and Dar es Salaam. Africa at LSE, 24 April.

Full text : <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2013/04/24/thandika-mkandawire-delivers-lectures-in-accra-dar-es-salaam/>

18. Mkandawire, Thandika ; Mine, Y. ; Stewart, F. ; S Fukuda-Parr, S. 2013f. "Preventing violent conflict in Africa: Inequalities, perceptions and institutions." Springer. 325p.

Abstract : Horizontal inequalities are root causes of violent conflict in Africa. Yet, people take actions not because of statistical data on inequalities, of which they might not be aware, but because of injustices they perceive. This volume analyses the results of original surveys with over 3,000 respondents in African cities and towns, exposing clear discrepancies between objective inequalities and people's subjective perceptions. The contributors examine experiences in country pairs and probe into the reasons why neighbouring countries, sharing common historical traits, sometimes took contrasting pathways of peace and violent conflict. Combining quantitative analysis and qualitative anatomy of historical experiences of conflict and reconciliation in Rwanda, Burundi, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya and Nigeria, the study brings forward a set of policy recommendations for development practitioners. This work further addresses the issue of institutional choice and reveals how sustainable power-sharing and decentralisation contribute to political stability in Africa.

DOI : 10.1057/9781137329707

19. Mkandawire, Thandika ; Stewart F. ; Katayanagi M. 2013g. "Findings and Implications: The Role of Development Cooperation." In: *Mine Y., Stewart F., Fukuda-Parr S., Mkandawire T. (eds) Preventing Violent Conflict in Africa. Conflict, Inequality and Ethnicity*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Abstract : The aim of this book is to seek appropriate measures to prevent violent conflict in sub-Saharan African countries, combining the triple perspectives of objective inter-group inequalities, subjective perceptions of inequalities, and the role of political institutions. The underlying thesis is that horizontal inequalities (His) in socioeconomic, political and cultural-status dimensions form a major part of the root causes of violent conflict. Political mobilisation for violence is more likely when His are consistent across different dimensions, in other words, running in the same direction. These considerations are especially relevant to Africa where there are multiple ethnicities and ethnic relations are extremely diverse and complex.

DOI : https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137329707_10

20. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2012a. "Building the African state in the age of globalisation: the role of social pacts and the lessons for South Africa: Inaugural Annual Lecture." Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection, Johannesburg.

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21. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2012b. Transformative Social Policy and the Developmental State. Mount Holyoke College 2012 global conference, Mount Holyoke College.

Full text: <https://dcache.mtholyoke.edu/sites/default/files/global/docs/Mkandawire.pdf>

22. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2012c. "The global economic context." In: *Towards a new map of Africa*, Routledge, p.179-206.

Abstract: Globalization is a multifaceted process that defies unique definition. Different authors emphasize different things about causes and effects of globalization, partly because of differences in the definition of the process, partly because of differences in focus and partly because of different ideological predispositions about the process itself. In this chapter I will treat globalization as a process whereby national and international policy-makers proactively or reactively promote domestic and external liberalization. Africa illustrates, perhaps better than elsewhere, that globalization is very much a policy-driven process. While in other parts of the world it may be credible to view globalization as driven by technology and the 'invisible hand' of the market, in Africa most of the features of globalization and the forces associated with it have been shaped by Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs) and Africa's adherence to a number of conventions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) which have insisted on opening up markets. African governments have voluntarily, or under duress, reshaped domestic policies to make their economies more open. The issue therefore is not whether Africa is being globalized but under what conditions the process is taking place and why, despite such relatively high levels of integration into the world economy, growth has faltered.

23. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2011a. "Institutional Monocropping and Monotasking in Africa", in: *Good Growth and Governance in Africa: Rethinking Development Strategies*. Akbar Noman, Kwesi Botchwey, Howard Stein, and Joseph E. Stiglitz eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.80-113

Full text:

[http://unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9%2F\(httpAuxPages\)%2F63E22182274F74DEC125761C002FFAAC%2F\\$file%2FMkandawireDGWB.pdf](http://unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9%2F(httpAuxPages)%2F63E22182274F74DEC125761C002FFAAC%2F$file%2FMkandawireDGWB.pdf)

24. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2011b. "Welfare Regimes and Economic Development: Bridging the Conceptual Gap", in: *Overcoming the Persistence of Poverty and Inequality*. Valpy Fitzgerald, Judith Heyer and Rosemary Thorp eds. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Abstract: When in 1999 I proposed to the board of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) a research agenda on 'Social Policy in a Development Context', Frances Stewart was then a member of the board. A question was raised as to why context was in the singular form. I argued that we wanted to examine the role of social policy where economic development was *intentionally* on the agenda. We also wanted to examine how social policy could be a transformative or developmental tool without compromising its intrinsic value. Stewart was one of the strongest supporters of this new programme, which a chairman of the board was later to label the institute's 'flagship' research programme. The research agenda itself was inspired by the Copenhagen Social Summit held in 1995, whose resolution insisted that social development and economic development are not separable but mutually constitutive and that, although the situations of developing countries and developed countries differ, social issues in each revolve around the same fundamental matters of economic welfare, equity and social justice. One implication of this is that conversations between the literatures on social development and economic development strategies in developing countries on the one hand, and those on welfare regimes and social policy in developed countries on the other can contribute to the construction of a single analytical framework for the shared agenda of human development.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230306721_7

25. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2011c. "Rethinking Africa's re-industrialisation and regional co-operation: what is the best way forward?" In: Mbeki, Moeletsi, (ed.) *Advocates for Change: How to Overcome Africa's Challenges*. Picador Africa, Johannesburg, South Africa.
26. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2011d. "Rethinking pan-Africanism: national and the new regionalism." In : Moyo, Sam and Yeros, Paris, (eds.) *Reclaiming the Nation: the Return of the National Question in Africa, Asia and Latin America*. Pluto Press, London, UK, pp. 31-53. ISBN 9780745330822

Abstract : One of the major forms of globalisation has been regionalism, by which nations have sacrificed some of their sovereignty to regional supranational authorities in order to protect themselves from the assault on their sovereignty, social models and cultures.¹ The European Union is probably the most outstanding achievement in this respect, but there are many other regional initiatives and ideological expressions that indicate this response. In all these schemes, the regionalist ideologies and aspirations have to reconcile themselves to the nationalist aspirations, which remain a defining feature of the global order and, indeed, underpin much of the regional initiatives. It has...

DOI: 10.2307/j.ctt183h0tp.5

27. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2010a. "Running while others walk: knowledge and the challenge of Africa's development." In : LSE African Initiative inaugural lecture, 44p.

Abstract : Africa lags behind other developing nations both economically and by other related social indicators. There is widespread feeling in Africa that, in the words of Nyerere, 'Africa must run while others walk'. The lecture will consider the implications of this task on African scholarship. Thandika Mkandawire is professor of African development at DESTIN. His current research interests include social policy and development, the political economy of economic policy in Africa.

Full text :

http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/55395/1/Mkandawire_Running_while_others_walk_LSE_African_Initiative_2010.pdf

28. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2010b. "From maladjusted states to democratic developmental states in Africa." in: *Constructing a democratic developmental state in South Africa: Potentials and Challenges*, Omano Edigheji (ed). Cape Town: HSRC Press, p. 59 - 81.
29. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2010c. "Aid, state and development." New York: United Nations.
30. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2009a. "Las corporaciones transnacionales en África: algunos problemas de investigación" in *África: Perspectivas Sobre Su Cultura e Historia*. Tomo 1, edited by José Arturo Saavedra C., by Alejandro Licona, 1st ed., Colegio De Mexico, México, D.F., p. 27–49.

Abstract: El papel de las empresas transnacionales (ETN) en África sigue siendo parte de uno de los campos menos investigados de la gama de fenómenos que condicionan el proceso de la acumulación y el cambio social en África. Desde el enfoque del “centro”, puede justificarse la investigación limitada al hecho de que África sigue estando relativamente marginada en cuanto se refiere a las actividades de inversión de las ETN. La información sobre la distribución sectorial del total de las inversiones directas a nivel mundial muestra que de los 160 mil millones de dólares norteamericanos estimados a principios de los setenta, sólo...

Full text: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv3dnp4k.4>; DOI: 10.2307/j.ctv3dnp4k.4

31. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2009c. "Institutional monocropping and monotasking in Africa." in: Noman, Akbar, Botchwey, Kwesi, Stein, Howard and Stiglitz, Joseph E., (eds.) *Good Growth and Governance in Africa: Rethinking Development Strategies*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva, Switzerland

Abstract: The study of institutions is once again at the centre of development thinking in Africa. Early development economists were aware that institutions were the framework within which markets work, and the motors that can drive markets to perform differently from what would be expected by the simple extrapolation of their past performance. In fact, innovative institutional development would allow latecomers to move much faster and optimal arrangements would alter developmental trajectories. However, neoliberal policies were followed through facilitating the workings of the market, thereby removing distortions, in particular the negative role of the state. When it was found that the adjustment based on these policies had failed, policy failure and, subsequently, institutional weakness was blamed. Mkandawire argues that the upsurge of interest in institutions is welcome and long overdue. However, the new focus is marred by the tethering of institutions to a “one-size-fits-all” policy perspective, incorporated into neoliberalism with a focus on credibility and property rights. This has led to “institutional monocropping”: idealized versions of Anglo-American institutions being imposed on developing countries on the assumption that they would transcend national circumstances and cultures. According to the author, institutional reforms also suffer from the insistence on institutional “monotasking”, whereby institutions are reduced to servicing a standard set of often imposed policies or tasks, and from the endless experimentation on institutions that renders them highly unstable and unpredictable...

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32. Mkandawire, Thandika ; Ariate Jr, J. F. ; Cabilo, Z. M. D., et.al. 2009d. "Localizing and transnationalizing contentious politics: global civil society movements in the Philippines." Lexington Books.

Abstract : The Philippines makes an interesting case for examining direct and collective acts of contention against the neoliberal project of economic globalization. Crippled by foreign debt, indiscriminate liberalization of trade, falling stock markets, and perpetual corruption, the Philippines is also a democratic polity and one of the few countries in Asia with a vibrant and dynamic civil society sector. This collection has chapters on the Freedom from Debt Coalition's campaign on debt relief, the Stop-the-New-Round Coalition's advocacy to change international trade rules and barriers, the global taxation initiative as embodied in Tobin tax advocacy in the country, the Transparency and Accountability Network's anti-corruption effort, and the Philippine Fair Trade Forum's enterprise on fair trade. *Localizing and Transnationalizing Contentious Politics* is the first work of its kind to focus on five global civil society movements in the Philippines and their responses to the inequities of neoliberal globalization. Northern scholars have acknowledged the persistent absence of the South in research on activism around global issues, and this book can help fill this gap. Using political process theory as a framework, the book traces the emergence, development and diffusion of these

social movements in the Philippines. Globalization is taken as the environment in which they operate to highlight the role of increased interdependence and internationalization, and the predominance of a particular ideology in the dynamics of contention.

33. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2007. "Targeting and universalism in poverty reduction." In: *Antonio Ocampo, José and Jomo, K. S., (eds.) Policy Matters: Economic and Social Policies to Sustain Equitable Development*. Zed Books, Hyderabad, India. ISBN 9781842778364.
34. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2006a. "Foreword." in: *Pro-Poor Macroeconomics: potential and limitations*. Giovanni Andrea Cornia ed. London: Palgrave/UNRISD.
35. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2006b. "Disempowering Democracies and the Persistence of Poverty." *Democracy, Governance and Human Rights Governance Paper*, No. 21, UNRISD 2006.
Full text : [http://unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/\(httpAuxPages\)/660234231C9D6710C125717800248890/\\$file/mkand-pp-dghr.pdf](http://unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpAuxPages)/660234231C9D6710C125717800248890/$file/mkand-pp-dghr.pdf)
36. Mkandawire, Thandika (ed.). 2005a. "Social Policy in Development Context." London: Palgrave/UNRISD.

Summary : Social policy refers to collective interventions directly affecting transformation in social welfare, social institutions and social relations. In developing countries, social policy has become increasingly pertinent due to the increasing provision of social services by transnational actors including aid donors, non-governmental organisations and transnational corporations. In this changing environment, the role of the state is to provide ‘an enabling environment’ for the private provision of social services, whilst reducing its own expenditure and activities in the social sector.

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37. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2005b. "Social Policy in Development Context: Introduction," in *Social Policy in a Development Context*. Thandika Mkandawire ed. London: Palgrave/UNRISD, p. 1-36.

Abstract: Both the contemporary normative discourse and the emerging consensus on development insists on putting in place social institutions (including states) that are developmental (in that they sustain high rates of growth and the structural transformation of economies), that are socially inclusive and that are sanctioned by democratic processes that fully respect the human rights of all citizens. Such an understanding can be surmised from the many resolutions of major international conferences of the 1990s and is reflected at the national level in struggles for democracy, equity and the clamour for bringing development back onto the economic policy agenda. On a more theoretical level, this understanding of development has been succinctly stated by Amartya Sen (1999) in his *Development as Freedom* in which he argues that economic development, equity and democracy are mutually constitutive.

Preview : https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9780230523975_1

38. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2005c. "Targeting and Universalism in Poverty Reduction." UNRISD: Geneva. 30p. (Social Policy and Development Programme Paper Number 23), December 2005.

Abstract : For much of its history, social policy has involved choices about whether the core principle behind social provisioning will be “universalism”, or selectivity through “targeting”. Under universalism, the entire population is the beneficiary of social benefits as a basic right, while under targeting, eligibility to social benefits involves some kind of means-testing to determine the “truly deserving”. Policy regimes are hardly ever purely universal or purely based on targeting, however; they tend to lie somewhere between the two extremes on a continuum, and are often hybrid, but where they lie on this continuum can be decisive in spelling out individuals’ life chances and in characterizing the social order.

This paper is divided into two parts. In the first part, Thandika Mkandawire discusses the forces behind the shift from universalism toward selectivity in using social policies to combat poverty in the developing countries. In the second part, a review of the lessons from such policies, he considers the administrative difficulties of targeting in the poor countries, the political economy bases of policy choices, and the consequences of policy choices for individual incentive. Mkandawire pays special attention to cost-effectiveness, because advocates of selectivity in the fight against poverty raise it as the main argument in its favour.

Full text:

[http://unrisd.org/80256B3C005BD6AB/\(httpAuxPages\)/B120F1A6533B5069C1257139002E4DC8/\\$file/Mkand.pdf](http://unrisd.org/80256B3C005BD6AB/(httpAuxPages)/B120F1A6533B5069C1257139002E4DC8/$file/Mkand.pdf)

39. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2004a. "Social Policy in a Development Context." Geneva: UNRISD, 2004. 354 p. (Social Policy in a Development context series / UNRISD). ISBN:1-4039-3661-7; Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
40. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2004b "Social Policy in a Development Context." in: *Social Policy in a Development Context*. Thandika Mkandawire ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 1-36.

Summary: This paper addresses the following problem: How can social policies be used to enhance social capacities for economic development without, in the process, eroding the intrinsic values of the social ends that policy makers purport to address? The paper argues that this requires rethinking social policy away from its conception as a residual category of "safety nets" that merely counteract policy failures or developmental disasters. Social policy should be conceived as involving overall and prior concerns with social development, and as a key instrument that works in tandem with economic policy to ensure equitable and socially sustainable development ...

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41. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2004d. "Can Africa have developmental states?" in: *Making the International: Economic Interdependence and Political order*. Simon Bromley, Maureen Macinosh, William Brown and Marc Wuyts eds. London: Pluto Press in association with the Open University Press, p. 291-329. ISBN 9780745321356.
42. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2004e. "Disempowering new democracies and the persistence of poverty." In: *Spoor, Max, (ed.) Globalisation, Poverty and Conflict*. Kluwer, Netherlands, p. 117-145. ISBN 9781402028571.

