

AFRICAN SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS 20
22

BARAZA

PEOPLE
POWER

Reimagining the Future-
Organising for Transformation

CONVENING REPORT

2022



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1. Executive Summary

“[Our intention is] to spark and ignite inspiration, instigate people-centered transformation, reclaim the powerful words that we have abandoned, [and] reclaim struggle traditions that we have lost. We are here to remember the traditions of fighting for justice. We are here to cultivate moral courage, civic conviction, and collective action. We are here to declare that another world is possible.” – Briggs Bomba

TrustAfrica, alongside the Centre for African Philanthropy and Social Investment (CAPSI) and the Wallace Global Fund, convened the second African Social Movements Baraza in Johannesburg, South Africa. Gathered under the theme People Power: Reimagining the Future – Organizing for Transformation, social movement leaders, funders, creatives, and academics crystallized their analysis of this present historical moment, and the implications it has for progressive organizing across the continent. Participants explored alternatives that advance the transformation of the present landscape, alongside organizing practices rooted in intersectionality and global solidarity that would deepen people-centered efforts to realize a more just world. Additional objectives of the Baraza included:

- Creating space for inter-generational experience-sharing and mutual learning among movement leaders;
- Facilitating a space for conversation between movement leaders and funding partners to honestly explore challenges and opportunities in this relationship, with a view to inform how funding can more effectively support movement-building and organizing;

- Providing an opportunity for critical skills exchange between movement leaders and explore ways to develop sustained frameworks for enhancing skills and political education; and
- Collectively strategize on the development of a pan-African framework of support to social movements aimed at strengthening organizing, networking, solidarity, and joint campaigns.

Building on the first African Social Movements Baraza in February 2018, the second Baraza sought to transcend fragmentation in progressive social movements and cultivate forms of collective action that would deepen solidarity and collaboration across movements. This report provides a summary of the deliberations, and recommendations for action, based on the deliberations from the second African Social Movements Baraza.



2. The Global Political Moment

African Social Movements are navigating a series of contradictions, contestations, and global re-configurations of power that are shaping movement strategies and priorities. This moment is marked by increased repression and surveillance, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, worsening inequality, shrinking governance capacity, and elite capture of the state and progressive agendas. The Welcoming Remarks framed the present historical moment as the most critical moment in recent history that has revealed that the status quo is untenable, and the neoliberal world order is in fundamental crisis. The Keynote address by Mazibuko Jara from Amandla furthered this sentiment by using South Africa as a microcosm to describe a prevailing world order that is unequal, unstable, and unsustainable. From elite and military hijacking of popular uprisings, state capture, climate crisis, and the entrenchment of export-led extractivist economies, the need for paradigm shifts in every facet of progressive organizing could not be more urgent.

“You cannot carry out fundamental change without a certain amount of madness. In this case, it comes from non-conformity, the courage to turn your back on the old formulas, the courage to invent the future. It took the madmen of yesterday for us to be able to act with extreme clarity today. I want to be one of those madmen. We must dare to invent the future” – Thomas Sankara

Inspired by Thomas Sankara's words social movement leaders and allies were encouraged to move beyond the status quo and dare to invent the future. The invocation to dare resonated throughout the convening, as participants were encouraged to:

- Dare to convene to shape an emerging future;
- Dare to deepen our grasp of history to “retain our analytical power and revolutionary fire”¹;
- Dare to abandon the dominant economic and development paradigms that keep Africa, and its people, on the margins;
- Dare to transform power relations and renegotiate Africa's position in the world;
- Dare to recognize the wounding and traumatization of this present moment, and to connect to the forms of support and people power that heal and liberate us;
- Dare to further discourses around the decolonization of philanthropy, aid, and wealth to advance social justice on the continent; and
- Dare to go beyond tinkering reforms to realize systemic and structural transformation.



1. Lebohang Liepollo Pheko. *Wellbeing Economics as a Tool for Radical Redistribution for Afrikan Countries* Keynote Address. African Social Movements Baraza, 13 October 2022.

Noting that “this is the most consequential decade for the continent”² in the context of ecocide and the climate emergency, organized movements were framed as the counterforce to dismantle failed systems and reimagine just systems that center people and the planet over profits. African social movements were encouraged to lead global transformation, supported by the philanthropic sector acting in solidarity with movements by resourcing them justly, abundantly, and at scale.

