

Human, Social and Political Sciences Tripos

History and Politics Tripos

Part IIB 2020-21

## **Paper 15: The Politics of Africa**

### **Paper Guide**

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<b>Office hours:</b>	Wednesdays 4-5pm, Zoom (or office TBC)
<b>Lecturers:</b>	Dr Srinivasan
<b>Lectures*:</b>	M&L, Wednesday, 11am M, Tuesday Week 1, TBC
<b>Seminars:</b>	M: Thursday, 2-4pm, TBC, Weeks 5 and 8 L: Thursday, 2-4pm, TBC, Weeks 5 and 8

\* pre-recorded and online

#### Aims and Objectives

- To provide a broad overview of major themes in African politics and economic development, including their international dimensions.
- To provide opportunities for linking theoretical and conceptual arguments with in-depth analysis of case studies and close readings of official reports.
- To encourage multi-disciplinary approaches to the study of empirical politics.
- To encourage critical reflection on popular and academic representations of 'Africa'.

#### Brief Description

The politics of Africa compels students to reckon with the weight of a tumultuous past and the rapidly changing politics of the present to make sense of a crucially important future in world politics. Colonial legacies are as important to today's questions of climate justice and contemporary neo-imperial threats as they are to understanding state formation, configurations of state-society relations and how African states interact with international order. Equally, in a continent with the world's fastest population growth and rapidly growing economies and urban societies, nothing is determined by the past alone and new political imaginaries are taking flight in ways that require fresh attempts at understanding.

This paper explores the interaction of local and international factors that have influenced the social, political and economic trajectories of communities, states and regional organisations in Africa. Students are encouraged to consider how the study of Africa – and indeed all of the formerly colonised world – can challenge ways of thinking about politics that have been grounded primarily in the western experience, as well as how discourses on 'Africa' or 'the global south' relate to the economic, strategic and ideological projects of those who shape and deploy them.

The course is taught thematically, however students develop case-based knowledge of a diverse range of African experiences through country-specific readings, seminars and essay work. Students

are encouraged to give due consideration to the agency of African people and political actors alongside the powerful external pressures on the continent from colonialism until the present day.

The course, in common with much of the literature, has the ambition to talk about themes that are continental but this is no easy task. Literature dealing with ‘African’ politics and history by necessity involves a large degree of generalisation that sits awkwardly with diverse and plural histories and societies. Studying the politics of African countries involves weighing the validity and usefulness of generalisations against their limitations. For reasons relating to history and language, a majority of the literature on Africa in English is about former British colonies. This bias is reflected in the reading list for this course. Students should feel free to be curious well beyond the paper guide in building their understanding of the continent.

Students are expected to demonstrate the ability to discuss the applicability and limits of competing theories in light of particular cases in supervision essays and in the examination. To this end, it is essential that students pursue interests in particular country case studies, and choose at least two to study in depth. Over Michaelmas and Lent terms, four seminars will be offered in which students have the opportunity to discuss readings about a particular country or region under the guidance of an area specialist. However, if you have a particular interest in a country other than those featured in seminars, you are encouraged to read about it as much as you can: not only in the academic literature, but follow relevant news sources, blogs and social media accounts to keep up to date with contemporary events and debates.

### Structure of the Paper

The paper is divided into six parts, three in each of the first two terms. Michaelmas Term focuses on Africa’s global and historical politics. In Lent Term, the focus shifts to contemporary politics, society and economy and African political futures. It will be helpful to keep the following introduction to the structure of the paper front of mind as the year progresses.

#### *Part I: Africa & the world: The past of the present*

The paper begins in Lectures 1-3 by reflecting on African politics as a field of study and on knowledge production about Africa. More than simply questions about how we study African politics today, questions of how Africa has been encountered, imagined and ‘produced’, and *why – for what purposes, and to what and whose ends?* – are central to understanding pre-colonial African political systems, the nature and impact of colonial rule, the ideologies and strategies of anti-colonial struggle, and their legacies in the post-colonial independence era. Part I also introduces students to different socio-historical frameworks, and how they compare in evaluating the significance of the period of European colonial presence for modern African politics.

#### *Part II: Global economic order & African development*

In Part II, Lectures 4-6, we examine Africa’s place in global economic structures and those structures’ repercussions for African politics. The first lecture explores the debate around development and underdevelopment in the late colonial and early independence period; the second turns to the era of structural adjustment and so-called democratic transitions in the late 1980s and early 1990s; and the third examines contemporary transformations in African politics spurred on by the rise of China and the other “BRICS” and the renewed importance of African natural resources, including oil but also ‘emerging markets’.

#### *Part III: International intervention: democracy, human rights, security*

Lectures 7 and 8, the final two lectures in Michaelmas Term, look at international intervention in African politics. The first lecture critically assesses Western interventions claiming to promote liberal democratic institutional orders, whether through the good governance agenda, civil society, or non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The second lecture turns to the politics of humanitarian intervention into African conflicts, broadly conceived to include relief aid, peacebuilding, and military intervention, all in the name of upholding Africans' human rights.

*Part IV: State and society (i): rule, mobilization and identity*

Lent Term begins, in Part IV, with a closer examination of how politics – at national and sub-national scales - in Africa is imagined, conditioned and practiced through comparative, interdisciplinary and thematic lenses. Lectures examine the nature of political authority and mobilization, and the relationships between the state and citizens and between violence and politics in Africa. This Part also considers the advantages and drawbacks of analyzing African political experience through ethno-linguistic, religious and class lenses.

*Part V: State and society (ii): coercion and contestation*

Part V takes the state and society inquiry to the nature of, and reasons for, political violence and non-violent struggle across the continent. This begins with the historical experience and contemporary character of warfare and armed struggle. The second lecture examines collective action and popular protest, past, present, and future.

*Part VI: Futures of African politics*

The final part of the course asks about possible futures of African politics, drawing upon the debates explored in earlier lectures. The continent is changing rapidly, its trajectories and tendencies many and varied. The specific angles on these questions are: politics in Africa in a digital age; youth, students and social reproduction, at a time of rapid demographic and social change; and new or renewed political imaginaries that are remaking Africa in the world.

Mode of teaching

Teaching comprises of 16 one-hour lectures, 4 two-hour classes and 6 supervisions (3 in each of Michaelmas and Lent Terms). In Easter Term, there will be two one-hour revision lectures. Films may be shown during the course as ancillary to lectures and supervisions. All students are expected to attend all classes, to read one core text and some of the supplementary texts in preparation for each, and to participate in discussions. Every member of the group will also be required to lead class discussions once per term, through a brief presentation about the relevance of another reading to the debates raised in the core text. This will be organised at the first lecture each term.

Mode of assessment

Students will be assessed through a written examination in the Easter Term.

The examination paper will consist of twelve questions, which will address topics covered in both Terms' lectures. Students must answer three questions in three hours.

## Outline of Lectures and Classes

### Michaelmas Term

#### **Part I: Africa & the world: The past of the present** (*Dr Srinivasan*)

1. Africa in world politics: Exception or comparator? Victim or agent? Self or Other?
2. Pre-colonial and Colonial Africa
3. Independence and the politics of the 'Third World'

#### **Part II: Global economic order & African development** (*Dr Srinivasan*)

4. Underdevelopment, Developmental States, Neo-Colonialism
5. Debt and Development: From Structural Adjustment to Good Governance
6. Rising Global Powers and Changing African Economies

*Class:* African political thought around independence (Thursday, 2-4pm Week 5) (*Dr Platzky Miller*)

#### **Part III: International intervention: democracy, human rights, security** (*Dr Srinivasan*)

7. Debating Democratization, Civil Society, and Human Rights
8. Intervening in Political Violence: Humanitarianism, Peacebuilding, and Security

*Class:* When Peace Kills Politics: Sudan, Darfur and South Sudan (Thursday, 2-4pm, Week 8) (*Dr Srinivasan*)

### Lent Term (*Dr Srinivasan*)

#### **Part IV: State and society (i): rule, mobilization and identity** (*Dr Srinivasan*)

9. Political mobilization, control and the state
10. Identity, ethnicity and political competition
11. Peasants and workers, rulers and capitalists

*Class:* Kenya – Patrimonialism, ethnicity and party politics (Thursday 2-4pm, Week 5) (*Dr Srinivasan*)

#### **Part V: State and society (ii): coercion and contestation**

12. Conflict, society and the state (*Dr Srinivasan*)
13. Social movements and popular protest (*Dr Platzky Miller*)

*Class:* Contemporary African Social Movements and Uprisings (Thursday 2-4pm, Week 8)

#### **Part VI: Futures of African Politics**

14. African Politics in a Digital Age (*Dr Srinivasan*)
15. Youth, Students, and Social Reproduction (*Dr Platzky Miller*)
16. Reimagining and Remaking Africa in the World (*Dr Platzky Miller*)

### Easter Term - Revision Lectures (*Dr Srinivasan*)

17. Explaining African politics in historical perspective (*Dr Srinivasan*)
18. Rethinking African politics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (*Dr Srinivasan & Dr Platzky Miller*)

## Resources

The following are basic introductory texts that come at the issues from rather different perspectives, and may be read before term starts. The series of Basil Davidson films on YouTube are very watchable (see link in week 2 reading list).

\*Young, Tom, *Africa: A Beginners Guide*, Oxford: OneWorld, 2010.

\*Thompson, Alex, *An Introduction to African Politics*, Basingstoke: Routledge 2016 (4<sup>th</sup> edition)

An excellent foundational book, covering important history of African politics and with a strong line of argument is:

\* Cooper, Frederick. *Africa since 1940: the past of the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019 (new edition)

The **key texts** below represent a comprehensive set of essential works relevant across the paper's topics. Students should be aware that many texts speak to different lecture topics, and so cherry-picking individual lecture reading lists alone is often not sufficient. This list may be used as a check-list later in the year, to ensure that you have read the relevant foundational texts for the course.

1. Bates, Robert H. *Markets and states in tropical Africa: the political basis of agricultural policies*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, Introduction and Chs 1 and 2.
2. Jean-Francois Bayart, "Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion" *African Affairs*, no. 99, April 2000.
3. Berman, Bruce, "Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism" *African Affairs*, 97, 1998.

Or, Lonsdale, John, 'Moral Ethnicity and Political Tribalism' In Kaarsholm and Hultin, eds., *Inventions and Boundaries*, Roskilde, Denmark, 1994, available at <http://rossy.ruc.dk/ojs/index.php/ocpa/article/view/3608/1790>

4. Bratton, M. and N. van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, Introduction, Ch. 3
5. Clapham, Christopher, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.
6. Collier, P and Hoeffler, A (2004) "On the Incidence of Civil War in Africa." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46: 13.
7. Cooper, Frederick, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present*, Cambridge University Press, 2019 (new edition)

Or, Nugent, Paul, *Africa since Independence: A comparative history*, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2004.

8. Ekeh, Peter, 'Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A theoretical statement', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17, no. 1 (1975): 91-112

9. Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin Classics, 1961: 'Concerning Violence' and 'Pitfalls of National Consciousness'
10. Ferguson, James. 'Seeing Like an Oil Company: Space, Security, and Global Capital in Neoliberal Africa' *American Anthropologist* 107:3, 2005  
  
Or, Ferguson, James, *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development", Depoliticisation and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*, University of Minnesota Press, 1990, Preface, Conclusion
11. Herbst, Jeffrey, *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
12. Mamdani, Mahmood, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton University Press, 1996.  
  