Abstract : In this paper, Thandika Mkandawire considers two processes taking place simultaneously in developing countries: the adoption of orthodox economic policies during a period of growing awareness of the pervasiveness and persistence of poverty, on the one hand, and the growing political empowerment of the majority of the population through processes of democratization, on the other hand. During the last decade, international conferences, pronouncements by international organizations and bilateral donors, campaigning by non-governmental organizations and the declarations of national governments have brought the issue of poverty back onto international and national agendas, following decades when it had been displaced by excessive focus on adjustment and stabilization. At the same time, significant steps have been made toward democracy in many countries. This wave of democratization has also served to highlight the blight of poverty, partly because of the greater transparency in political and economic affairs, partly because of the political empowerment of the poor themselves, and partly because of the growing recognition that poverty impinges on democracy's own prospects. Until very recently, it was assumed either that democracy was a luxury poor countries could not afford, or that socioeconomic conditions in these countries were not auspicious for the implantation of democracy. But the emergence of democracies in social and economic conditions that had been ruled out by theories that insisted on a number of economic preconditions for its emergence has led to a new optimism about the prospects for democracy under widely divergent economic and social conditions. Unfortunately, however, this has also led to a view about democratic consolidation that assumes an extremely voluntaristic character, overemphasizing the role of political leadership, strategic choices about basic institutional arrangements or economic policy, and other contingent process variables. This focus on political crafting of democracies has bred complacency about the possibility of consolidating democracies in unfavourable structural contexts. The author argues that it is important to bear in mind both the ideational and

the many structural impediments to the consolidation of democracy in the developing countries. One such constraint is the predominance of economic policies that hamper democracies from addressing issues of equity and poverty. Mkandawire focuses on the fact that new democracies have tended to be more orthodox than older democracies.

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43. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2003a. "Economy: Post-Independence," in: *Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century African History*. Dickson Eyoh and Paul T. Zeleza ed. London: Routledge, p. 168-74.
44. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2003b. "Intellectuals: Post-Independence," in: *Encyclopedia of Twentieth-Century African History*. Dickson Eyoh and Paul T. Zeleza (eds). London: Routledge, p. 274-280. ISBN 9780415234795.
45. Mkandawire, T., & Rodríguez, V. 2003c. *The Need to Rethink Development Economics: Report of the UNRISD Conference, 7-8 September 2001, Cape Town, South Africa*. UNRISD.

Abstract: Up until the 1970s, problems of welfare and unemployment in the developed countries, and those of poverty and underdevelopment in the developing ones, were interpreted through the lenses of the corpus of knowledge recognized as Keynesian economics and “development economics” respectively. But the oil crisis, “stagflation” and subsequent indebtedness of the developing countries severely put to test the models and the theories that had underpinned their welfare and development policies.

Although there was little in common between the actual analytical content of Keynesian doctrine and that of development economics, the two approaches shared critical views of neoclassical economic theory, and the related acceptance of state intervention. They also had in common the understanding that the economy described by neoclassical economists was a “special case”, and there were many other economies that could be “stylized” by entirely different models because they were characterized by different structural features. Furthermore, they shared the view that the state could play an important role in addressing these structural features, which often resulted in “market failures”. Both were induced by the need to solve policy problems and were not merely formal theoretical disciplines whose modelling was based on “real economies” trapped in a particular equilibrium (unemployment or underdevelopment) from which they had to be extricated. These positions opened them to attack from neoliberalism.

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47. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2002b. "Incentives, Governance and Capacity Development: What Role for Technical Assistance in Africa?." in : *Annan, Kofi, Lopes, Carlos, Malik, Halid and Fukuda-Parr, Sakiko, (eds.) Capacity for Development New Solutions to Old Problems*. Earthscan Publications Ltd, London, UK, p.147-168. ISBN 9781853839191.

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50. Mkandawire, Thandika and Rodríguez, Virginia. 2000a. "Globalization and social development after Copenhagen: premises, promises and policies." United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva, Sweden. (Occasional paper ; 10).

Abstract : This paper explores the social, economic and ideological context within which the World Summit for Social Development took place. As its subtitle implies, the discussion focuses particularly on some of the assumptions about global trends that were prevalent in 1995 and evaluates their adequacy in the light of the actual course of events during the following five years. The Summit was conceived during a period when neoliberal orthodoxy was at its height. Many countries were—willingly or unwillingly—implementing structural adjustment policies, devised by the Bretton Woods institutions (BWIs), that systematically weakened earlier national development strategies. The public was insistently reminded that, in the much-quoted words of Margaret Thatcher, there was no alternative to the free-market revolution. The collapse of the Soviet Union lent force to that assumption. The neoliberal case against earlier models of economic development and social welfare was further strengthened by growing reference to the process of “globalization”, which was seen not as the (reversible) outcome of particular national policies, but as an inevitable fact of contemporary economic life. This justified a broad attack on the welfare state, and indeed on many less comprehensive forms of public social provision that were assumed to be unviable in a highly competitive international marketplace. Notions of equity and social justice became unfashionable...