Progressive social movements have, alongside African people in the continent and beyond, learnt some painful lessons over the past six decades. These include:

- The failure of post-colonial governments to address the demands of the independence moment.
- Through popular uprisings, we learnt that changing incumbent political leaders does not sufficiently address the systemic dynamics that perpetuate violence, injustice, and inequality.
- The impact of resource grabs, Structural Adjustment Programs, and elite pacts revealed the interplay of imperial and elite interests and stifled democracy and the realization of sovereignty on the continent.
- The dangers of the dominant role of high-tech and financial institutions that often advance financialization³ without building collective wealth.
- How limited democratization enables elite interests to collude and hinder the resolution of unaddressed political and socio-economic challenges.
- The NGO-ization of transformative politics displaces collective power and agency-building of individuals as well as communities; and
- The reality that states, in their current configuration, will not transform the fundamental architecture of the global economy.



2. Ellen Dorsey. *Welcoming Remarks: Second African Social Movements Baraza*, 12 October 2022.

3. Financialization is “a relatively new term that broadly explains the process by which financial intermediaries and technologies have gained unprecedented influence over our daily lives. The most-cited definition describes it as ‘the increasing role of financial motives, financial markets, financial actors, and financial institutions in the operations of the domestic and international economies’”. Cited in Sophie Efange & Jessica Woodroffe. *Audacity to Disrupt: An Introduction to Feminist Macro-Level Economics*. African Feminist Macroeconomic Academy. The African Women’s Development and Communication Network (FEMNET) and Gender and Development Network.

One of the sticky note provocations posed a question to the Collective: “Do we need to start thinking post-state?” Some of the reflections from the convening noted that the contradictions presently being traversed can only be transformed by social movements organizing across the continent. As the collective understanding of the political moment was crystallized, the need to deepen people power by cultivating a 'bigger we' was encouraged.

As noted by Queer Republic:

How do we learn to make social movements stop shrinking and become an expansive space that we can all organize and thrive in?

Readings of the global political moment were concluded with an invitation to examine the relationship of movements to political power, in the context of ecocide and the prevailing climate crisis. African social movements were encouraged to re-explore the transformative potential of political power in advancing progressive agendas on the continent. Critically, the definition of the political was expanded to include feminist thinking that politicizes every aspect of our existence. By cultivating a radical consciousness that sees politics everywhere, and in everything, African Social Movements are better equipped to see interlinkages between different movements and to redefine the dominant paradigms of our time.

3. African Social Movement Experiences, Imperatives and Provocations [\(click here for video\)](#)

“Movements are much more like waves than they are like light switches. Waves ebb and flow, but they are perpetual, their starting point unknown, their ending point undetermined, their direction dependent upon the conditions that surround them and the barriers that obstruct them. We inherit movements. We recommit to them over and over again even when they break our hearts, because they are essential to our survival.” – Alicia Garza

The call to reimagine the future contains an invitation to reimagine how African Social Movements organize for social transformation. We need to resist single-issue struggles as the structural causes of many social struggles are shared. As posited by Shaeera Kalla, #FeesMustFall is connected to the Marikana Massacre, the loss of the referendum in Chile, state-corporate nexus and climate crisis in the Niger Delta and the Amazon, movement-building for labor rights and social protection, the war on resources, Gender-Based Violence and Femicide, and the prevailing context of ecocide.

Intersectionality, as a theory of power and oppression, reminds us to center interlocking matrices of oppression in our understanding of social issues, and in our material solidarity to each other. Reimagining how we organize requires us to resist the temptation to romanticize movements. Movements are messy and movement work is hard. We need to grapple with the deep structures of inequality and violence in our organizing, the forms of co-option and complicity embedded within movements, and the very profound ways in which movements tend to undo themselves.