Mamdani, Mahmood, *Saviors and Survivors: Darfur, Politics and the War on Terror*, Pantheon, 2010, Ch. 2, conclusion
13. Mbembe, Achille, *On the Postcolony*, Berkley: University of California Press, 2001, Chapters 1 and 2
14. Mkandawire, Thandika, 'Thinking About Developmental States in Africa', *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 25, no. 3 (2001): 289-314  
  
Mkandawire, Thandika, and Charles Soludo, *Our Continent, Our Future: African Perspectives on Structural Adjustment*, CODESRIA, 1999, Introduction, Ch. 1-3
15. Ake, Claude, '[The Unique Case of African Democracy](#)', *International Affairs*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (Apr., 1993), pp. 239-244.
16. Nyabola, Nanjala, *Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics: How The Internet Era Is Transforming Kenya*, Zed Books, 2018, Introduction.
17. Ranger, Terrence, 'The Invention of Tradition in Africa', in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, Canto 1996.

The *Oxford Encyclopaedia of African Politics*, while not used directly during the year, is comprehensive and up to date with some strong contributions from recognized leading thinkers. See: <https://oxfordre.com/politics/page/african-politics/the-oxford-encyclopedia-of-african-politics>

### Reference material

The reading list divides material into two categories. Under each of the lecture descriptions you will find lists of *Core* and *Supplementary* readings. Students are expected to read the *Core* readings prior to lectures, and to prepare for exams, and these are all \*starred in this document. The *Supplementary* reading lists offer alternative takes on the issues, delve into particular aspects of the issues, and offer further case-studies. Note that many of the readings are relevant for more than one lecture or section of the course – the best student work in supervision essays and exams tends to see the links between issues and to draw these out.

All of the starred books should be available at either the **Seeley Library** (Faculty of History) or the **Centre of African Studies Library**, ARB 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor. The library website is: [www.african.cam.ac.uk/library/](http://www.african.cam.ac.uk/library/)

Many of the other texts can be found in the Seeley Library or the Centre of African Studies Library or are accessible through the University Library electronic resources portal. Chapters or Articles available on-line via either via Camtools or the Library portal are marked **OL**.

Discussion of African politics is vibrant and diverse, with rich crossover between scholarly debates and policy research and practice. Those wanting to follow the debates, from a variety of different perspectives, should explore the following specialist publications and academic journals (those in italics are particularly prominent; most or all are available either on-line, at the Seeley library or at the Centre of African Studies library):

*Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*  
*African Affairs*,  
 Africa Confidential,  
 Africa Today,  
 African Studies Review,  
 African Studies Quarterly,  
 Commonwealth and Comparative Politics,  
 Development and Change,  
 Journal of African and Asian Studies,  
*Journal of Modern African Studies*,  
 Journal of East African Studies,  
 Journal of Southern African Studies,  
 Journal of African Economies,  
 New African,  
*Review of African Political Economy*,  
 Round Table,  
 Third World Quarterly  
 Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity  
 Feminist Africa

### **The following internet sites are good for news and research about Africa:**

The on-line resources on the Centre of African Studies are at ([www.african.cam.ac.uk/library/](http://www.african.cam.ac.uk/library/)), including links to the NIPAD database (<http://biblioline.nisc.com/scripts/login.dll>). A large number of articles and speeches by radical African leaders of the independence era on nationalism and anti-imperialism are available at: [www.marxists.org/subject/africa/index.htm](http://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/index.htm)

#### *More contemporary material*

African Arguments <https://africanarguments.org/>  
 Africa is a Country <https://africasacountry.com/>  
 Pambazuka.org <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/>  
 Rev. Afr. Pol. Econ. <http://roape.net/>  
 AllAfrica.com <http://allafrica.com/>  
 Africa news online [www.africanews.org/index.html](http://www.africanews.org/index.html)  
 BBC news <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/default.stm> /  
[http://allafrica.com/partners/bbc/focus\\_on\\_africa.ram](http://allafrica.com/partners/bbc/focus_on_africa.ram)  
 News.Africa.Com <http://www.news.africa.com>  
 Political resources.net [www.politicalresources.net/africa.htm](http://www.politicalresources.net/africa.htm)  
 Stanford Africa guide [www.sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/guide.html](http://www.sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/guide.html)  
 Afrobarometer [www.afrobarometer.org](http://www.afrobarometer.org)  
 UN IRIN news <http://www.irinnews.org>

World Bank <http://www.worldbank.org/afr/>  
Think Africa Press <http://www.thinkafricapress.com>  
Africa Research Institute <http://www.africaresearchinstitute.org>

There is also the **Cambridge African Film Festival** , which each year shows excellent new films on and from the continent: <http://www.cambridgeafricanfilmfestival.org.uk/>

### **A note on dealing with primary materials**

Documents written by or for African Governments, donor agencies, activist groups, think tanks and NGOs are sometimes referenced in the reading list. Students should also search the web for relevant, up to date, publicly available policy material about particular cases and places. This so-called ‘grey literature’ often presents data and analysis in a non-contestable form, generating what sound like anodyne and technocratic policy proposals designed to appeal to ‘common sense’. That’s no reason to take it at face value - as with the scholarly literature, students should be alert to the questions of who is making an argument and why, whose interest and ideologies it reflects and serves.

Nonetheless, it is not always wise to critique policy literature in quite the same terms as academic studies. Political actors tend to be self-aggrandizing and not to respect standards of evidence that would be considered appropriate in the academy. Explaining why they are doing what they are doing rhetorically can be interesting, and critiquing an NGO campaign *can* be done insightfully, but beware knocking over straw men – of criticizing a TV advert for a lack of nuance, for example. Similarly, essays that efface differences within those writing from similar institutional backgrounds, comparing the positions of ‘donors’, ‘African Governments’, ‘NGOs’ and ‘critics’, as if those labels explain everything we need to know about an argument, are rarely interesting.



## Part I: Africa & the world: The past of the present

### Lecture 1. Africa in world politics: Exception or comparator? Victim or agent? Self or Other?

#### Sample questions

- Is the study of African politics trapped in its past?
- What explains the continuities in Africa's portrayal in the West?
- Can African politics be understood using categories derived from the Western experience?

#### Core readings

- \* Hegel, G.W.F., *The Philosophy of History*, Dover, 1956, pp. 91-99
- \* Said, Edward, *Orientalism*, Vintage Books, 1994 [1978], Introduction
- \* Mudimbe, V.Y., *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*, Indiana University Press, 1988, Introduction, Ch. 1, conclusion
- \* Wainaina, Binyavanga, 'How to write about Africa', *Granta*, 2006, <http://www.granta.com/extracts/2615>
- \* James Ferguson, *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*, Duke University Press, 2006, Introduction pp. 1-23.
- \* Jean-Francois Bayart, "Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion" *African Affairs*, no. 99, April 2000.
- \* Cole, Teju, "The White Savior Industrial Complex," *The Atlantic*, 21 March 2012, <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/03/the-white-savior-industrial-complex/254843/>

#### Supplementary readings

##### *Popular representations of Africa*

Kaplan, Robert, "The Coming Anarchy: How Scarcity, Crime, Overpopulation and Disease are Rapidly Destroying the Social Fabric of our Planet", *The Atlantic Monthly*, 1994.

Lindqvist, Sven, *Exterminate All the Brutes*, The New Press, 1996

Césaire, Aime, *Discourse on colonialism*. NYU Press, 2001.

Branch, Adam, "Dangerous Ignorance: The Hysteria of Kony 2012," Al Jazeera English, 12 March 2012, [www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/03/201231284336601364.html](http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/03/201231284336601364.html); "Kony Part II: Accountability, Not Awareness," 7 April 2012, [www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/04/201247943869166.html](http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/04/201247943869166.html)

- Burman, Erica, 'Innocents Abroad: Western Fantasies of Childhood and the Iconography of Emergencies', *Disasters* 18, no. 3 (1994): 238-253
- Williams, David, 'Aid as autobiography', *Africa* 72, no. 1 (2002): 150-63
- Jarosz, Lucy, 'Constructing the Dark Continent: Metaphor as Geographic Representation of Africa', *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography* 24, no. 2 (1992): 105-115
- Farrell, Nathan, 'Celebrity Politics: Bono, Product (RED) and the Legitimising of Philanthrocapitalism', *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 14, no. 3 (2012): 392-406
- Jefferess, David, 'For Sale—Peace of Mind', *Critical Arts: A Journal of North-South Cultural Studies* 16, no. 1 (2002): 1-21
- Repo, J. and R. Yrjola, 'The Gender Politics of Celebrity Humanitarianism in Africa', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13, no. 1 (2011): 44-62
- Ekine, Sokari, 'White saviours, black victims: An old story', *Pambazuka News*, no. 578, 21 March 2012, <http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/80923>
- Harrison, Graham, *The African Presence: Representations of Africa in the Construction of Britishness*, Manchester University Press, 2013
- Pieterse, Jan Nederveen, 'Into the Dark Continent', in *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture*, Yale University Press, 1995
- The Politics of Studying Africa*
- Mazrui, Ali Al' Amin, "The Re-invention of Africa: Edward Said, V. Y. Mudimbe, and Beyond", *Research in African Literatures*, 36 (3), 2005: 68-82.
- Samir Amin, Eurocentrism, *Monthly Review Press*, 1988, Introduction
- Mbembe, Achille, 'African Modes of Self-Writing', *Identity, Culture and Politics* 2, no. 1 (2001)
- Zeleza, Paul Tiyambe, *The Study of Africa: Volume I: Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Encounters*, Codesria, 2006, Introduction, Ch. 6, 7, 8, 10
- Zeleza, Paul Tiyambe, *The Study of Africa: Volume II: Global and Transnational Engagements*, Codesria, 2007
- Zeleza, Paul Tiyambe, 'African Studies and Universities since Independence', *Transition* no. 101 (2009): 110-135
- Hountondji, Paulin, 'Ethnophilosophy', in *African Philosophy: Myth and Reality* (trans. Henri Evans), 1976.
- Lonsdale, John, 'African Studies, Europe and Africa' Plenary Lecture at 2005 Annual AEGIS conference: <http://aegis-eu.org/old/archive/ecas2005/Plenary%20Lonsdale.htm/> and Reprinted in *Africa Spectrum* 40(3) (2005), pp. 377-402.
- Robinson, Pearl, 'Ralph Bunche and African Studies: Reflections on the

politics of Knowledge’, *African Studies Review* 51, no. 1 (2008): 1-16

Bates, Robert, et. al, *Africa and the Disciplines: the contribution of research in Africa to the social sciences and humanities*, Chicago University Press, 1993, Introduction and Ch. 3.

Gilroy, Paul, ‘The Black Atlantic as a Counterculture of Modernity’, in *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Harvard University Press, 1993

James, C. L. R., ‘Black Studies and the Contemporary Student’, in *At the Rendezvous of Victory—Selected Writings*, Allison & Busby, 1984

Hanchard, Michael, ‘Contours in Black Political Thought’, *Political Theory* 38, no. 4 (2010): 510-536

Nyamnjoh, Francis B, “‘Potted Plants in Greenhouses’”: A Critical Reflection on the Resilience of Colonial Education in Africa’, *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 47, no. 2 (2012): 129-154

Nyamnjoh, Francis B. ‘Blinded by Sight: Divining the Future of Anthropology in Africa’, *Africa Spectrum* 47, no. 2-3 (2012): 63-92

Oyekan Owomoyela, “With Friends Like These...A Critique of the Pervasive Anti-Africanism in Current African Studies Epistemology and Methodology” *African Studies Review* 37(3), 1994: 77-101.