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https://www.researchgate.net/publication/44827656_The_informal_sector_in_the_labour_reserve_economies_of_Southern_Africa_with_special_reference_to_Zimbabwe/link/55a67e8708ae51639c572682/download

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78. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1979c. "Transnational in Africa : some Problems of Research. A Background Paper." *Conference: Transnational Corporations Mineral Resources and Industrialization in Africa, Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia, 20 - 24 August.*
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Full text : <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/sites/default/files/global/docs/Mkandawire.pdf>

II.2 Journal Articles

84. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2016. "Towards another 'Great Transformation' " *Africa Insight*, Vol. 46, Issue 1, p.106-121

Abstract : As Karl Polanyi indicates in the 'Great Transformation', 'the so-called self-regulating markets cannot exist for any length of time without destroying human society'. Three 'Great Transformations' have taken place. The first occurred in Europe at a time when it was widely believed that markets were nature's way of managing exchange in an efficient way and that interference in the workings of the market, as Adam Smith argued, was not only artificial, but against the laws of God. The second was about society's reaction in defending itself against the ravages of the market. The third was when neoliberalism launched a counter-movement that gave the market primacy. This paper argues that the assumption that the self-regulation expected from 'corporate social responsibility', or the instinct for self-preservation, would replace the state, had failed disastrously. The neoliberal model is therefore in trouble. It is important to contemplate a new global order that will be built on and facilitate social orders that are developmental, socially inclusive and democratic - which will be the fourth 'Great Transformation'. As the paper argues, there are two imperatives: the first imperative would be the creation of global institutions that would ensure that commitments to justice, equality and democracy are translated into global and national policies; and the second one would be the intellectual and ideological challenge of the views and discursive practices that, all too often, fetishised globalisation into some exogenous force that ineluctably imposes its laws on the human race.

85. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2015. "Neopatrimonialism and the Political Economy of Economic Performance in Africa: Critical Reflections." *World Politics*, Vol. 67, No.3, p. 563-612.

Abstract : During the past two decades, neopatrimonialism has become the convenient, all purpose, and ubiquitous moniker for African governance. The school of thought behind this research program, which the author refers to as the neopatrimonialism school, has produced an impressive literature on Africa. Its analysis informs policymakers and its language permeates media reportage on African states. While neopatrimonialism has long been a focus of development studies, in recent times it has assumed politically and economically exigent status. The school identifies causal links between neopatrimonialism and economic performance, and makes predictions drawing from what is referred to as the "logic of neopatrimonialism." Neopatrimonialism is said to account for trade policies, hyperinflation, economic stagnation, low investment in infrastructure, urban bias, and ultimately, the lack of economic development in Africa. This article examines the empirical basis of predictions and policy prescriptions. It argues that while descriptive of the social practices of the states and individuals that occupy different positions within African societies, the concept of neopatrimonialism has little analytical content and no predictive value with respect to economic policy and performance.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S004388711500009X> ; <http://www.iffs.se/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/2013>

86. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2014a. "Can Africa Turn from Recovery to Development? " *Current history*, Vol.113, Issue 763, p. 171-177

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87. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2014b. "The spread of economic doctrines and policymaking in postcolonial Africa". *African Studies Review*, 57(01), p. 171-198.

Abstract: This article looks at the relationship between economic ideas and policymaking in Africa over the last half century. It discusses the ways in which the focus of economists working on Africa has moved from the structuralist-developmental and neo-Marxist perspectives of the 1960s and 1970s, through a neoliberal phase of the 1980s and 1990s, to a more eclectic combination of neo-institutionalism, growth orientation, and welfarist interests in poverty and redistribution issues. These shifts in development thinking, while not unique to Africa, have not been the subject of much debate in Africa. The article argues that such a debate is long overdue, including an interrogation not only of the leverage of foreign interests, but also of the profession of economics itself and the implications of its material underpinnings and social construction on the integrity and credibility of its research.= Cet article porte sur la relation entre les idées économiques et l'élaboration des réglementations en Afrique au cours du dernier demi-siècle. Il examine la façon dont l'attention des économistes travaillant en Afrique s'est détournée des perspectives structuralistes-développementalistes et néo-marxistes des années 60 et 70, en passant par une phase néo-libérale dans les années 80 et 90, pour se pencher sur une combinaison plus éclectique comprenant une approche néo-institutionnaliste, une orientation sur la croissance, une politique d'allocation pour les plus démunis, et un intérêt sur les questions de redistribution. Ces changements dans la pensée du développement, tout en n'étant pas propres à l'Afrique, n'ont pas fait l'objet de beaucoup de débats sur le continent. L'article soutient qu'il est grand temps d'avoir ce débat, et de s'interroger sur l'effet de levier des intérêts étrangers, sur la profession même de l'économie, sur les conséquences de ses bases matérielles et sur la construction sociale de l'intégrité et la crédibilité des travaux de recherche la concernant.

Full text: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43905084>

88. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2014c. "Can Africa Turn from Recovery to Development?" *Current History*, 113.763, p. 171-177

Full text: https://www.academia.edu/9425694/Can_Africa_Turn_from_Recovery_to_Development

89. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2010a. "Aid, Accountability and Democracy in Africa." *Social Research*, 77 (4), p. 1149-1182

Full text: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23347123>

90. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2010b. "How the New Poverty Agenda Neglected Social and Employment Policies in Africa." *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities: a Multi-Disciplinary Journal for People-Centered Development*, 11:1, p. 37 - 55.