4. Alicia Garza (2020) *The Purpose of Power: How We Come Together When We Fall Apart*. One World: New York, p.18.

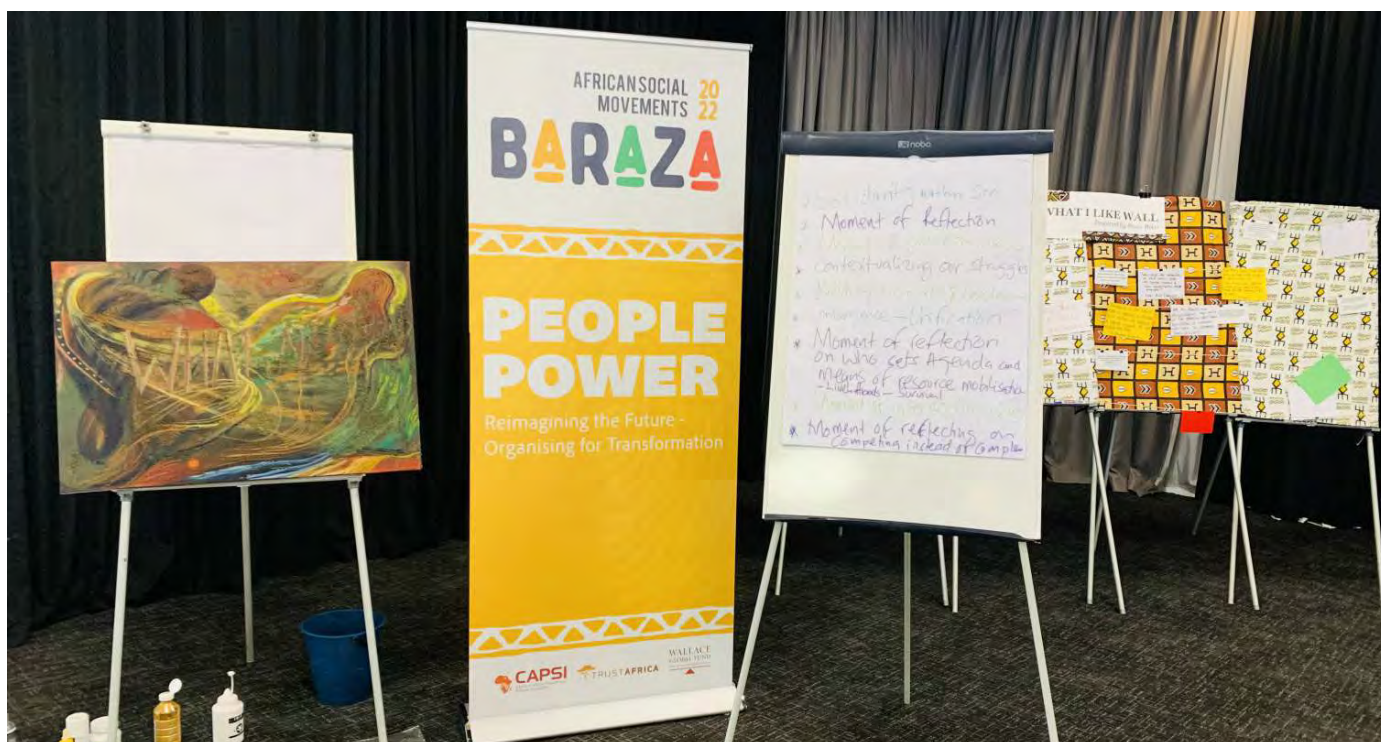
Critically, African Social Movements need to navigate the crisis of the left and the divides that hinder alliance-building across progressive movements in times of accelerating crises. Based on the above, it is evident that some of the contradictions that African Social Movements are working to resolve, not only exist in our external environment, but are also embodied and present within our movements.

Despite legacies of Pan-Africanism and Ubuntu, some have argued that there seems to be a great loss of political vision and generational mission. This dynamic is further exacerbated by the use of outdated tools, approaches, analyses, and forms of organizing that stifle the ability of African Social Movements to respond to this moment. Political education was posited as one of the offerings to revitalize the political vision of contemporary movements.

Creating spaces for movements to learn, think, and connect with each other, through training schools, fellowship programs, and social movements platforms like the Afrikki platform and networks such as Africans Rising was recommended.

The way funding is organized and deployed matters greatly. The demand of this moment is for institutionalized philanthropy to transform its modus operandi to operate in true solidarity with movements who are at the frontlines of social change.

Restrictive funding practices, like imposing agendas, one-year funding cycles, coercing collectives into collaboration, channelling resources to elite forms of organizing, and cumbersome application and monitoring and evaluation processes, reflect the power asymmetries in the social change ecosystem. If this is truly the most critical decade, the scale and practice of resourcing African Social Movements needs to match the importance of this historical moment.



It is important not to underestimate the capacity of hegemonic systems to reproduce themselves. Dominant systems maintain their power by co-opting radical people, ideas, and discourses. The adaptability and mutation of systems of oppression heightens impunity and the capacity of systems, and those it serves, to protect their interests. This can be seen, for example, with the imprisonment of activists while elites engaged in illicit activity remain free. Y'en a Marre reminded us that “when power is shifted”, during popular uprisings that influence regime change, “[power] consolidates itself” quickly. This can be seen in Senegal, Burkina Faso, Zimbabwe, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. We have even witnessed this economically, in the context of global capital consolidating itself in light of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Fostering solidarity remains a critical objective in this historical moment. In the words of Boniface Mwangi, “if we do not come together, we [will] die together”. We cannot afford fragmentation and dispersion. Progressive Movements need focus and clarity across movements.