Mazrui, Ali Al’Amin, “Where is Africa?” in *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, London: BBC Publications, 1986, Ch. 2.

Mbembe, Achille, *On the Postcolony*, Berkley: University of California Press, 2001.

Mbembe, Achille and Sarah Nuttall, “Writing the World from an African Metropolis,” *Public Culture* 16, no. 3 (2004): 347-372.

Mudimbe, V.Y. *The Idea of Africa: African Systems of Thought*, Indiana University Press, 1994.

#### *Rhodes Must Fall*

#RhodesMustFall (2015). “Mission Statement”. In *The Johannesburg Salon* (Iss. 9): 6–8. Available Online: <https://www.facebook.com/rhodesmustfall/posts/uct-rhodes-must-fall-mission-statementwe-are-an-independent-collective-of-studen/1559394444336048/>

Simamkele Dlakavu (2017) “Say No, Black Woman”: The Giant is Falling and the erasure of Black women in South Africa, *Agenda*, 31(3-4): 89-95, DOI: 10.1080/10130950.2017.1391615

Pillay, Suren, ‘Decolonizing the University’, 7 June 2015, available at <http://africasacountry.com/decolonizing-the-university/>

Mampilly, Zachariah, ‘Decolonizing the United States: Lessons from Africa’, *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies* 38, no. 3 (2015)

Lester, Claire-Anne, Carilee Osborne, and Michael Nassen Smith (2017). “Falling Rainbows: Anatomy of a False Choice”. In: *New Agenda: South African Journal of Social and Economic Policy* Q1 (64), pp. 36–38.

Platzky Miller, Josh (2019) “Imagination and Decolonisation”. in *Politics, Education and the Imagination in South African and Brazilian student-led mobilisations* (2015-16). Cambridge: University of Cambridge Doctoral Thesis: pp.61-64. <https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.51079>

## Lecture 2. Pre-colonial and colonial Africa

### Sample questions

- Did Colonial rule simply reproduce European ideas of the state in Africa?
- In what ways and why did Colonial elites 'invent' tradition in Africa?

### Core readings

- \*Mamdani, Mahmood, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton University Press, 1996 – particularly Introduction and Ch.II, III
- \*Herbst, Jeffrey, *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton University Press, 2000, Chs 2 and 3.
- \*Young, Crawford, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994: 1-12.
- \*Ranger, Terrence, 'The Invention of Tradition in Africa', in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, Canto 1996.
- \*Ekeh, Paul, 'Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 17/1,1975: 91-112.

### Supplementary readings

- Iliffe, John, *Africans: History of a Continent*, Cambridge University Press, 1996. Chs. 6-10
- Ayittey, George (ed), *Africa Betrayed*, Palgrave MacMillan, 1993.
- Chamberlain, M.E., *The Scramble for Africa*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Longman, 1999.
- Clapham, Christopher, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp 28-43.
- Crowder, Michael, "Indirect Rule: French and British Style" *Africa* 34 (1964), pp. 197-205.
- Davidson, Basil, 'Africa: A Voyage of Discovery', [youtube.com/watch?v=bPTUnzLOnJU&list=PLI\\_tIxrH8tQxTwCZ7-sMv276Z2QqA8wAY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bPTUnzLOnJU&list=PLI_tIxrH8tQxTwCZ7-sMv276Z2QqA8wAY)
- Hodgkin, Thomas, *Nationalism in colonial Africa*, London: Frederick Muller, 1956.
- Robinson, R. J. Gallagher and A. Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Macmillan, 1981.
- Thompson, Alex, *An Introduction to African Politics*, Oxford: Routledge, 2016, Ch. 2.
- Young, Tom *Africa: A Beginners Guide*, Oxford: OneWorld, 2010, Ch. 1.

### Cases

- Caplan, Gerald L. 'Barotseland's Scramble for Protection' *J of African History*, 1969, 10
- Hochschild, Adam, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Houghton, 1998.

Kenyatta, Jomo, *Facing Mount Kenya*, New York: Vintage Books, ch. 9, 1965.

Ranger, Terrence, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, A Study in African Resistance*, Evanston: North Western University Press, 1967.

## Lecture 3. Independence and the politics of the 'Third World'

### Sample questions

- Did African nationalism fail independent Africa?
- What role did ideology play in the politics of independent Africa?
- Did the superpowers call the shots in Africa during the Cold War?

### Core readings

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- \* Nugent, Paul, *Africa since Independence: A comparative history*, Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2004 – chapter one
- \* Shivji, Issa. 'The struggle to convert nationalism to Pan-Africanism', Keynote address to the 4th European Conference on African Studies, Uppsala June 15 to 18, 2011. Available at: <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/75620>.
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- \* Allen, Chris, 'Understanding African Politics', *Review of African Political Economy* 22 (65), 1995, pp. 301-320.
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Macola, Giacomo, 'Harry Nkumbula, UNIP and the Roots of Authoritarianism in Nationalist Zambia', in J.-B. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola (eds.), *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-Colonial Zambia*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008: 17-44

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Allman, Jean, *The Quills of the Porcupine: Asante nationalism in an emergent Ghana*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1993

Beckman, Bjorn, *Organizing the Farmers: Cocoa politics and national development in Ghana*, Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1976

Nkrumah, Kwame, *Neo-colonialism: The last stage of imperialism*, London: Heinemann, 1968.

Rathbone, Richard, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs*, Oxford: Currey, 2000

*French West Africa*

Senghor, Léopold Sédar, *On African Socialism*, trans. Mercer Cook, 1964, pp. 3-6, 67-103

Chafer, T. *The end of empire in French West Africa* (2002)

Cooper, Fred, *Decolonisation and African society: The labour question in French and British Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996

Schmidt, E. *Mobilizing the masses: gender, ethnicity, and class in the nationalist movement in Guinea, 1939-1958* (2006)

*On the Cold War in Africa*

Westad, Odd Arne, *The Global Cold War*, Cambridge: CUP, 2005, Chapters 3 and 8.

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Mayall, James, "The Battle for the Horn: Somali Irredentism and International Diplomacy". *The World Today* 34 (9), 1978, pp. 336-345.

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Bowman, Larry W, "The Strategic Importance of South Africa to the United States: An Appraisal and Policy Analysis". *African Affairs* 81 (323), 1982, pp. 159-191.

Shubin, Vladamir, *The Hot Cold War: The USSR in Southern Africa*, Pluto Press, 2008.

Borstelmann, T., *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle: The US and South Africa in the early Cold War*, Oxford University Press, 1993.

Jamie Miller, "Things Fall Apart: South Africa and the Collapse of the Portuguese Empire, 1973-74," *Cold War History*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (May 2012), pp. 183-204.



## Part II: Global economic order & African development

### Lecture 4. Underdevelopment, Developmental States, Neo-Colonialism

#### Sample questions

- To what extent did colonialism determine post-colonial economic possibilities in Africa?
- What has been the relationship between the global economy and economic growth in Africa?

#### Core reading

- \* Rostow, W. W., *Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, Cambridge University Press, 1960, Introduction, Ch. 2
- \* Rodney, Walter, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Howard University Press, 1974, Ch. 1, 5
- \* Cooper, Frederick, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present*, Cambridge University Press, 2019, Ch. 1, 5
- \* Amin, Samir, 'Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa: Origins and Contemporary Forms', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 10, no. 4 (1972): 503-24
- \* Nyerere, Julius, 'Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism' and 'The Arusha Declaration' in *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*, Oxford University Press, 1968
- \* Mkandawire, Thandika, 'Running while others walk: Knowledge and the challenge of Africa's development', *Africa Development*, 36(2) (2011), pp. 1-36. OR \* Mkandawire, Thandika, 'Thinking About Developmental States in Africa', *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 25, no. 3 (2001): 289-314

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Rodney, Walter, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Ch. 6

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- Chang, Ha-Joon. *Kicking away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective*, Anthem, 2002. Ch. 4, pp. 125-141.
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- Shivji, Issa, *Class Struggles in Tanzania*, Heinemann, 1976, Ch. 1, 2
- Amin, Samir, *Unequal Development*, Monthly Review Press, 1976, Introduction and Ch. 1
- Prashad, Vijay, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, New Press, 2008, Introduction, part 1: 'Bandung', 'Havana'
- Leys, Colin, *Underdevelopment in Kenya: the political economy of neo-colonialism*, University of California Press, 1975
- Hochschild, Adam, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, Houghton Mifflin, 1999, Ch. 7-15
- Arrighi, Giovanni, 'The African crisis: World Systemic and Regional Aspects', *New Left Review*, 15 (2002): 5-36

## Lecture 5. Debt and Development: From Structural Adjustment to Good Governance

### Sample questions

- Has development in Africa been a political or economic project?
- Good governance has been characterized as a disciplinary project – is this accurate? If so, who is being disciplined and to what effect?

### Core reading

- \* The World Bank, *Accelerated Development in sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action*, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1981, Ch. 1, 2, 4, 9 [Known as the 'Berg Report' after its principal author, Elliot Berg.]
- \* Mkandawire, Thandika, and Charles Soludo, *Our Continent, Our Future: African Perspectives on Structural Adjustment*, CODESRIA, 1999, Introduction, Ch. 1-3
- \* Abrahamsen, Rita, *Disciplining Democracy: Development Discourse and Good Governance in Africa*, Zed Books, 2000
- \* Harrison, Graham, *The World Bank and Africa: The Construction of Governance States*, Routledge, 2004, Ch. 1
- \* Whitfield, Lindsay (ed.) *The politics of aid: African strategies for dealing with donors*, Oxford University Press, 2009, Introduction and Ch. 1-3
- \* Ferguson, James, *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development", Depoliticisation and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*, University of Minnesota Press, 1990, Preface, Ch. 2, Conclusion

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World Bank, *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*. Washington, D.C., 1989

Mamdani, Mahmood, 'Uganda: Contradictions of the IMF Programme and Perspective', *Development and Change* 21 (1990): 427-467

Tumusiime-Mutebile, E., 'Uganda: Contradictions of the IMF Programme and Perspective: A Comment', *Development and Change* 22 (1991): 339-349

Plank, David N., 'Aid, Debt, and the End of Sovereignty: Mozambique and its Donors', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 31, no. 3 (1993): 407-430

Mkandawire, Thandika and Adebayo O. Olukoshi (eds.), *Between Liberalisation and Oppression: The*

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Logan, B. Ikubolajeh and Kidane Mengisteab (eds.), *Beyond Economic Liberalization in Africa: Structural Adjustment and the Alternatives*, Zed Books, 1995

Lensink, Robert, *Structural Adjustment in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Longman, 1996

World Bank, *World Development Report 1997: The State in a Changing World*, Oxford University Press, 1997

Mkandawire, Thandika, 'Crisis management and the making of "choiceless democracies" in Africa', in R. Joseph (ed.), *The State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa*, Lynne Rienner, 1998

Williams, David, 'Aid and Sovereignty: Quasi-states and the International Financial Institutions', *Review of International Studies* 26, no. 4 (2000): 557-73

van de Walle, Nicholas, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*, Cambridge, 2001, Introduction and Ch. 5, 6

Easterly, William, *The White Man's Burden*, Penguin, 2006, Ch. 8, 9

Whitfield, Lindsay (ed.) *The politics of aid: African strategies for dealing with donors*, Oxford University Press, 2009, Introduction and Ch. 1-3

#### *Good Governance*

Harrison, Graham, *The World Bank and Africa: The Construction of Governance States*, Routledge, 2004

Young, Tom, and David Williams, 'Governance, the World Bank and Liberal Theory', *Political Studies* 42, no. 1 (1994)

Orford, Anne, and Jennifer Beard, 'Making the State Safe for the Market: The World Bank's World Development Report 1997', *Melbourne University Law Review* 22, no. 1 (1998): 195-216

Gathii, James Thuo, 'Good Governance as a Counterinsurgency Agenda to Oppositional and Transformative Social Projects in International Law', *Buffalo Human Rights Law Review* 5 (1999): 107-74

Moore, David, "'Sail on, O Ship of State": Neo-Liberalism, Globalisation and the Governance of Africa', *Journal of Peasant Studies* 27, no. 1 (1999): 61-96

World Bank, *Can Africa Claim the 21st Century?*, World Bank, 1996

World Bank, *Building Effective States, Forging Engaged Societies. Report of the World Bank Task Force on Capacity-Development in Africa*, World Bank, 2005

Tangri, Roger, and Andrew Mwenda, 'Politics, Donors and the Ineffectiveness of Anti-Corruption Institutions in Uganda', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 44, no. 1 (2006): 101-24

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Grovogui, Siba, 'Oiling Tyranny?: Neoliberalism and Global Governance in Chad', *Studies in Political Economy*, no. 79 (2007)

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Fraser, Alistair (2005), 'Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers: Now Who Calls the Shots', *Review of African Political Economy* (32, 104/105), pp.317-340.