Abstract: This article argues that a shift towards issues of poverty is a welcome antidote to policy-making that had expunged poverty from the central agenda to focus on stabilization, debt management and static allocative efficiency. Unfortunately, in correcting a narrow policy agenda the new focus pushes a good point too far when it focuses attention only on the proximate causes of poverty and narrows the development agenda. Development was aimed at more than poverty and, significantly in countries that have successfully combated poverty, the most important policy measures were not explicitly directed at poverty. Indeed in many cases, other objectives - pre-empting social unrest, nation-building, 'human capital' developmental considerations - lay behind the policies that, *ex post*, can be read as poverty reducing. Eradication of poverty is always embedded in social and economic development. The determinants of human development goals are multiple and cut across sectors. The new challenge in Africa is to bring back development, but now one that is democratically anchored and socially inclusive.

Full text: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/19452820903481400>;
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/46527295_How_the_New_Poverty_Agenda_Neglected_Social_and_Employment_Policies_in_Africa

91. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2010d. "On Tax Efforts and Colonial Heritage in Africa." *Journal of Development Studies*, 46:10, p. 1647-1669.

Abstract : One commonly observed phenomena about taxation in Africa are regional differences and the fact that southern African countries have higher levels of shares of taxation in GDP. This article argues that the major source of differences in 'tax effort' is the colonial histories of various countries. Using standard measures of 'tax effort in a panel data framework and dividing colonial Africa along forms of incorporation into the colonial system, it shows that African countries and others with similar colonial histories have higher levels of 'tax effort'. However, the difference disappears when we control for the colonial factor. These results hold under different model specifications.

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2010.500660>;

Full text :

https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Thandika_Mkandawire/publication/48910552_On_Tax_Efforts_and_Colonial_Heritage_in_Africa/links/55a67e8408ae92aac77f2cb8.pdf

92. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2009a. "From National Question to Social Question." *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on South Africa*, 69, p. 130-160.

Full text: <https://www.africabib.org/s/http.php?RID=327865385>

93. Mkandawire T, Kwon H, Palme J. 2009b "Introduction: social policy and economic development in late industrializers." *International Journal of Social Welfare*, Vol. 18, Supplement, p. S1–S11

94. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2008. "Social sciences and the next development agenda." *Forum for Development Studies*, 35 (1). p. 101-117.

Abstract : The author argues that today's development agenda is animated by concerns for economic growth and structural change, democracy and human rights and social inclusion. In academia this has produced 'literatures' that separately address problems of developmental states, democratic transitions and social policy and welfare regimes. The author argues for the need to bridge these literatures to exploit the intellectual synergies to address these issues whose interconnections are widely recognized.

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.1080/08039410.2008.9666397>

95. Mkandawire, T. 2007a. "Transformative Social Policy and Innovation in Developing Countries." *The European Journal of Development Research*, 19:1, March, p. 13-29.

Abstract : Social policy is today receiving greater attention in the field of development studies. Much emphasis is placed on the important issues of reproduction, redistribution and social protection. However, in the context of development, one must add to these concerns the vital issue of production. This article argues that social policy can be innovation-enhancing, through its effects on human capital and skill formation; its capacity to alleviate risk and uncertainty by underpinning the social pacts necessary for managing the contractual nature of labour markets; its incorporation of labour into the saving-investment regime and inducement of long-term perspectives in the financial sector; and its contribution to political stability. These roles underscore the transformative role of social policy that is often overlooked. The recognition of these roles is quite recent in the case of developed countries and much more research is required, with special attention to the problems of catching up.

DOI: 10.1080/09578810601144236

96. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2007b. "Personal Reflections on Guy Mhone." *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 34, No. 111, Debates on the Left in Southern Africa, p. 199-202

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97. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2007c. "'Good governance': the itinerary of an idea." *Development in Practice*, Vol.7, No.4-5, p. 679-681. ISSN 0961-4524

Full text: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25548269>

98. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2006a. "Social development policies: new challenges for the social sciences." *International Social Science Journal*, 58 :189, p. 395-404.

Full text : <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/j.1468-2451.2007.00637.x>;

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/229526962_Social_development_policies_New_challenges_for_the_social_sciences

99. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2006b. "Les politiques de développement social : un nouveau défi pour les sciences sociales," *Revue internationale des sciences sociales*, vol. 189, no. 3, 2006, p. 427-438.

Full text : <https://www.cairn.info/revue-internationale-des-sciences-sociales-2006-3-page-427.htm>

100. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2004. "The Spread of Economic Doctrines and Policymaking in Postcolonial Africa." *African Studies Review*, vol. 57, no. 1, p. 171–198.

Abstract : This article looks at the relationship between economic ideas and policymaking in Africa over the last half century. It discusses the ways in which the focus of economists working on Africa has moved from the structuralist-developmental and neo-Marxist perspectives of the 1960s and 1970s, through a neoliberal phase of the 1980s and 1990s, to a more eclectic combination of neo-institutionalism, growth orientation, and welfarist interests in poverty and redistribution issues. These shifts in development thinking, while not unique to Africa, have not been the subject of much debate in Africa. The article argues that such a debate is long overdue, including an interrogation not only of the leverage of foreign interests, but also of the profession of economics itself and the implications of its material underpinnings and social construction on the integrity and credibility of its research.

101. Mkandawire, Thandika, 2003. "Rejoinder to Stephen Ellis." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 3, p. 477-483.