African Social Movements were encouraged to critically examine the role of religious fundamentalisms in re-shaping the terrain of social justice and influencing the shrinking of civic space on the continent, especially in the context of Sexual Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR) and LGBTQIA+ organizing. The case of the prohibition of termination of pregnancy in Madagascar, as illuminated by [Nifinakanga](#), reveals how the intersection of religious fundamentalisms and legislative systems curtails the realization of human rights and freedom for women and gender expansive people.

This present moment demands a transition from issues to long-term movement goals. African Social Movements were encouraged to reflect on their own cycles of mobilization and demobilization, and how movements can remain in deep solidarity with each other as political conditions change. South Africa was used as an example to illustrate this point.

The Anti-Apartment Movement enjoyed unprecedented international solidarity, however, once legal Apartheid was dismantled with the transition to democracy, solidarity movements did not advance forms of mobilization that would support socio-economic outcomes in the country.



4. ‘What Must Rise?’: Reimagining the Future through Radical Alternatives

“We need to think about what needs to rise, in addition to what needs to fall” – Shaeera Kalla

African Social Movements cultivate radical alternatives to build more just worlds. In our commitments to dare to invent the world by re-imagining the future, the following alternatives were presented to advance social transformation:

- Free and decolonized education.
- Basic Income Grant grounded in redistribution.
- The provision of basic services cultivated by public innovation.
- Comprehensive systems of social support.
- Dismantling surveillance and state violence.
- Supporting artists and creative economies.
- Dismantling intellectual property frameworks that create artificial scarcity of health resources through patents and the commodification of public goods (such as medicines and vaccines).
- Climate justice and careful navigation of green elitism.
- Accountable private and public institutions.
- The positioning of civil society as a counter power to business and government.

Further engagement on radical alternatives were organized through three townhalls on a just transition, economic justice, and politics and democracy.

4.1. Energy, Climate, and a Just Transition [\(click here for video\)](#)

“We are in the middle of a profound transition. How fast and how just that transition is, will shape the future. Climate crisis exacerbates every other crisis. [It] has the potential for profound systems change” – Ellen Dorsey

The imperative for radical alternatives could not be more urgent: The world has 7.5 years to change the current trajectory that it is on, to avert a climate crisis that will disproportionately affect the African continent and the Global South more broadly. If the status quo prevails, the collapse of food systems, deepening of conflict, drought, and refugee flows will continue to worsen. A just transition is not inevitable. It requires building collective power, placing demands on the global system, and deepening global solidarity. The following alternatives were posited to advance transformative outcomes.

A just transition is broader than the climate crisis, although its conceptual development is rooted in environmental justice and labor rights organizing. A just transition must transform people's lives, relationships to each other, and to nature. A just transition is rooted in systems change, and efforts to address inequality and the unsustainability of the status quo. These alternative conceptions of a just transition are anchored in restorative justice and proceed from the recognition that business as usual cannot prevail.

Holistic conceptions of a just transition recognize that the unequal global infrastructure perpetuates extractivism and the hegemony of the fossil fuel industry. We need to restructure global economic and financial institutions, deepen the linkages between climate and economic justice, and center loss and damage conversations in global fora. The expansionist agendas of the fossil fuel industry, for example in Uganda through the East African Crude Oil Initiative and in the Okavango Delta in Namibia, reflect the role of hegemonic powers in locking the continent in a dirty energy trajectory that prevents it from leapfrogging into clean energies.

Climate action is much more expansive than declarations at multilateral fora such as the Conference of the Parties of the United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP). While the African Common Position on the Just Transition appreciates the need for Africa to continue using its available resources both renewable and non-renewable to address energy demand and develop, African communities are equally challenging unjust fossil fuel expansion, the privatization of public goods, and energy poverty, and criminalization of seed-sharing, commodification of the blue economy, and renewable energy projects that displace communities and do not serve their interests. While the efficacy of multilateral spaces continues to be challenged, it is important for movements to center community voices and deepen conversations about justice and accountability in relation to the climate crisis and a just transition.