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Sen, Amartya, *Development as Freedom*, Oxford University Press, 1999

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Kapoor, Ilan, *The Postcolonial Politics of Development*, Routledge, 2008

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Rapley, John, 'Development studies and the post-development critique', *Progress in Development Studies* 4, no. 350 (2004)

Hickey, Sam, 'The return of politics in development studies: getting lost within the poverty agenda?', *Progress in Development Studies* 8, no. 4 (2008): 349-358

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Duffield, Mark. *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples*, London: Polity, 2007, Chapters 2-3.

## Lecture 6. Rising Global Powers and Changing African Economies

### Sample questions

- Does the rise of “emerging powers” in “emerging markets” mark a new phase in Africa’s relations with the world?
- Is there anything different about today’s developmental states in Africa compared to state-led development in the past?

### Core Reading

- \* Carmody, Pádraig, *The New Scramble for Africa*, Polity, 2011, Introduction, Ch. 1, 5, 6, 7
- \* Taylor, Ian, *Africa Rising? BRICS - Diversifying Dependency*, James Currey, 2014, Introduction, Ch. 1, 4
- \* Alden, Chris, *China in Africa*, Zed Books, 2007, Introduction, Ch. 1-4
- \* Cheru, Fantu and Cyril Obi, *The Rise of China and India in Africa: Challenges, Opportunities and Critical Interventions*, Zed Books, 2010, Introduction, Ch. 1, 14
- \* Meles Zenawi, ‘States and Markets: Neoliberal limitations and the case for a developmental state’, in A. Norman, K. Botchway, H. Skin and J. E. Stiglitz (eds.), *Good Growth and Governance in Africa: Rethinking development strategies*, Oxford University Press, 2012
- \* Mkandawire, Thandika, ‘Can Africa turn from Recovery to Development’, *Current History* 113, no. 763 (2014): 171-177
- \* “Africa Rising,” and “The Sun Shines Bright,” *The Economist*, 1 December 2011  
<http://www.economist.com/node/21541015>; <http://www.economist.com/node/21541008>

### Supplementary readings

#### *Natural Resource Economies*

- Klare, Michael, and Daniel Volman, ‘America, China, and the Scramble for Africa’s Oil’, *Review of African Political Economy* 33, no. 108 (2006): 297–309
- Harvey, David, *The New Imperialism*, Oxford University Press, 2003, Ch. 4
- Radelet, Steven, *Emerging Africa: How Seventeen Countries are Leading the Way*, Center for Global Development, 2010
- Bond, Patrick, *Looting Africa : The Economics of Exploitation*, Zed Books, 2006, pp. 1-94
- Foster, John Bellamy, ‘A Warning to Africa: The New U.S. Imperial Grand Strategy’, *Monthly Review* 58, no. 2 (2006): 1–12

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Shaxson, Nicholas, *Poisoned Wells: the Dirty Politics of African Oil*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2007

Watts, Michael, 'Resource Curse? Governmentality, Oil and Power in the Niger Delta, Nigeria', *Geopolitics* 9 (2004): 50-80

Ellis, Stephen, 'West Africa's International Drug Trade', *African Affairs* 108, no. 431 (2009): 171-96

Carrier, Neil, and Gernot Klantschnig, *Africa and the War on Drugs*, Zed Books, 2012, Ch. 3-4

#### *Rising Global Powers*

Alden, Christopher, 'China and Africa: the relationship matures', *Strategic Analysis* 36, no. 5 (2012): 701-707

Brautigam, Deborah, *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, Oxford University Press, 2009, Prologue, Ch. 4, 7, 11

Large, Dan, 'Beyond "Dragon in the Bush": the study of China-Africa relations', *African Affairs* 107, no. 426 (2008): 45-61

Mohan, Giles and Ben Lampert, 'Negotiating China: Reinserting African Agency into China-Africa Relations', *African Affairs* 112, no. 446 (2012): 92-110

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Carmody, Pádraig, *The Rise of the BRICS in Africa: The Geo-politics of South-South Relations*, Zed Books, 2013, Ch. 1, 6, 7

French, Howard, *China's Second Continent: How a Million Migrants Are Building a New Empire in Africa*, 2015

Arrighi, Giovanni, 'Lineages of the New Asian Age', pp. 276-389 in *Adam Smith in Beijing*, 2008

Wilson, Japhy, 'Colonising Space: The New Economic Geography in Theory and Practice', *New Political Economy* 16, no. 3 (2011): 373-397

Ban, Cornel and Mark Blyth, 'The BRICs and the Washington Consensus: An introduction', *Review of International Political Economy* 20, no. 2 (2013)

Harneit-Sievers, Axel, Stephen Marks and Sanusha Naidu, *Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa*, Fahamu Books, 2010

*Neo-Developmental States, New Opportunities*

wa Gĩthĩnji, Mwangi and Olugbenga Adesida, 'Industrialization, Exports and the Developmental State in Africa: The Case for Transformation', UMass Amherst Working Paper no. 2011-18, 2011

Kelsall, T. and D. Booth, 'Developmental Patrimonialism? Questioning the orthodoxy on political governance and economic progress in Africa', Working Paper, Overseas Development Institute, Africa Power and Politics Programme, 2010

Clapham, Christopher. 'The Ethiopian developmental state.' *Third World Quarterly* 39, no. 6 (2018): 1151-1165.

Booth, David and Frederick Golooba-Mutebi, 'Developmental Patrimonialism? The Case of Rwanda', *African Affairs* 111, no. 444 (2012): 379-403

Mann, Laura, and Marie Berry, 'Understanding the political motivations that shape Rwanda's emergent developmental state.' *New Political Economy* 21, no. 1 (2016): 119-144.

Tandon, Yash, 'Aid without dependence: an alternative conceptual model for development cooperation', *Development* 52 (2009): 356-362

Amin, Samir, 'On Delegitimising Capitalism: the scourge of Africa and the South', *Africa Development* XXXVII, no. 4 (2012): 15-72

Shivji, Issa, *Accumulation in an African Periphery: A Theoretical Framework*, African Books Collective, Ch. 1-3

*Shifting Western Engagements*

Blanchard, Olivier, Giovanni Dell'Ariccia and Paolo Mauro, 'Rethinking Macroeconomic Policy', IMF Staff Position Note, SPN/10/03, 12 February 2012, Washington, D.C.

Berg, Andrew, et al., 'Fiscal Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa in Response to the Impact of the Global Crisis', IMF Staff Position Note, SPN/09/10, 14 May 2009, Washington, D.C.

Ernst and Young, *Ernst & Young's attractiveness survey, Africa 2013: Getting down to business*, [www.ey.com/attractiveness](http://www.ey.com/attractiveness)

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Kelsall, Tim, *Business, Politics and the State in Africa: Challenging the Orthodoxies on Growth and Transformation*, Zed Books, 2013, Introduction

Chang, Ha-Joon, *Kicking away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective*, Anthem, 2002, Ch. 4



Moyo, Dambisa, *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa*, 2009, Ch. 1, 3

Mshomba, Richard E., *Africa and the World Trade Organization*, Cambridge University Press, 2009, Introduction

## Part III: International intervention: democracy, human rights, security

### Lecture 7. Debating Democratization, Civil Society, and NGOs

#### Sample questions

- Is 'democratisation' a useful lens for understanding Africa's political history?
- Are NGOs in Africa agents of political emancipation or political control?

#### Core reading

- \* Nugent, Paul, *Africa since Independence: A Comparative History*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, Ch. 9
- \* Ake, Claude, *The Feasibility of Democracy in Africa*, CODESRIA, 2000, Ch. 1, 2
- \* Bratton, M. and N. van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, Introduction, Ch. 3
- \* Ekeh, Peter, 'Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A theoretical statement', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17, no. 1 (1975): 91-112
- \* Englund, Harri, *Prisoners of Freedom: Human Rights and the African Poor*, University of California Press, 2006, Introduction, Ch. 1, 4, 7, 8
- \* Shivji, Issa, *Silences in NGO Discourse: The Role and Future of NGOs in Africa*, Fahamu Books, 2007, Part 1

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- Bayart, J.-F., *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*, Polity, 2009, Part III
- Cheeseman, Nic, *Democracy in Africa*, Cambridge University Press, 2015, Ch. 3, 4
- Ake, Claude, *Development and Democracy in Africa*, Brookings, 1996
- Harrison, Graham, *Issues in the Contemporary Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa: The Dynamics of Struggle and Resistance*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, Ch. 4
- Young, Crawford, *The Postcolonial State in Africa*, University of Wisconsin Press, 2012, Ch. 5, 6

Widner, Jennifer, 'Political Reform in Anglophone and Francophone African Countries', in *Economic Change and Political Liberalization in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Jennifer Widner (ed.), Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994

LeBas, Adrienne, *From Protest to Parties: Party-Building and Democratization in Africa*, Oxford University Press, 2011, Ch. 1, 2

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Diamond, Larry, 'Thinking about Hybrid Regimes', *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2, (2002): 21- 35

Huntington, Samuel, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991

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Robinson, William I., *Promoting polyarchy: globalization, US intervention, and hegemony*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, Ch. 1 and 2

Shivji, Issa, *State and Constitutionalism: An African Debate on Democracy*, SAPES, 1991

van de Walle, Nicolas, 'Africa's Range of Regimes', *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (2002): 66-80

Williams, Gavin, 'Democracy as Idea and Democracy as Process in Africa', *Journal of African American History* 88 (2003): 339-60

Branch, Adam and Zachariah Mampilly, *Africa Uprising: Popular Protest and Political Change*, Zed Books, 2015, Ch. 3

#### *Civil Society in Africa*

Young, Crawford, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, Yale University Press, 1997, Ch. 7

Bayart, Jean-François, 'Civil society in Africa', in P. Chabal (ed.), *Political Domination in Africa: Reflections on the Limits of Power*, Cambridge University Press, 1986

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Ferguson, James, *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*, Duke University Press, 2006, Introduction and Ch. 4

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Harbeson, J.W., 'Civil society and political renaissance in Africa', in J. W. Harbeson, D. Rothchild and N. Chazan (eds.), *Civil Society and the State in Africa*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994

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David Lewis, "Civil society in African contexts: reflections on the usefulness of a concept", *Development and Change* 33, no. 4 (2002): 569-586

Kasfir, Nelson. 1998. "Civil society, the state and democracy in Africa," *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 36 (2): 123–149.