Full text : <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3876241>

102. Mkandawire, Thandika, 2002a. "The Terrible Toll of Post-Colonial 'Rebel Movements' in Africa: Towards an Explanation of the Violence against the Peasantry." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 2, p. 181-215

Abstract : Many post-independence rebel movements in Africa have unleashed extremely brutal forms of violence, especially against the peasantry. Such violence, which has bewildered many observers, cannot be explained by reference to African 'culture', nor as an expression of rational self-interest. Instead, it must be seen in the light of the essentially urban issues that have fomented rebellion, which cannot however be successfully pursued in major towns, where incumbent regimes possess a monopoly of force. Retreating to the countryside, however, rebels can rarely swim among the peasantry like Mao's fishes in the sea. The African rural setting is generally deeply inimical to liberation war, because peasants enjoy direct control over their own land, and surplus expropriation takes place through the market, rather than through an exploitative landlord class. The African situation, too, has tended to favour 'roving' rather than 'stationary' rebellions, in Olson's terms; many rebels are merely passing through the countryside, on their way to seek power in towns. Having little in common with the peasantry, and nothing to offer it, they resort to violence as the only way to control it. However incoherent their objectives, and however brutal their methods, rebellions nonetheless reflect a serious urban malaise that needs to be addressed.

Full text: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3876277>

103. Mkandawire, Thandika, 2002b. Incentives, Governance, and Capacity Development in Africa." *African Issues*, Vol. 30, No. 1, The African "Brain Drain" to the North : Pitfalls and Possibilities, p. 15-20.

Full text : <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1167084>

104. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2002c. "African Intellectuals, Political Culture and Development." *Journal für Entwicklungspolitik (Austrian Journal of Development Studies)*, 15 (111:1), p. 31-47.

105. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2002d. Le retour du development. *Courrier de la planete*, 67, 3-8.

Full text:

<http://www.unrisd.org/unrisd/website/newsview.nsf/0/154BDB05902D3BD9C1256BEC003EFAEB?OpenDocument>

106. Mkandawire, Thandika. 2001a. "Thinking about developmental states in Africa." *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, Vol. 25, No. 3, p. 289-313

Abstract : During much of the 1980s and 90s, a literature emerged suggesting that 'developmental states' were impossible in Africa. The arguments given ranged from cultural ones about the pervasive nature of clientalism to structural ones on the dependence of African economies or the atypical levels of rent seeking in African economies. This paper argues that Africa has had states that were 'developmental' in both their aspirations and economic performance. It further argues that these experiences need to be examined critically for useful lessons, an exercise that has been hindered by an excessive levelling of the African political and economic lands.

Full text: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23600389>

- 107.Mkandawire, Thandika. 2001b. "African Intellectuals and Nationalism in the Changing Global Context." *Australasian Review of African Studies*, 23:1, p 11-31

Abstract : This essay reflects on the turbulent relationship between African nationalism and African intellectuals and the academic community. It argues that although much has been written on this relationship, in particular on African intellectuals' fascination with or adhesion to nationalism, confusion still exists concerning the nature of African nationalism, which has often been interpreted in a narrow, economic way. The essay first outlines the key elements of African nationalism - complete decolonization of the African continent and national sovereignty, nationbuilding, economic and social development, democratization, and regional cooperation - and how these have been addressed by nationalist leaders such as Julius Nyerere. Then it describes the role of intellectuals during the struggle for independence and the early independence years. Finally, it discusses nationbuilding in the current context of globalization, arguing that nationalism and its main projects have fallen on hard times - betrayed by some of its heroes, undercut by international institutions and forces of globalization, caricatured by academics, and alien to a whole generation of Africans born after independence. Yet, African intellectuals need to revisit the same issues that engaged the 'founding fathers' of nationalism in order to address the problems of poverty, war, and repression that devastate the continent.

- 108.Mkandawire, Thandika. 1999a. "Globalisation and Africa's Unfinished Agenda." *Macalaster International Review*, 7, p. 21-107.

Full text : <https://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1151&context=macintl>;
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254616100_Globalization_and_Africa's_Unfinished_Agenda

- 109.Mkandawire, Thandika. 1999b. "The political Economy of financial reform in Africa." *Journal of International Development*, Vol.11, No.3, May-June, p. 321-342.

Abstract : The paper argues that, if for many years financial policy was aimed at addressing issues central to development and nation-building, in more recent years it has become tethered to the objectives of stabilization and debt repayment. Following a review of the African experience with financial liberalization, the paper calls for the subordination of financial policy to the needs of long-term economic growth through provision for more long-term capital for productive investment through capital market developments and establishment of specialized development financial institutions. The paper also argues that financial liberalization has had little political anchoring in African countries and has severely constrained the policy choices for emerging democracies.

Full text : <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1002/%28SICI%291099-1328%28199905/06%2911%3A3%3C321%3A%3AAID-JID594%3E3.0.CO%3B2-V>

- 110.Mkandawire, Thandika. 1997. "The Social Sciences in Africa: Breaking Local Barriers and Negotiating International Presence. The Bashorun M. K. O. Abiola Distinguished Lecture Presented to the 1996 African Studies Association Annual Meeting." *African Studies Review*, Vol. 40, No. 2, p. 15-36.

Full text : <https://www.africabib.org/s/http.php?RID=173168698>; <https://www.jstor.org/stable/525155>

- 111.Mkandawire, Thandika. 1995. Three generations of African academics : a note. *Transformation : Critical perspectives on Southern Africa*, No.28, p. 75-83

Full text : <https://www.africabib.org/s/http.php?RID=148419844>

- 112.Mkandawire, Thandika. 1994a. "Social Sciences in Africa: some Lessons for South Africa." *South African Sociological Review*, Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 1-13.