Radical alternatives leverage the power of finance to center loss and damage discussions, channel resources towards climate adaptation, gender equality and the needs of those marginalized by systems of oppression. Transformative funding, as modelled by feminist philanthropy, reveals the praxis of shifting money, as a political resource, directly to frontline responders as an act of solidarity and reparations to movements. Financing for a just transition should not come in the form of loans, but as reparations for the historic and contemporary harm committed by the biggest polluters in the world. However, African Social Movements need to be vigilant, as power brokers may pay for loss and damage to perpetuate their extraction of fossil fuels on the continent.

In order to reimagine a world free of fossil fuels, we need to illuminate the extent of corporate capture by the fossil fuel industry that has denied the science, spread misinformation, restricted the rights of communities, incentivized governments to oppress social movements and limited progressive legislation to protect the environment and safeguard labor rights in extractive industries.

People power remains central to the realization of a just transition. The mobilization of people all over the continent, at great danger and cost, to challenge the fossil fuel industry, reclaim indigenous knowledge systems for the management of natural resources, learn from each other across movements, and to build solidarity across borders remains critical.

4.2. The Global Economy and Economic Justice for Africa (click here for video)

As posited by the [Wellbeing Economy Alliance](#) during the keynote address, the root cause of global injustice is patriarchal capitalism that furthers extractivism and dehumanization through the slave trade, colonialization, and neo-imperialism through global capitalism. Neo-colonial structures, strictures and economies continue beyond settler colonies through global institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, which the African Feminist Macroeconomic Academy refers to as the 'institutions of global economic (mis)governance'. The global financial system enables the siphoning of resources through tax dodging, financial secrecy, and Illicit Financial Flows (IFFs). The COVID-19 pandemic illustrated the deeply racist, sexist, and regionalist nature of global capital, affirming the importance of radical alternatives in advancing economic justice and the transformation of the global economy.



The Wellbeing Economy⁵ is a radical alternative to the status quo, because of its ability to center the health and wellbeing of people and planet as central components of economic organization. Feminist scholarship, which has given the Wellbeing Economy much of its language and measures, continues to cultivate feminist futures that enable African people to reclaim their personhood and dignity.

Recentering black and brown peoples in conversations about economic justice is critical to the work of transforming global economic systems. Relationships remain central to wellbeing economics, and explores how we relate to ourselves, each other, and the world beyond. It is critical to re-center conversations around care, different access points for resources, and the restructuring of global economics in ways that dismantle white patriarchal capitalism.

Advancing economic justice in Africa requires languaging about social reproduction and greater expansion of what is considered work. Furthermore, the institutionalization of precarity is reflected in the emergence of gig economies that deepen crises of work and wellbeing rather than cultivating different forms of livelihoods.



The transformation of the global economy requires an acknowledgement of how the quest for economic growth through measures such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) led to the exploitation of the planet's boundaries. GDP is an impoverished concept, as it does not consider human and economic wellbeing, welfare, voluntary work, social reproduction, indigenous knowledge, nor does it adjust for historical and contemporary injustices.

We need to decolonize time and transform its present use as an instrument of coercion and punishment, into an expression of people's sovereignty and human dignity. Contributions from Phumi Mthethwa noted how **feminists are deepening livelihood strategies outside of the dominant global economic architecture** based on the conviction that the reforms of the prevailing economic system will not secure justice and liberation for all but will instead make minor revisions to secure its survival. By prioritizing South-South exchanges, African Social Movements can learn from people-centered alternatives that advance the just worlds that movements are working towards. The example cited of successful social movement-building towards influencing political outcomes was the Bolivian social movements.

5. According to the [Wellbeing Economy Alliance](#), a Wellbeing Economy “delivers on social justice on a healthy planet. It prioritizes meeting our needs before our wants. And this includes human and planetary health: access to nature, true participation, connection within communities, fairness through our institutions and dignity for all people.”

African Social Movements were encouraged to link economic justice to considerations of political power by **divesting themselves from the reach of the state and its claims to sovereignty**. Activists becoming politicians is not enough to transform the systemic patterns of harm that deepen injustice and state violence.

Movements were encouraged to **celebrate the small-scale revolutions at community levels that embody people-centered alternatives to the economy and socio-political organizing**. Finally, cultivating alternatives requires **reframing existing practices around aid**. Noting the sense of shame associated with receiving these financing flows, Pheko argued that we need to place the weight of history, and its associated shame, where it rightfully belongs (i.e., colonial powers). Aid was reframed as a form of restitution for historic and contemporary injustices.