Kassimir, Ronald. 1998. "The social power of religious organization and civil society: The Catholic Church in Uganda," *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 36 (2): 54– 83.

Manji, Firoze and Carol O'Coill, 'The Missionary Position: NGOs and Development in Africa', *International Affairs* 78, no. 3 (2002): 567–83.

Mamdani, Mahmood, 'Pluralism and the Right of Association', Working Paper no. 29, Centre for Basic Research, Kampala, 1993

Mutua, Makau (ed.), *Human Rights NGOs in East Africa: Political and Normative Tensions*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009

Hudock, Ann, *NGOs and Civil Society: Democracy by Proxy?*, Polity Press, 1999

Cooke, Bill, and Uma Kothari (eds.), *Participation: The New Tyranny?*, Zed Books, 2001

Hickey, Samuel, and Giles Mohan (eds.), *Participation: From Tyranny to Transformation?*, Zed Books, 2005

Dicklitch, Susan, *The Elusive Promise of NGOs in Africa: Lessons from Uganda*, St Martins Press, 1998

Welch, Claude E., 'Human rights NGOs and the rule of law in Africa', *Journal of Human Rights* 2, no. 3 (2003): 315–327

Shivji, Issa, *The Concept of Human Rights in Africa*, CODESRIA Book Series, 1989

## Lecture 8. Intervening in Political Violence: Humanitarianism, Peacebuilding, and Security

### Sample questions

- Will humanitarian and peace interventions in Africa always be counterproductive?
- To what extent do African states collaborate with Western intervention?

### Core reading

- \* Branch, Adam, *Displacing Human Rights: War and Intervention in Northern Uganda*, Oxford University Press, 2011 Ch. 1, 3
- \* de Waal, Alex, *Famine Crimes: Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa*, James Currey, 1997, Ch. 3, 4, 7-11
- \* Mamdani, Mahmood, *Saviors and Survivors: Darfur, Politics and the War on Terror*, Pantheon, 2010, Ch. 2, conclusion
- \* Menkhaus, Kenneth, 'Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State-Building, and the Politics of Coping', *International Security* 31, no. 3 (2007): 74-106
- \* Mbeki, Thabo, 'Libya and African Self-Determination', 2 April 2011, available at <http://h-net.msu.edu/cgi-bin/logbrowse.pl?trx=vx&list=H-Africa&month=1104&week=d&msg=C94hRIhICcLivtvqWLddZw&user=&pw=>
- \* Malkki, Liisa, 'Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization', *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 3 (1996): 377-404

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- Terry, Fiona, *Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humanitarian Action*, Cornell University Press, 2002
- Moore, David, 'Leveling the Playing Fields and Embedding Illusions: "Post-conflict" Discourse and Neo-Liberal "Development" in War-Torn Africa', *Review of African Political Economy* 27, no. 83 (2000): 11-28
- Jok, Jok Madut, 'Information Exchange in the Disaster Zone: Interaction between Aid Workers and Recipients in South Sudan', *Disasters* 20, no. 3 (1996): 206-15
- Marriage, Zoë, *Not Breaking the Rules, Not Playing the Game: International Assistance to Countries at War*, Hurst & Company, 2006
- Deng, Francis Mading, Sadikiel Kimaro, Terrence Lyons, Donald Rothchild, and I. William Zartman, *Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa*, Brookings Institution Press, 1996

- Uvin, Peter, *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda*, Kumarian Press, 1998
- Harrell-Bond, Barbara, 'Can Humanitarian Work with Refugees be Humane?', *Human Rights Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (2002): 51–85
- Fassin, Didier, 'Humanitarianism as a Politics of Life', *Public Culture* 19, no. 3 (2007): 499–520
- Duffield, Mark, *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security*, Zed Books, 2001

### *Peacebuilding*

- Autesserre, Severine, *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, Ch. 1, 3, 6
- Branch, Adam, *Displacing Human Rights: War and Intervention in Northern Uganda*, Oxford University Press, 2011, Ch. 4, 5
- Poulligny, Béatrice, *Peace Operations Seen from Below: UN Missions and Local People*, Hurst & Company, 2006
- Mama, Amina, and Margo Okazawa-Rey, 'Editorial: Militarism, Conflict and Women's Activism', *Feminist Africa* 10 (2008): 1–8
- Menkhaus, Ken, 'Somalia: "They Created a Desert and Called it Peace(building),"' *Review of African Political Economy* 36, no. 120 (2009): 223-233
- Duffield, Mark, *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples*, Polity, 2007, Ch. 1
- Chandler, David, 'Resilience and human security: The post-interventionist paradigm' *Security Dialogue* 43, no. 3 (2012): 213-229
- Curtis, Devon, 'China and the Insecurity of Development in the Democratic Republic of the Congo', *International Peacekeeping* 20, no. 5 (2013)

### *R2P and Humanitarian Military Intervention*

- Chopra, Jarat, and Thomas G. Weiss, 'Sovereignty Is No Longer Sacrosanct: Codifying Humanitarian Intervention', *Ethics & International Affairs* 6, no. 1 (1992): 95–117
- Hehir, Aidan, and Robert Murray (eds.), *Libya, the Responsibility to Protect and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013
- Branch, Adam 'The Paradoxes of Protection: Aligning against the Lord's Resistance Army', *African Security* 5 (2012): 160–178
- Williams, Paul D., 'From non-intervention to non-indifference: the origins and development of the African Union's security culture', *African Affairs* 106, no. 423 (2007): 253–279
- Bellamy, Alex J. and Paul D. Williams, 'The new politics of protection? Côte d'Ivoire, Libya and the responsibility to protect', *International Affairs* 87, no. 4 (2011): 825–850

Sarkin, Jeremy and Mark Paterson, 'Special Issue for GR2P: Africa's Responsibility to Protect: Introduction', *Global Responsibility to Protect* 2, no. 4 (2010): 339-352

*Securitization and Counterterrorism*

LeVan, Carl, 'The Political Economy of African Responses to the U.S. Africa Command', *Africa Today* 57, no. 1 (2010): 2-23

Schmidt, Elizabeth, *Foreign Intervention in Africa: From the Cold War to the War on Terror*, Cambridge University Press, 2013, Ch. 8

Bachmann, Jan, "'Kick Down the Door, Clean up the Mess, and Rebuild the House"—The Africa Command and Transformation of the US Military', *Geopolitics* 15, no. 3 (2010): 564–85

Fisher, Jonathan and David M. Anderson, 'Authoritarianism and the securitization of development in Africa', *International Affairs* 91, no. 1 (2015): 131-151

Abrahamsen, Rita, 'A Breeding Ground for Terrorists? Africa & Britain's "War on Terrorism"', *Review of African Political Economy*, 31, no. 102 (2004): 677-684

Abrahamsen, Rita, 'Blair's Africa: The Politics of Securitization and Fear', *Alternatives* 30, no. 1 (2005): 55-80

Brown, Oli, A. Hammill and R. McLeman, 'Climate Change as the "new" security threat: implications for Africa', *International Affairs* 83 (2007): 1141-1154

Hudson, Heidi, "'Doing" Security As Though Humans Matter: A Feminist Perspective on Gender and the Politics of Human Security', *Security Dialogue* 36, no. 2 (2005): 155-174

Abrahamsen, Rita, 'Security and the Privatization of Force and Violence, in David M. Anderson, Nic Cheeseman, & Andrea Scheibler (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of African Politics*, Routledge, 2013

Menkhaus, Ken, 'Vicious circles and the security development nexus in Somalia', *Conflict, Security & Development* 4, no. 2 (2004): 149-165

Branch, Adam, *Displacing Human Rights: War and Intervention in Northern Uganda*, 2011, Ch. 7

Lind, Jeremy and Jude Howell, 'Counter-terrorism, the politics of fear and civil society responses in Kenya', *Development and Change* 41, no. (2010): 335–53

Hagmann, Tobias and M. V. Hoehne, 'Failures of the state failure debate: Evidence from the Somali territories', *Journal of International Development* 21, no. 1 (2009): 42-57

Bachmann, Jan and J. Hönke, "'Peace and Security" as Counterterrorism? The Political Effects of Liberal Interventions in Kenya', *African Affairs* 109, no. 434 (2010): 97-114

Keenan, Jeremy, 'US Militarization in Africa: What Anthropologists Should Know about AFRICOM', *Anthropology Today* 24, no. 5 (2008): 16–20

Campbell, Horace, and Amber Murrey, 'Culture-centric pre-emptive counterinsurgency and US Africa Command: assessing the role of the US social sciences in US military engagements in

Africa', *Third World Quarterly* 35, no. 8 (2014): 1457-1475

van de Walle, Nicolas, 'U.S. Policy towards Africa: The Bush Legacy and the Obama Administration', *African Affairs* 109, no. 434, (2010):1-21

Turse, Nick, *Tomorrow's Battlefield: U.S. Proxy Wars and Secret Ops in Africa*, Haymarket Books, 2015



## Lent Term

### Part IV: State and society (i): rule, mobilization and identity

#### Lecture 9. Mobilisation, authority and the state

##### Sample questions

- Why do some argue that African politics is 'neopatrimonial'?
- What does clientalism explain and what does it overlook in the study of African politics?

##### Core reading

- \* Chabal, Patrick and Jean-Pascal Daloz. *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument*, James Currey Publishers, 1999, Part I, 'The informalisation of politics'
- \* Meagher, Kate, 'Cultural Primordialism and the Post-Structuralist Imaginaire: Plus Ça Change', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, v.76 (4), 2006, pp. 590-597.
- \* Allen, Chris, 'Understanding African Politics', *Review of African Political Economy* 22 (65), 1995, pp. 301-320.
- \* Pitcher, Ann, Mary H. Moran and Michael Johnston, 'Rethinking Patrimonialism and Neopatrimonialism in Africa', *African Studies Review*, 52 (1), 2009: 125-156
- \* Mkandawire, Thandika, '[Neopatrimonialism and the Political Economy of Economic Performance in Africa: Critical Reflections](#)', *World Politics*, 67(3), 2015, 563-612.
- \* Young, Tom (ed.), *Readings in African Politics*. James Currey, 2003. Selections from Bayart, Chabal and Daloz, and Jackson and Rosberg - full texts below.

##### Supplementary readings

- Allen, Chris, 'Warfare, Endemic Violence and State Collapse in Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, 81, 1999, pp.367-384
- Bayart, Jean-Francois. *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* London: Longman, 1993.
- Boone, Catherine. *Political Topographies of the African State, Territorial Authority and Institutional Choice*, Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Clapham, Christopher. 'Clientelism and the State', in Christopher Clapham (ed.), *Private Patronage and Public Power: Political Clientelism in the Modern State*. London: Frances Printer, 1982.
- Eisenstadt, Shmuel N. *Traditional Patrimonialism and Modern Neopatrimonialism*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1973.
- Erdmann, Gero and Engle, Ulf, 'Neopatrimonialism Reconsidered: Critical Review and Elaboration of an Elusive Concept', *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 45, 1, 2007, pp. 95-119.

Also available online as: 'Neopatrimonialism Revisited: Beyond a Catch-All Concept'. *GIGA Working Papers No 16*. Hamburg: German Institute of Global and Area Studies, 2006.

Herbst, Jeffrey. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. pp. 11-31.

Herbst, Jeffrey. "War and the State in Africa", *International Security*, 14 (4) 1990.

Jackson, Robert and C. G. Rosberg, *Personal Rule in Black Africa*, Berkley: University of California Press, 1982.

