



RIA Just AI Framework of Inquiry

African Just AI | Position Paper

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RIA's Just AI Framework of Inquiry is a tool for policy makers, technology developers and researchers to ensure that the entire Artificial Intelligence (AI) value chain actively protects, promotes and fulfils the full spectrum of human rights and environmental sustainability. Applying the framework requires acknowledging and addressing global systemic and emergent inequities, through regulating and developing AI so that it is restorative and inclusive, maximises opportunities and benefits for all, minimises harms and requires the ethics of care in the public interest.

BACKGROUND

The rapid proliferation of Artificial Intelligence (AI) and its increasing integration into social and economic decision-making present a complex duality for Africa. While AI holds transformative potential for accelerating development, the promise of AI for social and economic growth is shadowed by significant risks.

As current discourses on AI ethics are predominantly driven by multinational corporations and scholars in the Global North, there is a critical need to ground AI policy in the historical and contemporary contexts of Africa. Without a deliberate, contextualised approach, AI risks amplifying existing structural inequalities, entrenching Africa's role as a consumer rather than a co-creator of technology.

This challenge is further compounded by a landscape of vastly uneven distributions of infrastructure, resources, and expertise. Governance regimes developed for more developed economies are unlikely to respond as expected in a continent with unique developmental challenges and diverse democratic systems.

Research ICT Africa's Just AI project reframes the conversation. It is a strategic effort to build upon, consolidate, and amplify the growing body of work calling for policy to move beyond generic concepts of "responsible" or "fair" AI to a framework that addresses the ethical, political, and economic imperatives of AI from an African perspective. The project architects, multi-thematic, multi-disciplinary research through a bold Just AI Framework of Inquiry (Fol), demanding a justice-oriented lens for AI, confronting global systemic inequities and emphasising the need for restorative, inclusive, and care-driven technology. AI systems should be for all of humanity, and provide for fundamental human rights and environmental sustainability.

The purpose of this position paper is to introduce the Research ICT Africa (RIA) Framework of Inquiry (Fol), the rationale for developing the Fol in response to a gap in conceptual representations and understandings of the implications of ongoing trends in AI technology development and governance for Africa and the Global South. We share the process we are using to develop and embed the Just AI Fol in the AI governance ecosystem, what we have learned so far and what we hope the Fol will enable us to do in the future.

As it moves from theory to practice, it will not only provide a new lexicon for AI governance but also empower African leaders to create a digital future that is inclusive, accountable, and self-determined.

WHY “JUST” AI?

Current characterisations of AI as needing to be “ethical”, “responsible”, or “fair”, etc., fail to capture the fundamental quality that AI must have if it is to function in the public interest. That is, the quality of justice. Widely circulated frameworks rightly advocate for other qualities, such as accountability, ethics, fairness, privacy, transparency, and trustworthiness (e.g., European Commission, 2019; OECD; UNESCO, 2023). However, important and necessary as these requirements are, instilling them into AI systems will not guarantee outcomes that are just. For example, an AI resource might be made readily available to people of all socioeconomic backgrounds, but its use may not lead to a just outcome if a skills deficit limits the ability of those with low education to leverage the resource for their benefit. Achieving just outcomes, in the context of AI and other digital technologies, means that AI development and deployment accounts for the reality of uneven socioeconomic and other contexts; that the affordances enabled by AI use are accessible to all; and that the impacts of AI (positive and negative) are appropriately distributed across populations. This goes beyond aspiring to be inclusive, doing good, or minimising harm; it requires acknowledging and actively seeking to redress the harms of the past and the ongoing range of inequities that cumulatively sustain systemic marginalisation or disadvantage of particular populations.

This association of justice with AI developments is not new – it has been raised in several works seeking to chart pathways to improved AI governance in an unequal world (e.g. Akbarighatar et al, 2023; Carman & Rosman, 2020; Gabriel, 2022; Jobin et al, 2019; OECD, 2019; Taylor, 2017). RIA’s Just AI Framework, however, offers an explicitly actionable framework of inquiry to guide justice-oriented AI policy research and development, grounded in the realities of African developing economies.