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4.3. Politics and Democracy [\(click here for video\)](#)

Democracy is in decline across the world. Despite widespread democratization across the continent, fundamental contradictions exist which accentuate the crisis of liberal democracy. These include the minimization of democratic governance to periodic elections, the labelling of countries as democratic despite experiences of oppression, repression, authoritarian rule, electoral corruption, the manipulation of democratic outcomes through money and violence, curtailment of fundamental liberties, and the resurgence of coup d'états on the continent.

The current performance of liberal democracy, on the continent and beyond, deepens inequality trajectories because of its coupling with the neoliberal world order. As a result, African peoples' experiences of democracy are characterized by a significant form trap, a term which describes the fixation with processes and systems, without paying attention to people's lived experiences of those processes. The democratic form trap is characterized by the presence of some democratic processes and institutions, without the people power and sovereignty that undergirds democratic governance.

Radical alternatives to politics and democracy need to center questions of identity, sovereignty, and socio-economic justice. Alternatives to liberal democracy need to be located at the nexus of democracy and equality to make substantial gains. Commitments to reduce inequality, through for example, wealth taxes, curtailing the influence of elites and MNCs on legislation and governance, increasing the quality and scope of public service provision, and linking democracy to issue-based struggles are critical to realizing the promise of people power through democratic governance.

Movements need to nurture a critical consciousness about the impact of financialization on politics and democratic outcomes, as evidenced by the transitions of businesspeople into politics, billionaires substituting the will of the people for private gain, Illicit Financial Flows (IFFs), and the privatization of public goods and services.

Youth participation is not a panacea to the democratic deficit on the African continent. While it presents critical opportunities to reimagine the substance and form of democratic processes, it is also important to note that five of Africa's youngest leaders secured political power through coup d'états, as referenced by [SIASA Place](#) in their contributions. Declines in voter turnout are also linked to a lack of trust in electoral processes, unjust policy propositions, a lack of viable options, and the targeting of African Human Rights Defenders and movements who seek to hold governments accountable. In many instances, in the continent and across the world, “young people are picking the best of the worst”. Movements were encouraged to not romanticize the political behavior of young people.

Fostering political alternatives requires grappling with Africa's colonial legacies. With the exception of a few countries on the continent, colonial constitutions and forms of governance were bequeathed at independence. This deepened the contentious relationships between state institutions, political leaders, and African people, as the extractive, violent, and unjust foundations of former colonies were left unaddressed. Conversely, while progressive Constitutional Movements have secured great democratic gains across the continent, democratic constitutionalism remains in great peril.

Furthermore, the relevance of constitutions is deeply contested because they often remain aspirations that do not reflect the lived realities of those residing on the continent. Attacks on constitutionalism, through the amendment of term limits and electoral processes, amongst other examples, further complicate the democratic landscape across the continent.



Democratic alternatives need to be rooted in community visioning, building more just forms of democracy with the people, as opposed to for the people. We need to build alternatives through peaceful means, and not replicate the violence witnessed in unconstitutional changes of government. Perhaps, as proffered during the plenary, political education needs to be merged with democracy to support the redefinition of democracy for the continent.

As elucidated by Tawanda Mutasah, **while the present forms of democracy are distorted and limited, African Social Movements need to be unequivocal about the importance of democracy in securing social justice outcomes**. It is important to connect activism around political justice with movement-building linked to aid, debt, climate crisis, gender justice, human rights, and economic justice. Critically, **social movements need to influence benchmarks on African democratic performance based on the intersection of political, economic, and civil liberties**.

5. Conclusion: Recommendations for Movements Organizing for Transformation

In light of the emerging understanding of this moment, and the alternatives discussed during the convening, the positioning of African Social Movements to advance transformative change was discussed. Movements were encouraged to adopt an internationalist Pan-African approach to organizing. Cultivating new narratives and fields of activism was positioned as critical to nurturing people power and transformative alternatives. Centering the humanity of activists, alongside deepening inclusivity in movements was seen as a priority. Advancing people-to-people solidarity and building alternatives to the status quo was seen as critical alongside safeguarding gains.

Deepening holistic support for movements and advancing strategies to work inside and outside of hegemonic systems was seen as important to avoid the political demobilization of mass movements. And lastly, cultivating critical consciousness and the embodiment of social justice values and principles was seen as a transformative way of being for activists navigating the present context. As the Baraza concluded, recommendations were shared for the development of a Pan-African framework of support to strengthen organizing, solidarity, and the resourcing of movements. Below are some of the suggestions that came up in the discussions listed under these broad areas and they appear in no order.