Le Vine, Victor T. (1980) 'African Patrimonial Regimes in Comparative Perspective', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 18 (4), 1980: 657-73.

Leftwich, Adrian. *States of Development: On the Primacy of Politics in Development*, Cambridge: Polity, 2000.

Lemarchand, René, 'The State, the Parallel Economy, and the Changing Structure of Patronage Systems', in D. Rothchild and N. Chazan (eds), *The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa*. London: Westview Press, 1988.

Medard, Jean-Francois, 'The Underdeveloped State in Tropical Africa: Political Clientelism or Neo-patrimonialism', in Christopher Clapham (ed.), *Private Patronage and Public Power: Political Clientelism in the Modern State*. London: Frances Printer, 1982.

Migdal, Joel S. *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*. Princeton University, 1988.

Mkandawire, Thandika. 'Thinking About Developmental States in Africa'. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 25/3, 2001: 289-314.

Musah, Abdel-Fatau. 'Privatisation of Security, Arms Proliferation and the Process of State Collapse in Africa', *Development and Change*, 33(5), 2002.

Nugent, Paul, 'States and Social Contracts in Africa', *New Left Review*, 63, 2010, pp. 35-67.

Reno, William. *Warlord Politics and African States*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998, Introduction, Ch. 1.

Thompson, Alex, *An Introduction to African Politics*, Routledge, 2016, Ch. 6. 'Legitimacy, neo-patrimonialism, personal rule and centralisation of the African state', and Ch 7. 'Coercion: Military intervention in African politics'.

Weber, Max. *Economy and Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

### *The Future of Electoral Democracy*

Cooper, Frederick, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present*, 2019, Ch. 7, 8

Lindberg, Staffan, *Democracy and Elections in Africa*, 2006, Ch. 1, 3, 7

Lindberg, Staffan, 'The Power of Elections in Africa Revisited', in Staffan Lindberg (ed.), *Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009

Tripp, Aili Marie, 'The changing face of authoritarianism in Africa: the case of Uganda', *Africa Today* 50, no. 3 (2004): 3-26

Cheeseman, Nic, *Democracy in Africa*, Cambridge UP, Ch. 5

Morse, Yonatan L., 'The Era of Electoral Authoritarianism', *World Politics* 64, no. 1 (2012): 161-198

Aalen, Lowse, and Kjetil Tronvoll, 'The 2008 Ethiopian Local Elections: The Return of Electoral Authoritarianism', *African Affairs* 108, no. 430 (2009): 111-20

de Waal, Alex, 'The theory and practice of Meles Zenawi', *African Affairs* 112, no. 446 (2013): 148-55

#### *Cases*

Mwenda, Andrew M. and Tangri, Roger. 'Patronage Politics, Donor Reforms, and Regime Consolidation in Uganda', *African Affairs*, 104 (416), 2005: 449-67.

Kelsall, Tim *Contentious Politics, Local Governance and the Self: A Tanzanian Case Study*, Research Report No. 129. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2004.

Larmer, Miles, *Rethinking African Politics: a history of opposition in Zambia*, Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011.

## Lecture 10. Identity, ethnicity and religion

### Sample questions

- What can identity and belonging help to explain regarding African politics?
- Is ethnic politics simply the response of rational actors to weak states and poor societies in Africa?

### Core reading

- \* Berman, Bruce, "Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism" *African Affairs*, 97, 1998.
- \* Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John, *Modernity and its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa*, University of Chicago Press, 1993. Preface.
- \* Ellis, S. and Gerrie ter Haar, 'Religion and Politics in sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36(2), 1998:175-201
- \* Harrison, Graham, *Issues in the Contemporary Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa*, Palgrave, London, 2002. Ch 5.
- \* Posner, Daniel N., *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, Chs. 1 and 9.
- \* Broch-Due, Vigdis, 'Violence and belonging: analytical reflections' in Vigdis Broch-Due (ed.), *Violence and Belonging: The quest for identity in post-colonial Africa* (Routledge, London, 2005)

### Supplementary readings

Asiwaju, A.I. (ed), *Partitioned Africans: Ethnic Relations across Africa's International Boundaries*, St. Martin's, 1992.

Berman et al., *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*, Oxford: James Currey, 2004. Essays by Berman, Eyoh, Kymlicka (ch 1); Lonsdale (ch 5); Falola (ch. 9); and conclusion (18)

Davidson, Basil, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the nation State*, Three Rivers Press, New York, 1993.

Hastings, Adrian. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism*, Cambridge University Press, 1997. Ch. 6, "Some African Case Studies" [as an E-book or CAS library].

Ranger, Terence, *Peasant consciousness and guerrilla war in Zimbabwe: A comparative study*, London: Currey, 1985 – introduction

Young, Crawford, 'Nationalism, Ethnicity and Class in Africa: A Retrospect', *Cahiers d'Etudes africaines*, XXVI, 3 (1986), pp.421-475

Kasfir, Nelson, "Explaining Ethnic Political Participation" *World Politics*, 1979, pp. 365-388.

Lonsdale, John, 'Moral Ethnicity and Political Tribalism' In Preben Kaarsholm and Jan Hultin, eds., *Inventions and Boundaries: Historical and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity*. Roskilde, Denmark: Institute for Development Studies, Roskilde University, 1994.

Sanders, T. 'Reconsidering Witchcraft: Postcolonial Africa and Analytic (Un)Certainties', *American Anthropologist*, 105(2), 2003.338-352

Thompson, Alex, *An Introduction to African Politics*, Oxford: Routledge, Ch. 4.

Young, Crawford, 'Revisiting Nationalism and Ethnicity in Africa.' *James S. Coleman Memorial Lecture*, International Institute, University of California, Los Angeles, 2004.

#### Cases

Multiple chapters in Comaroff, Jean and Comaroff, John, *Modernity and its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa*, University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Englebort, Pierre, 'Born-again Buganda or the limits of traditional resurgence in Africa', *Journal Modern African Studies*, 40(3), 2002, pp.345-368

Hyden, Goren and D.C. Williams, 'A Community Model of African Politics: Illustrations from Nigeria and Tanzania', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 36(1), 1994, pp.68-96

Kasfir, Nelson, *The Shrinking Political Arena: Participation and Ethnicity in African Politics With a Case Study of Uganda*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

LeMarchand, Rene, *Ethnicity as Myth: The View from the Central Africa*, Occasional Paper, Centre of African Studies, University of Copenhagen, 1999,  
[http://www.teol.ku.dk/cas/research/publications/occ\\_papers/lemarchand1999.pdf/](http://www.teol.ku.dk/cas/research/publications/occ_papers/lemarchand1999.pdf/)

Miguel, Edward, 'Tribe or Nation? Nation-building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania.' *World Politics* 56 (April 2004): 327-62.

Suberu, Rotimi, "Ethnic Minorities and the Crisis of Democratic Governance in Nigeria", in Olowu et al, *Governance and Democratisation in West Africa*, Dakar: Codesria, 1999.

Posner, Daniel N., "The Colonial Origins of Ethnic Cleavages: The Case of Linguistic Divisions in Zambia" *Comparative Politics* 35(2), 2003, pp. 127-146.

Vail, Leroy, *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, London: James Currey, 1989.

## Lecture 11. Peasants and workers, rulers and capitalists

### Sample questions

- Are African peasants neglected, or exploited, or both?
- What are the constraints facing political protest by Africa's urban underclass?

### Core reading

- \* Bates, Robert H. *Markets and states in tropical Africa: the political basis of agricultural policies*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, Introduction and Ch.s 1 and 2.
- \* Branch, Adam and Zachariah Mampilly, *Africa Uprising*, London, Zed Books, 2015, Ch 3.
- \* Harrison, Graham. *Issues in the Contemporary Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa: The Dynamics of Struggle and Resistance*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002. Chs 2 (peasants)
- \* Ness, Immanuel, *Southern Insurgency: The Coming of the Global Working Class*. London: Pluto Press, 2016. Introduction & Ch.6: Conclusion.
- \* Seddon, David and Leo Zeilig, 'Class and Protest in Africa: New Waves', *Review of African Political Economy*, 103 (2005)
- \* Tandon, Yash, ed. (1982), *The University of Dar es Salaam Debate on Class, State, and Imperialism*. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, Ch7: Tandon 'Who Is the Ruling Class in the Semi-Colony' (pp.50-54)

### Supplementary readings

Arrighi, Giovanni and John Saul, *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*, New York, 1973. Particularly the 'Perspectives' Section.

Beckman, Bjorn. 'Peasants, Capital and the State', *Review of African Political Economy*, 10, 1977.

Bernstein, Henry. *Class dynamics of agrarian change*, Kumarian Press, 2010. Introduction. Can be downloaded free at [http://www.fernwoodpublishing.ca/website\\_pdfs/classdynamics.pdf](http://www.fernwoodpublishing.ca/website_pdfs/classdynamics.pdf)

Callaghy, Thomas, 'The State and the Development of Capitalism in Africa: Theoretical, Historical and Comparative Reflections', in D. Rothchild and N. Chazan (eds), *The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa*. London: Westview Press, 1988.

Cohen, Robin, Peter Claus Wolfgang Gutkind and Phyllis Brazier (eds), *Peasants and proletarians: the struggles of Third World workers*, Monthly Review Press, 1979.

Cox, Kevin R., and Rohit Negi. 'The State and the Question of Development in sub-Saharan Africa'. *Review of African Political Economy* 37/123. 2010: 71–85.

Fatton, Robert. "Bringing the Ruling Class Back in: Class, State, and Hegemony in Africa," *Comparative Politics* 20 (3), 1988: 253-264.

Freund, Bill. 'Labor and Labor History in Africa: A Review of the Literature', *African Studies Review*, 27 (2), 1984.

Freund, Bill. *The African Worker*, CUP, Cambridge, 1988

Harrison, Graham, 'Peasants, the agrarian question and lenses of development', *Progress in Development Studies*, 1 (3), 2001: 187-203

Iiffe, John, *The Emergence of African Capitalism*, Macmillan, 1983

Jamal, Vali and John Weeks, *Africa misunderstood, or, Whatever happened to the rural-urban gap?* Macmillan, 1993.

Jones, Gareth A. and Stuart Corbridge, 'The continuing debate about urban bias: the thesis, its critics, its influence and its implications for poverty-reduction strategies' *Progress in Development Studies* 10, 1 (2010) pp. 1–18

Markovitz, Irving Leonard. *Studies in Power and Class in Africa*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Migdal, Joel Samuel, Atul Kohli and Vivienne Shue (eds) *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World*, Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics, CUP, 1994. Part 1 and chapters on ruling classes, peasants and social movements by Boone, Bratton and Chazan.

Munck, Ronaldo. *Politics and dependency in the Third World*, Ulster Polytechnic, 1984.

Neocosmos, Michael (2016) Ch10: "Marxism and the politics of representation: The 'agrarian question' and the limits of political economy – class, nation and the party-state". In: *Thinking Freedom in Africa: Toward a Theory of Emancipatory Politics*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Saul, J. "The 'Labour Aristocracy' Thesis Reconsidered," in R. Sandbrook and R. Cohen (eds.), *The Development of an African Working Class*, Toronto, 1976.

Seddon, David and Leo Zeilig, 'Class and Protest in Africa: New Waves', *Review of African Political Economy*, 103 (2005)

Sender, John and Sheila Smith. *The development of capitalism in Africa*, Methuen, 1986.