THE CHALLENGE OF JUST AI

To ensure AI serves as a tool for justice, and not a new instrument of inequality, we must move beyond abstract ethical principles to embrace a powerful, holistic mandate. Our research path for Just AI is informed by the following learnings:

Current AI governance regimes are inadequate to ensure human dignity and safeguard populations from the unique risks and harms of AI systems

First, we must confront structural and legal injustice. The inherited colonial and global norms that shape our laws—from intellectual property regimes to labour codes to data transparency—are insufficient for governing the complexities of AI, much less in an African context (e.g. Chetty, 2025; Hlomani, 2023; Okeyo, 2025; Rens, 2025; Rens & Haller, 2025; Timcke, Gaffley, & Rens, 2023). Our research must push for new legal frameworks that are meticulously crafted for African realities, ensuring they protect against data exploitation and regulate the flow of value and power (Research ICT Africa, 2023). Data should be conceptualised not as a neutral, abstract commodity, but as a representation of human lived experience (Kovacs, 2025). This perspective challenges the dehumanising and extractive practices common in AI development. When a community’s historical, cultural, or personal data is collected, it’s not just a data point; it’s a piece of their embodied experience (indeed, a piece of their bodies) being commodified (Kovacs, 2025). Therefore, for example, if data must be collected, it should be done with proper consent

and fair compensation. This framework demands that we treat data with dignity and respect, requiring AI practices that are not extractive but reciprocal and restorative. Such a reframing is essential for building a data economy that is ethical, accountable, and serves humanity's well-being (Research ICT Africa, 2023). In the face of global information disorders, the stakes are higher than ever to constrain the ability to maliciously manipulate data in all its forms and prevent the use of AI to cause harm to populations (Schroeder et al., 2025) or subvert the development of democratic societies (Timcke & Hlomani, 2024).

The design and governance of AI systems are based on Western epistemologies and contexts

Justice begins with who gets to know, design, and narrate our digital futures. The call for epistemic justice in AI is also a demand for meaningful participation in global policy forums (Gillwald & Orembo, 2024) and fairness in the creation and validation of knowledge. It challenges the dominance of data, theories, and perspectives from a few global centers, which often become the universal “truth” for AI systems. In research, this means moving beyond applying Western-centric methodologies to African contexts (Research ICT Africa, 2025; Sey & Ahmed, 2020). For policy, it means ensuring that African knowledge systems, ethical frameworks (such as Ubuntu), and lived experiences are foundational to AI governance, not an afterthought (Gwagwa, Kazim, & Hilliard, 2022; Mhlambi, 2020; Tsebee et al., 2025). In design, it requires co-creation with local communities to ensure AI solutions are not only functional but culturally relevant and trusted (Ondiek, 2025). This is a battle against the subtle yet powerful erosion of local epistemologies and the homogenisation of knowledge. We must urgently address the threat posed by generative AI, which risks eroding our continent's rich linguistic diversity and cultural expression by prioritising dominant languages and narratives.

AI systems extract value from individuals, communities and nations in Africa without reciprocal benefit, input or control over the development, deployment and use of such systems

Justice is not possible without the direct involvement of those most affected by AI's power. This means bringing gender-diverse communities, informal workers, and Indigenous peoples to the forefront of policymaking, data governance, and technology design (Research ICT Africa, 2025). They are not merely passive beneficiaries; they are essential co-creators of an equitable digital future.

African states must strategically assert economic sovereignty over their digital economies. The current model often sees the immense value generated from African data and digital labour flow outwards, benefiting foreign tech giants with little reinvestment in local communities (Rens, Makumbirofa and Gillwald, 2025). This is an extractive practice, akin to a new form of digital colonialism (Timcke et al., 2023). Regulating value flows means implementing policies that ensure a fair portion of the economic value created by digital platforms and AI is retained within national economies (Makumbirofa et al., 2024). It requires a proactive measure to ensure the digital revolution contributes to sustainable, homegrown economic growth rather than foreign wealth accumulation.

AI systems pose both threats and benefits to the just energy transition and general socio-economic development goals in Africa

AI must produce tangible, equitable material outcomes for all. This means guaranteeing fair labor conditions, ensuring the benefits of innovation are accessible and shared, and embedding the principle of an ethics of care into our technology. The focus on vulnerable groups—from persons with disabilities to migrants—must extend to

the health sector and our broader commitment to well-being. Furthermore, we must not ignore AI's hidden costs. We must analyse and mitigate its ecological footprint and demand that its deployment and infrastructure work for and with African people, to avoid replicating extractive and dehumanising practices. The environmental cost of the global AI boom is immense, yet there is a critical lack of analysis on AI's ecological footprint in Africa. The training of large AI models requires vast amounts of energy, and the manufacturing of AI hardware generates significant electronic waste as well as environmental degradation and pollution from resource mining and production processes (Banya & Benjamin, 2025). As Africa builds out its digital infrastructure, it risks inheriting and exacerbating this environmental debt. A failure to analyse these impacts means we cannot develop "green AI" strategies or sustainable procurement guidelines for digital infrastructure. This is a direct challenge to the continent's climate resilience and long-term sustainability goals, demanding urgent research and policy to ensure that our pursuit of a digital future does not come at the cost of our planetary one.