Full text: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44461266>

- 113.Mkandawire, Thandika. 1994b. "Africa and the changes in Eastern Europe." *The European Journal of Development Research*, 6:1, p. 77 - 88.

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.1080/09578819408426598>

- 114.Mkandawire, Thandika. 1994. "A Kind of Homecoming ", *Southern Africa Political and Economic Monthly*, Harare, Vol 7, No 10, p 13-18

115. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1993a. "Problems and prospects of social sciences in Africa." *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 45, No. 1, p. 129-140.
 116. Mkandawire, Thandika, 1993b. "Problèmes et Perspectives des Sciences Sociales en Afrique." *Revue Internationale des Sciences Sociales*, No. 135, p. 147-160.
 117. Mkandawire, Thandika, 1991a. "North South Links and Democratization in Africa." *Development Journal of the Society for International Development*, No. 3-4, p. 39 - 41
 118. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1991b. "On 'Nationalist Betrayal' and 'Imperialist Conspiracies.'" *Southern Africa Political and Economic Monthly*, Vol. 4, No. 5.
 119. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1989a. "Problems and Prospects of the Social Sciences in Africa." *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 1-17.
 120. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1989b. "Malawi: keeping control. The struggle of village cooperatives to retain control of their affairs in members' hands." *Bulletin-University of Reading Agricultural Extension and Rural Development Department (United Kingdom)*
 121. Mkandawire, Thandika ; Mamdani, Mahmood ; Wamba-dia-Wamba, E. 1988. "Social Movements, Social Transformation and Struggle for Democracy in Africa." *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 23, No. 19, May 7, p. 973-975+977+979-981.
- Abstract :** The current 'crisis in Africa' demands that attention be directed to the subjective factor in African development. For whatever the roots of that crisis, its solution can only be the result of initiative by organised social forces inside Africa. So far the focus of inquiry had largely been one-sided - on the African state as the subject of African development. It is necessary to shift attention to the question of popular movements, not so much as an exercise in abstract model building, but rather to underline the actual forms of organisation and participation which have emerged.
- Full text :** www.jstor.org/stable/4378467
122. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1985. "African State Responses to Economic Crises." *Eastern Africa Social Sciences Research Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2.
 123. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1984. "Dependence and economic co-operation : the case of SADCC." *The Zimbabwe Journal of Economics*, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 1-10.
 124. Mkandawire, Thandika, Licona, Alejandro. 1982. "Las corporaciones transnacionales en África: algunos problemas de investigación." *Estudios de Asia y Africa*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (54), Oct. - Dec., p. 684-706.

Abstract : Transnationals, transnational corporations or multinational corporations are the institutional or organizational units for imperialist operations in the present world: they organize and control investments, capital accumulation, surplus extraction and surplus appropriation. As such, because they have headquarters and negotiate contracts, they seem to have been the focus of social science research that seek to understand the dynamics of imperialism in the underdeveloped countries. Social science research should, however, go beyond the institutional representation of imperialism and ask the basic questions regarding the relationships between labour and capital within the present global capitalist system as it is dominated by finance capital and real owners of other forms of capital. If we simply look at the institutional framework, then we may be led to conclude that "nationalisations" in the Third World lead to expropriation of TNCs. The reality, however, is that nationalization is a Trojan horse set up to provide TNCs with access to government funds, infrastructure, information and disciplined labour. Several research areas are therefore suggested which may help in understanding how transnationals, as the "shells" within which imperialism operates in Africa, affect the development of productive forces in Africa with regard to technological choice, organize, control and restrict the expansion of the labour market, institute monopolies in key industries and so on. In the final analysis, what we need to know is whether accumulation can take place in Africa in favour of a self-centered process of development given the domination by multinationals.

Full text : <https://estudiosdeasiayafrika.colmex.mx/index.php/ea/article/view/663/663>;

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40312658>

125. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1980. "Transnationals in Africa : some problems of research." *Liaison Bulletin between Development Research and Training Institutes*, No. 5, p. 139-151.

Abstract : Research's major concern with transnational corporations (TNCs) in Africa must evolve around the impact of TNCs on the process of capital accumulation. In studying capital accumulation, two fundamental sets of issues must be clearly formulated: the institutional framework, and the 'determinants' of the accumulation process. The former deals with matters relating to the 'rules of the game' and involves, amongst other, the nature of the state and its relation with capital. The second set of issues must include elements such as the stock and pattern of foreign investments, technical conditions of production, the 'wage bargain' (wage-profit relation) and conditions in the labour market, the degree of monopoly, thriftiness conditions (i.e. the saving behaviour of those controlling the economic surplus), structure of production, investment policies, financial conditions and trade relations.

126. Mkandawire, Thandika. 1977a. "Accumulation on a World Scale: Review Article." *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 15 : 1. Also published in *Neo-Marxist Theories of Development*. P. Limqueco and Bruce Macfarlane eds.

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Abstract : The southern-African landscape is littered with countless scenarios of the 'foreseeable future' that have been confounded by the actual developments in that peculiar region of Africa. This article discusses some of the prophecies of the past and presents some of the major scenarios projected for southern Africa's future. The scenarios are grouped into the following categories: the apartheid view, the liberal view, and the nationalist and the socialist view.