Sklar, Richard L. 'The Nature of Class Domination in Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 17 (4), 1979: 531-552

Tandon, Yash, Ed. (1982), *The University of Dar es Salaam Debate on Class, State, and Imperialism*. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, particularly: Ch7: Tandon 'Who Is the Ruling Class in the Semi-Colony' (pp.50-54); Ch8: Nabudere 'Imperialism, State, Class and Race' (pp.55-67); Ch16, Shivji 'The State in the Dominated Social Formations of Africa: Some Theoretical Issues' (pp.172-181); Ch30, Omwony-Ojwok 'Review of the Debate on Imperialism, State, Class, and the National Question' (pp.283-299). h

Therborn, Göran, 'Class in the 21st Century', *New Left Review* 78, November-December 2012.

Thompson, Alex, 'Social class: the search for social class in Africa', *An Introduction to African Politics*, Routledge, 2016, Ch. 5.

Varshney, Ashutosh. "Introduction: Urban Bias in perspective," *Journal of Development Studies* 29 (4), 1993: 3–22.

Warren, Bill. *Imperialism, Pioneer of Capitalism* (edited by John Sender). Verso, 1980. Two useful reviews of Warren: Richard Jeffries, in *African Affairs*, 1982, <http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/81/324/433.full.pdf> and David McMullen, originally 1993 in "Red Politics". Available online at <http://www.lastsuperpower.net/docs/warren>

Williams, Gavin. 'Taking the part of peasants', in Gutwind, P. and Wallerstein, I (eds.). *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa*, London, Sage. 1976.

### Cases

Kitching, Gavin. *Class and Economic Change in Kenya: The Making of an African Petite-Bourgeoisie 1905-1970*. Yale University Press, 1980.

Lindell, Ilda (ed.), *Africa's Informal Workers: Collective Agency, Alliances and Transnational Organizing*, Zed Books, 2010.

Mamdani, Mahmood. *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda*, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1976.

Larmer, M and Fraser, A (2007). "Of cabbages and King Cobra: Populist politics and Zambia's 2006 election." *African Affairs* 106/425, pp. 611–637

Potts, Deborah. "Shall We Go Home? Increasing Urban Poverty in African Cities and Migration Processes," *Geographical Journal* 161, no. 3, 1995: 245–264.

Rizzo, Matteo (2013) "Informalisation and the end of trade unionism as we knew it? Dissenting remarks from a Tanzanian case study", *Review of African Political Economy*, 40:136, pp 290-308

Rizzo, Matteo. 'Life is war': Informal Transport Workers and Neoliberalism in Tanzania 1998–2009, *Development and Change*. Sept 2011.

Omara-Otunnu, Amii (1992), 'The Struggle for Democracy in Uganda' *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (Sep., 1992), pp. 443-463

Ranger Terence (1985), *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: a comparative study* (London: James Currey).



## Part V: State and society (ii): coercion and contestation

### Lecture 12. Conflict, society and the state

#### Sample questions

- Is violent conflict in Africa an unavoidable feature of economic and political development?
- To what extent is violence politically motivated in contemporary Africa?

#### Core reading

\* Cramer, Christopher (2006) *Civil War is not a Stupid Thing* Hurst, London (concentrate on chapter 3 for this lecture)

(Alternatively, the following two articles by Cramer set out some of the arguments in the book)

Cramer, Christopher (2003), "Does Inequality Cause Conflict?", *Journal of International Development, Special Issue: Explaining Violent Conflict: Going Beyond Greed versus Grievance*, Vol.15, No.4, pp.397-412.

Cramer, Christopher (2002), "Homo Economicus Goes to War: methodological individualism and the political economy of war", *World Development*, Vol.30, No.11

\* Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin Classics, 1961, 'Concerning Violence'

\* Reno, W (1998). *Warlord Politics and African States*. Lynne Rienner, Boulder CO.

\* David Keen (1997): A rational kind of madness, *Oxford Agrarian Studies*, 25:1, 67-75

\* Straus, Scott. (2012) 'Wars Do End!' *African Affairs*, 111/443, 179–201

\* Collier, P and Hoeffler, A (2004) "On the Incidence of Civil War in Africa." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46: 13

#### Supplementary readings (those marked \* are particularly recommended)

(The edited books include some useful case studies)

\* Clapham, C. ed. (1998) *African Guerrillas* (James Currey, Oxford)

Kaarsholm, P. ed. (2006) *Violence, Political Culture and Development in Africa* (James Currey, Oxford)

Richards, P (ed.), *No Peace, No War: An Anthropology of Contemporary Armed Conflicts* (Athens, Ohio UP).

Nhema, A and Zeleza P, (2008) *The Roots of African Conflicts* (James Currey, Oxford)

Wafula Okumu and Augustine Ikelegbe (eds), *Militias, Rebels and Islamist Militants: Human Insecurity and State Crises in Africa*. Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, 2010.

<http://www.iss.co.za/pgcontent.php?UID=30496>

Weinstein, J.M., *Inside Rebellion: The politics of insurgent violence* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006).

\* Reno, W (2011) *Warfare in Independent Africa* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge).

Kalyvas, S (2003) The Ontology of "Political Violence": Action and Identity in Civil Wars *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Sep., 2003), pp. 475-494

Kriger, Norma (1988) "The Zimbabwean war of liberation: struggles within the struggle." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14:2, 304-322.

- Mkandawire, Thandika (2002) 'The Terrible Toll of Postcolonial Rebel Movements'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 40 (2)
- Charles Tilly (2003) *The Politics of Collective Violence* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).
- \* Fearon J and Laitin D (2003) "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War. *American Political Science Review* / Issue 01 / February 2003, pp 75-90
- David Keen (2008) *Complex Emergencies* (Polity, London)
- \* Richards, Paul (2005), 'New War: An Ethnographic Approach', in P. Richards (ed.), *No Peace, No War: An Anthropology of Contemporary Armed Conflicts* (Athens, Ohio UP). (See also individual chapters on African case studies.)
- Malesevic, S. *The Sociology of War and Violence* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Tilly, C. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (eds) *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- Turton, D. (1999), "Warfare in the Lower Omo Valley, Southwestern Ethiopia: Reconciling Materialist and Political Explanations", in Reyna, S.P. and R.E. Downs (eds.), *Deadly Developments: Capitalism, States and War*, Gordon and Breach Publishers: Amsterdam.
- Reno, W. (2001), "The Politics of War and Debt Relief in Uganda", *Conflict, Security and Development*, Vol.1, No.2, pp.5-23.
- Zachariah Mampilly (2011), *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent governance and civilian life during war* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca NY)
- Reno, W. *Warlord Politics and African States*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998, .Ch. 3 (Liberia), Ch. 4 (Sierra Leone), Ch. 5 (DR Congo), Ch. 6 (Nigeria).
- Richards, P. *Fighting for the Rain Forest: War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone*, James Currey, 1996.
- Xaba, Wanelisa, 'Challenging Fanon: A Black radical feminist perspective on violence and the Fees Must Fall movement', *Agenda*, 31(3-4)(2017):96-104.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2017.1392786>
- Further reading on "greed" / resources and conflict*
- Collier, P. (2000). 'Doing Well out of War: An Economic Perspective', in M. Berdal and D. Malone, *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000  
 (The above is a "plain language", non-technical exposition of Collier and Hoeffler's ideas: a good introduction to their approach if you are unfamiliar with econometric method)
- Collier, P. and Hoeffler, A (2004) 'Greed and Grievance in Civil War' *Oxford Economic Papers* 56 /4
- Collier, P. and Hoeffler, A. (1998). "On economic causes of civil war." *Oxford Economic Papers* 50(4): 563-573.
- Snyder, R. (2006) 'Does lootable wealth breed disorder? A political economy of extraction framework', *Comparative Political Studies* 39, 8 (2006), pp. 943–68.
- Weinstein, J. 'Resources and the information problem in rebel recruitment', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, 4 (2005), pp. 443–50
- Aspinall, E. 'The construction of grievance: natural resources and identity in a separatist conflict', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51, 6 (2007), pp. 950–72.

Englebort P., and Ron, J. 'Primary commodities and war: Congo-Brazzaville's ambivalent resource curse', *Comparative Politics* 37, 1 (2004), pp. 61–81.

Reno, W. 'African weak states and commercial alliances', *African Affairs* 96, (383) 165-186.

Le Billon, P (2001), *Fuelling War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflicts*. Adelphi Papers OUP.  
<http://www.geog.ubc.ca/~lebillon/documents/adelphi357.pdf>

De Soysa, I. (2000), "The Resource Curse: Are Civil Wars Driven by Rapacity or Paucity?", in Berdal, Mats and David Malone (eds.), *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*, Boulder and London: IDRC/Lynne Rienner.

### *New Armed Movements*

Dowd, Cairiona, and Clionadh Raleigh, "The myth of global Islamic terrorism and local conflict in Mali and the Sahel", *African Affairs* 112, no. 448 (2013): 498-509

Anderson, David M. and Jacob McKnight, 'Kenya at war: Al-Shabaab and its enemies in Eastern Africa', *African Affairs* 114, no. 454 (2015): 1-27

Villalon, Leonardo A., 'Between Democracy and Militancy: Islam in Africa', *Current History* 111, no. 745 (2012): 187-193

Smith, Mike J., *Boko Haram: Inside Nigeria's Unholy War*, I.B. Tauris, 2015

Aghedo, Iro, and Oarhe Osumah, 'Insurgency in Nigeria: A Comparative Study of Niger Delta and Boko Haram Uprisings', *Journal of Asian & African Studies* 50, no. 2 (2015): 208-222

Elden, Stuart, 'The geopolitics of Boko Haram and Nigeria's "war on terror"', *Geographical Journal* 180, no. 4 (2014): 414-425

### Case studies

For those interested in pursuing individual case studies, here are some suggestions to get started. Please speak to Dr Srinivasan for more recommendations on these or other case studies that interest you.

### **Sierra Leone**

Reno, W (1998). *Warlord Politics and African States*. Lynne Rienner, Boulder CO.  
(also good on Liberia and how the two conflicts are interrelated)

Richards, Paul (1996). *Fighting for the Rain Forest: War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone*. (James Curry, Oxford.)

Keen, D., (2005) *Conflict and collusion in Sierra Leone* (James Currey, Oxford)

Peters, K. (2010) "Local communities, militias and rebel movements: the case of the Revolutionary United Front in Sierra Leone." In Wafula Okumu and Augustine Ikelegbe (Ed.), *Militias, Rebels and Islamist Militants: Human Insecurity and State Crises in Africa*. (pp. 389-415). Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies.  
<http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Book2010MilitiasRebelsIslamistMilitants.pdf>

### **Mozambique**

Christian Geffray, *La Cause des Armes au Mozambique: Anthropologie d'une Guerre Civile* (Paris: Karthala) 1990

Anders Nilsson, "From Pseudo-Terrorists to Pseudo-Guerillas: The MNR in Mozambique," *Review of African Political Economy* No. 57 (1993) pp.60-71.

Robert Gersoni, *Summary of Mozambican Refugee Accounts of Principally Conflict-Related Experience in Mozambique* (Department of State Bureau for Refugees) 1998.

Margaret Hall, "The Mozambican National Resistance Movement (RENAMO): A study in the destruction of an African country." *Africa* vol. 60, no. 1 (1990) pp. 39-68.

JoAnn McGregor, "Violence and Social Change in a Border Economy: War in the Maputo Hinterland 1984-1992." *Journal of Southern African Studies* vol. 2 no. 32 (1998) pp.187-203.

Alex Vines, *Renamo: Terrorism in Mozambique* (London: James Currey in association with Centre for Southern African Studies, University of York) 1991.