Overall, our research shows that, in aggregate, AI systems and governance structures are failing to advance justice across multiple domains, including the social, economic, environmental, gender, and epistemic.

A BOLD FRAMEWORK OF INQUIRY TO DO BETTER IN THE FUTURE

The Just AI Framework of Inquiry (Fol) is being developed by RIA to provide a timely, contextually-grounded, and action-oriented response to the above challenges.

The Fol provides a comprehensive and justice-oriented foundation for guiding future research and policy in AI ensuring that the needs and perspectives of marginalised, vulnerable, and under-resourced communities are systematically addressed. By applying the Fol to emerging research and policy development areas, scholars and policymakers can embed equitable and contextually appropriate mechanisms within key domains of AI development and governance across Africa.

The Fol is aimed at:

1. **Bridging the Theoretical and the Practical:** The framework is designed to translate abstract global AI principles and human rights instruments into national policy and regulation that are attuned to local conditions. It rejects the notion that a one-size-fits-all approach to AI governance can be effective. Instead, it advocates for a flexible, and intersectional framework for research that allows for alignment with international standards while maintaining the flexibility to address unique socio-economic realities and national priorities.
2. **Centering Justice and Equity:** The framework places data justice and digital equality at its core. It recognises that AI's effectiveness and fairness are directly tied to the data it is trained on. The exclusion of African realities from global datasets leads to biased technology that perpetuates discrimination. Therefore, the framework explicitly interrogates how AI can be governed to address data inequality, ensure equitable access to benefits, and mitigate risks that disproportionately affect vulnerable and underrepresented groups, including women, youth, and the informal sector.
3. **From Local Realities to Global Forums:** The framework's methodology is designed to generate evidence that is robust enough to inform national policy while also holding weight in international dialogues. It seeks to elevate

Africa's voice in global governance discussions, where the continent has historically participated from a position of relative weakness. By creating an African knowledge base, the framework will empower policymakers to advocate for a more just and mutually beneficial technological order.

4. **Methodological Innovation:** Our literature review reveals crucial emerging areas of research, most notably the application of Computational Social Science methodologies and foresight methodologies in relation to AI. This marks a novel direction in RIA's research portfolio, signals an important expansion of our scope and offers fertile ground for future inquiry into the intersection of foresight methods, computational methods, AI systems, and just social outcomes in Africa.
5. **A Holistic and Multidisciplinary Approach:** The framework moves beyond a narrow focus on technological risk to examine the interplay of AI with sustainable development, security, economic policy, and governance. It recognises that effective AI governance requires a multidisciplinary approach, drawing on expertise in law, data science, economics, and social sciences. This is crucial for developing integrated economic policies and governance frameworks that can address the full spectrum of AI's societal consequences, from labour market transformations to the regulation of intellectual property and competition.

THE CHANGE:

- **Alignment between Research and Reforms:** AI research and policy are better aligned with justice principles. Values are translated into areas of inquiry for legal reform, and policy blueprints. An empirical grounding is produced for legal and institutional reform.
- **Just Outcomes:** Participatory and anticipatory governance is enabled. Anticipatory policymaking is introduced for just outcomes.
- **Embedding Governance:** Normative assessments of harms, risks, and benefits are guided by the Framework, integrating ethics, economy, ecology, and inclusion into AI governance.
- **African Just AI Voices and Priorities:** Local priorities are connected with regional and global advocacy. Amplification of African voices and sovereignty in global AI debates.

WHAT ARE THE JUST AI INQUIRIES?

The FoI consists of nine core inquiries to guide further research on Just AI in Africa. They form a coherent axis of political economy and governance justice across AI systems.



Human Rights Primacy: AI Systems Respect Human Rights

KEY FOCUS: Legal protections

KEY QUESTIONS

AI Policy Research Questions:

How does the AI system impact the realisation of specific human rights?

AI Policy Analysis Questions:

Does the policy mandate human rights impact assessments at each stage of the AI system lifecycle?

AI Design Questions:

Does the AI system comply with existing human rights frameworks?



All of Humanity: AI Value Chain is Globally Inclusive

KEY FOCUS: Ensuring protections are inclusive and global in reach

KEY QUESTIONS

AI Policy Research Questions:

Are there mechanisms in place to ensure that the voices and needs of marginalised countries are taken into account in the development and governance of AI?

AI Policy Analysis Questions:

Does the policy commit to international cooperation and capacity building, especially with countries in the Global South?

AI Design Questions:

Does the AI system perpetuate or exacerbate global inequalities between developed and developing nations?