Recommendations for developing a **pan-African framework of support to strengthen the organizing of movements** included:

- Embracing intersectionality and operationalizing what this analytical framework, alongside terms like decolonization, look like in practice.
- De-commercialize social justice organizing, and de-center the role of money in movements.
- Investing in new pathways to coordinate and sustain global solidarity.
- Move away from the projectization and NGO-ization of movements, and reverse the trends in part, through the transformation of funding and organizing practices.
- Deepening the concepts, principles, processes, analyses, as well as the strategic and tactical practices that advance the work of social justice and liberation.



- Strengthen our ability to analyze power shifts, including critical power analysis in movements.
- Intentionally build activist pipelines within movements.
- Enhance the political clarity of movements, including a broader understanding of how the work of different movements furthers the vision of a just world.
- Deepen inclusivity in movements and include new voices in our organizing.
- Sustain self and collective care practices that support the wellbeing and sustainability of activism.
- Grow the capacity to manage and resolve conflicts.
- Cultivate compassion, kindness, and care within movements.
- Invest in the holistic safety and security of activists.
- Deepen accountability practices within movements, the communities that they are located in, and the resource partners who support their work.
- Challenge and divest from celebrity status and elitism within movements.
- Adopt non-conformist cultures in social justice organizing.
- Build coalitions, alliances, and networks that support issue-based activism from different vantage points.
- Diversify movement strategies to influence social justice outcomes.
- Deepen our understanding and analysis of contemporary issues within the continent.
- Connect different causes and amplify different campaigns, forms of activism, and movement-building.
- Cultivate autonomous resourcing practices, connecting to the range of philanthropies and alternative funding models that exist on the continent.

Recommendations to strengthen networking, solidarity and joint campaigns included:

- Invest in coordination and communication mechanisms that support connection and solidarity between movements.
 - * Develop a solidarity calendar that showcases different campaigns and initiatives across the spectrum of social justice organizing on the continent.
 - * Leverage existing pan-African movements and platforms to support regular engagement and strategizing.
-
- Create a database of movements to support communication across movements.
 - Popularize radical alternatives through media and art.
 - Re-invigorate movement-building for the free movement of Africans within the continent, working towards the realization of a borderless continent.
 - Cultivate healthy (and just) relationships between and within movements, funders, and governments.
 - Embody alternatives through cross-movement organizing. This requires movements to build the new while dismantling existing systems.
 - Create transformative spaces for knowledge production and political education that deepens insurgent forms of knowledge.
 - Support feminist and intersectional movements.
 - Continually invest in ongoing processes that enable cross-movement organizing and practical solidarity.





Offers for Pan-African frameworks of support for **Resource Partners** include:

- Transform philanthropic practice to ensure that unrestricted, multi-year, and core support becomes the norm of grant-making practice.
- Ensure that the sector funds different types of organizing to disrupt the NGO-ization of social justice.
- Cultivate abundance in movements so that they can say no to conditional or funding that is not aligned with justice imperatives.
- Shift funding practices to ensure that it enables the work of movements (as opposed to hindering it).
- Shift resource flows towards African Social Movements.
- Rethink funding models and deepen political education in philanthropy.
- Centre accountability and transparency in the philanthropic sector.
- Transform the relationships between movements and funders.
- Deepen transformative funding practices championed by progressive resource partners.
- Nurture anti-capitalistic alternatives to philanthropy, rooted in the solidarity economy and self-sustaining frontiers.
- Invest in the financial autonomy and sustainability of movements.