Structural Inequality: AI Systems account for Structural Inequalities

KEY FOCUS: Causes and systemic dimensions of injustice

KEY QUESTIONS

AI Policy Research Questions:

Does the AI system account for historical and systemic biases that may be embedded in the data it is trained on?

AI Policy Analysis Questions:

Does the policy promote the use of AI to improve fair and equal access to public services, especially for marginalised or underserved communities?

AI Design Questions:

How can AI be designed to challenge and dismantle structural inequalities, rather than reinforce them?



Equity and Inclusion by Design: AI Systems inherently promote Equity and Inclusion

KEY FOCUS: Procedural fairness in AI development

KEY QUESTIONS

AI Policy Research Questions:

How can AI be used to promote inclusion and reduce disparities in access to opportunities and resources?

AI Policy Analysis Questions:

Does the policy mandate equity and inclusion considerations throughout the AI system lifecycle?

AI Design Questions:

Have equity and inclusion been considered at every stage of the AI system lifecycle?



Ethics of Care: AI Systems are grounded in Context and Relationality

KEY FOCUS: Relational, empathetic, and contextual nuance

KEY QUESTIONS

AI Policy Research Questions:

How can AI be used to support decision-making in ways that prioritise caring, promote social connection, and enhance human flourishing?

AI Policy Analysis Questions:

Does the policy require that AI systems be designed and used in ways that prioritise human well-being and dignity?

AI Design Questions:

Does the AI system prioritise human relationships and well-being, especially for the less-powerful?



Democratic Governance: AI Value Chain is subject to Democratic Oversight and Control

KEY FOCUS: How decisions are made

KEY QUESTIONS

AI Policy Research Questions:

How can policymakers ensure that AI serves the public interest, rather than the interests of powerful corporations or governments?

AI Policy Analysis Questions:

Does the policy establish mechanisms for meaningful public participation in AI governance?

AI Design Questions:

Is the AI system being developed and deployed in a way that is consistent with democratic values and principles?



Economic Justice: AI Value Chain governance achieves Restorative, Redistributive Justice

KEY FOCUS: Redistribution and fairness in material benefits

KEY QUESTIONS

AI Policy Research Questions:

Are there mechanisms in place to ensure that the benefits of AI are shared equitably and that those who are negatively impacted are compensated or supported?

AI Policy Analysis Questions:

Does the policy require assessment of how AI systems may impact economic inequality?

AI Design Questions:

Will the AI system exacerbate existing economic disparities or contribute to a concentration of wealth and power?



Data Justice: AI Systems Respect Personal and Community Data

KEY FOCUS: Ownership and use of data as a political and ethical resource

KEY QUESTIONS

AI Policy Research Questions:

Are there regulations in place to prevent the exploitation of data, particularly that of marginalised communities?

AI Policy Analysis Questions:

Does the policy recognise both individual and collective data rights?

AI Design Questions:

How can data be used to empower individuals and communities, and promote social and economic justice?



Sustainability: AI Value Chain considers Environmental and Social Impacts

KEY FOCUS: Environmental and intergenerational ethics, ecological responsibility, climate justice, and long-term planetary well-being

KEY QUESTIONS

AI Policy Research Questions:

How can AI be used to promote environmental sustainability and address climate change?

AI Policy Analysis Questions:

Does the policy require assessment and mitigation of the environmental impacts of AI systems?

AI Design Questions:

What are the actual and potential environmental impacts of the AI system?

NEXT STEPS: BUILDING THE FRAMEWORK AS A PUBLIC GOOD

The Just AI Framework of Inquiry (Fol) is a crucial step toward developing the regulatory, institutional, and ethical infrastructure necessary to shape Africa's AI future on its own terms. This framework fundamentally shifts the narrative by recognising Africa not as a passive recipient of global technological trends, but as an active and dynamic site of knowledge production, resistance, and governance. By anchoring AI in intersecting domains of justice—including economic, ecological, data, and gender justice—the Fol provides a holistic, African-led alternative to the extractive, opaque, and inequitable AI futures for the continent.

We are currently building this framework in its alpha phase, using our policy analyses on AI strategies to test and refine its utility. Our approach is deeply collaborative: through open forums with policymakers, civil society, and research networks, we are actively asking about the relevance of the Fol's inquiries, how it can be practically applied, and what it would need to be a valuable tool for their work. This process ensures the framework is not a static academic document but a dynamic and responsive tool that is co-created with the very communities it aims to serve.

The Fol holds considerable promise for guiding future research that is inclusive of and responsive to the experiences of marginalised and vulnerable communities, especially those whose identities intersect across multiple axes of disadvantage. We believe that the framework has the potential to develop into a transformative roadmap, one that places African agency, epistemologies, and values at the centre of AI governance.

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