6. Annexures

6.1. Annexure 1: Participant Information

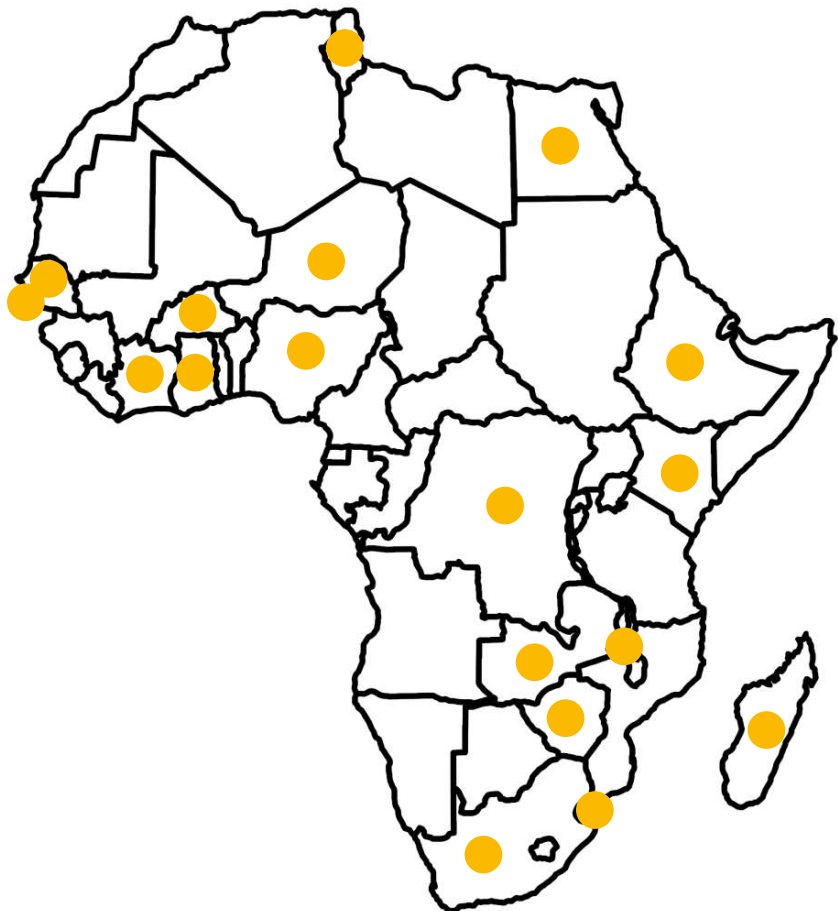
Number of participants invited 160

Number of participants in attendance 122

Number of countries 20

List Countries represented

1. Burkina Faso
2. Côte D'Ivoire
3. DRC
4. Egypt
5. Ethiopia
6. Gambia
7. Ghana
8. Kenya
9. Madagascar
10. Malawi
11. Niger
12. Nigeria
13. Norway
14. Senegal
15. South Africa
16. Swaziland
17. Tunisia
18. USA
19. Zambia



6.2. Annexure

2: List of Represented Movements and Organizations

1. Action Aid
2. Africans Rising
3. Afrikki Platform
4. Amandla
5. Balai Citoyen
6. Bindura Community Assembly
7. Black Feminist Fund
8. Bulawayo Vendors and Traders Association (BVTA)
9. C.S Mott Foundation
10. Centre for African Philanthropy and Social Investment (CAPSI)
11. CIVICUS
12. Concerned Nigerians
13. Connected Development
14. Conscious Artist
15. Earthlife Foundation
16. Economic Justice for Women Project
17. Family Life Association of Swaziland
18. Ford Foundation
19. Friends of Lake Turkana
20. Foundation for Socio Economic Justice (FSEJ) Gomm Sa Boppa (Believe in Yourself), Gambia
21. Groundworks
22. Gambia Radio and Television Service (GRTS)
24. Horizons Project
25. Humanity United
26. International Labour Research and Information Group (ILRIG)
27. Jammi Gox Yi
28. Karibu Foundation
29. Magamba Network
30. Afrifem Macroeconomic Collective (NAWI)
31. Network for Youth Development
32. Open Society Africa
33. Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA)
34. Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA)
35. Pan African Palestine Solidarity Network
36. Plateforme d'autonomisation des Organisations de Jeunesse de Côte d'Ivoire (PAOJCI)
37. Pathways
38. Queer Republic
39. Reyna Trust
40. Rural Women Assembly
41. Southern Africa Students Union (SASU)
42. Southern Africa Liaison Office (SALO)
43. SHINE Campaign
44. Siasa Place
45. SIVIO Institute
46. Social Movement Technologies
47. Soundz of the South
48. South Africa BDS Coalition
49. Southern Africa Human Rights Defenders Network
50. Southern Africa People's Solidarity Network
51. Stop the Bleeding
52. Swaziland Network for the Campaign for Education for All (SWANCEFA)
53. TrustAfrica
54. Tshisimani Centre for Activist Education
55. TY Danjuma Foundation
56. Vendors Initiative for Social Economic Transformation (VISET)
57. Wallace Global Fund
58. Wellbeing Economy Alliance
59. Y'en a Marre
60. Yiaga Africa
61. Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development (ZIMCODD)
62. Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU)

6.3 African Social Movements Baraza 2022 in Pictures





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