### **Zimbabwe**

Ranger Terence (1985), *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: a comparative study* (London: James Currey).

Kriger, Norma (1992) *Zimbabwe's Guerrilla War: Peasant Voices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Kriger, Norma (1988) "The Zimbabwean war of liberation: struggles within the struggle." *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 14:2, 304-322.

Jocelyn Alexander, JoAnn McGregor and Terence Ranger, *Violence & Memory: One Hundred Years in the "Dark Forests" of Matabeleland* (Oxford: James Currey) 2000.

### **Angola**

Le Billon, P. (2001) 'Angola's political economy of war: The role of oil and diamonds, 1975–2000.' *African Affairs* 100 (398): 55-80.

Chabal, Patrick and Vidal, Nuno (eds) 2007. *Angola: The Weight of History*. Hurst, London. (Chapter by Newitt is good for historical context, Hodges for wartime and post-war political economy, Messiant on the continuities between wartime and post-war politics.)

Heywood, Linda, 1989. "Unita and Ethnic Nationalism in Angola." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 27(1):47-66.

\* Messiant, Christine 1997. "Angola: The challenge of statehood" in Birmingham, David and Martin, Phyllis (eds), *History of Central Africa, vol III: The Contemporary Years*, Longman, London

Messiant, Christine 2004. "Why did Bicesse and Lusaka fail? A critical analysis." *Conciliation Resources*, London. <http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/angola/bicesse-lusaka.php>.

Minter, William 1994. *Apartheid's contras: an inquiry into the roots of war in Angola and Mozambique*. Zed, London.

Pearce, Justin 2012 "Control, politics and identity in the Angolan civil war". *African Affairs*, 111 (444) pp 442-465.

## Lecture 13. Social movements and popular protest

### Sample questions

- What galvanizes African Social Movements?
- How can we account for the increase in public protest in African cities over the last decade?

### Core Reading

- \* Fanon, Franz, 'The Pitfalls of National Consciousness' and 'Spontaneity: Its Strength and Weakness', in *The Wretched of the Earth* (trans. Constance Farrington), Grove Press, 1963
- \* Mamdani, Mahmood, 'Introduction', in Mahmood Mamdani and Ernest Wamba-dia-Wamba (eds.), *African Studies in Social Movements and Democracy*, CODESRIA, 1995
- \* Amadiume, Ifi, 'Gender, political systems and social movements: a West African experience', in Mamdani and Wamba-dia-Wamba (eds.), *African Studies in Social Movements and Democracy*, 1995
- \* T. Ngwane, L. Sinwell and I. Ness (eds), *Urban Revolt: State Power and the Rise of People's Movements in the Global South*. Wits University Press, Johannesburg, 2017. (See in particular chapters by Ngwane on South Africa, and Omobowale on Nigeria.)
- \* Branch, Adam and Zachariah Mampilly, *Africa Uprising: Popular Protest and Political Change*, Zed Books, 2015, Introduction, Ch. 1, 4, 6, Conclusion
- \* Mueller, Lisa, *Political Protest in Contemporary Africa*, Cambridge University Press, 2018, Intro
- \* Larmer, Miles (2010). "Social movement struggles in Africa". In: Review of African Political Economy 37.125, pp. 251–262. doi: 10.1080/03056244.2010.510623
- \* Gouws, Amanda & Coetzee, Azille (2019). 'Women's movements and feminist activism', *Agenda*, 33(2): 1-8, doi: 10.1080/10130950.2019.1619263

### Supplementary readings

#### *Anti-Colonial Movements*

Fanon, Franz (1958 [1967]) "Decolonization and Independence". In *Toward the African Revolution: Political Essays*. Trans. Haakon Chevalier. New York: Grove Press. p99-105

Young, Robert J. C., 'Fanon and the turn to armed struggle in Africa', *Wasafiri* 20, no. 44 (2005): 33–41

Nkrumah, Kwame, 'Selected Editorials', and 'What I Mean by Positive Action' [1949], pp. 72-95 in *Revolutionary Path*, Panaf Books, 1973

Cabral, Amílcar, 'Brief Analysis of the Social Structure in Guinea' (1964), pp. 46-61 in *Revolution in Guinea*, stage 1, 1974; and 'The Weapon of Theory' (1966), pp. 119-137 in *Unity and Struggle*, Monthly Review Press, 1979

Nzongola-Ntalaja, Georges, 'Amilcar Cabral and the theory of the national liberation struggle,' *Latin American Perspectives* 11, no. 2 (1984): 43-54

Tripp, Aili Marie, 'Women's Mobilization in Uganda: Nonracial Ideologies in European-African-Asian Encounters, 1945-1962', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 34, no. 3 (2001): 543-564

Gruffydd Jones, Branwen, 'Anti-Racism and Emancipation in the Thought and Practice of Cabral, Neto, Mondlane, and Machel', in *International Relations and Non-Western Thought*, Routledge, 2011

Biko, Steve, 'Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity', and 'The Definition of Black Consciousness', in *I Write What I Like*, Heinemann, 1987

Neocosmos, Michael (2016) Ch4: "The National Liberation Struggle mode of politics in Africa, 1945–1975". In: *Thinking Freedom in Africa: Toward a Theory of Emancipatory Politics*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

#### *Debating Social Movements*

Isaacman, Allen, 'Peasants and rural social protest in Africa', *African Studies Review* 33, no. 2 (1990): 1-120

Anyang' Nyong'o, Peter, 'Introduction' in *Popular Struggles for Democracy in Africa*, Zed Books, 1987

Harrison, Graham, *Issues in the Contemporary Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa: The Dynamics of Struggle and Resistance*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, Ch. 1, 5

Ellis, Stephen and Ineke van Kessel, *Movers and Shakers: Social Movements in Africa*, Brill, 2009, Ch. 1, 3

Dwyer, Peter and Leo Zeilig, *African Struggles Today: Social Movements since Independence*, Haymarket Books, 2012, Ch. 1-3

Tripp, Aili Marie, Isabel Casimiro, Joy Kwesiga, and Alice Mungwa, *African Women's Movements: Transforming Political Landscapes*, 2009, Ch. 3-4

Awondo, Patrick, 'The politicisation of sexuality and rise of homosexual movements in post-colonial Cameroon', *Review of African Political Economy* 125 (2010): 315-328

Zezeza, Paul Tiyambe, 'Gender Biases in African Historiography', in *African Gender Studies: A Reader* (Oyeronke Oyewumi, ed.), 2005

#### *Popular Protest*

de Waal, Alex, and Rachel Ibreck, 'Hybrid social movements in Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 31, no. 2 (2013): 303-324

Amin, Samir, 'Popular movements toward socialism: their unity and diversity', *Monthly Review* 66, no. 2 (2014)

Amin, Samir, Yash Tandon, and Sara Longwe, 'Another World is Possible: Reflections on the World Social Forum 2011, Dakar', *Development* 54 (2011): 217-219

Sinwell, Luke, 'Is "Another World" Really Possible? Re-examining Counter-Hegemonic Forces in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Review of African Political Economy* 127 (2011)

Ray Bush, "Food riots: poverty, power and protest", *Journal of Agrarian Change* 10, no. 1 (2010): 119-29

Mamdani, Mahmood, 'An African Reflection on Tahrir Square', *Globalizations* 8, no. 5 (2011): 559-566.

Maccatory, Bénédicte, et al., 'West African social movements "against the high cost of living": from the economic to the political, from the global to the national', *Review of African Political Economy* 125 (2010): 345-359

Zghal, A., 'The "bread riot" and the crisis of the one-party system in Tunisia', in *African Studies in Social Movements and Democracy*, Mahmood Mamdani and Wamba-dia-Wamba (eds.), CODESRIA Book Series, pp. 99–129

Bond, Patrick and Shauna Mottiar, 'Movements, protest and massacre in South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 31, no. 2 (2013): 283-302

Bond, Patrick, 'South African people's power since the mid-1980s: two steps forward, one back', *Third World Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (2012)

Desai, A., *We are the poors: community struggles in post-apartheid South Africa*, Monthly Review Press, 2002

#### *Transnational Movements*

Pommerolle, Marie-Emmanuelle, 'The extraversion of protest: conditions, history and use of the 'international' in Africa', *Review of African Political Economy* 125 (2010): 263-279

Grovogui, Siba, 'Looking Beyond Spring for the Season: An African Perspective on the World Order after the Arab Revolt', *Globalizations* 8, no. 5 (2011): 567-572

Bracke, Maud Anne (2009). "May 1968 and Algerian Immigrants in France: Trajectories of Mobilization and Encounter". In: 1968 In Retrospect: History, Theory, Alterity. Ed. by Gurminder K. Bhambra and Ipek Demir. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 115–130.

Chapters in Jian et al (Eds) (2018) *The Routledge Handbook of the Global Sixties: Between Protest and Nation-Building*. London: Routledge

## Part VI: African political futures

### Lecture 14. African politics in a digital age

#### Sample questions

- Is digital communication technology changing who has power over whom in Africa?
- Have digital technologies strengthened protest and/or political change movements in Africa?

#### Core Reading

Srinivasan, S., Diepeveen, S. (2019). [Communication Technology and African Politics](#), *Oxford Encyclopaedia of African Politics*.

Gagliardone, I. (2014). "[New media and the developmental state in Ethiopia](#)." *African Affairs* 113, no. 451:279-299.

Karekwaivanane, G. (2018). "Tapanduka Zvamuchese': Facebook, 'unruly publics', and Zimbabwean politics." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, 1

Nanjala Nyabola, *Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics: How The Internet Era Is Transforming Kenya*, Zed Books, 2018, Introduction.

Rotberg, R. I., and Aker, J. C. (2013). "[Mobile Phones: Uplifting Weak and Failed States](#)." *The Washington Quarterly* 36, no. 1: 111-125.

Pierskalla, J. H. and Hollenbach, F. M. (2013). "[Technology and Collective Action: The Effect of Cell Phone Coverage on Political Violence in Africa](#)." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 02: 207-224.

#### Supplementary readings

*Publics and politics, Mobile telephony & mobilisation*

Srinivasan, S., Diepeveen, S., & Karekwaivanane, G. (2018). "Rethinking publics in Africa in a digital age." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, 1.

Davis, S. R. (2009). "The African National Congress, its Radio, its Allies and Exile." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35, no. 2: 349-73.

Bratton, M. (2013) [Citizens and cell phones in Africa](#), *African Affairs* 112(447): 304–19.

Njubi, F. (2001). "[New media, old struggles: Pan africanism, anti-racism and information technology](#)." *Critical Arts* 15, no. 1-2: 117-34.

Omanga, D. (2018). "WhatsApp as 'digital publics': the *Nakuru Analysts* and the evolution of participation in county governance in Kenya." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, 1.

Zayani, Mohamed. (2015). *Networked Publics and Digital Contention: The Politics of Everyday Life in Tunisia*. New York: Oxford University Press.



Diepeveen, S. (2018). "The limits of publicity: Facebook and transformations of a public realm in Mombasa, Kenya." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, 1.

Bernal, V. (2006). "Diaspora, cyberspace and political imagination: the Eritrean diaspora online." *Global networks* 6, no. 2: 161-79.

Bosch, T. (2017). "[Twitter activism and Youth in South Africa: The case of #RhodesMustFall.](#)" *Information, Communication and Society* 20, no. 2: 221-32.

Gukurume, S. (2017). "#ThisFlag and #ThisGown Cyber Protests in Zimbabwe: Reclaiming Political Space." *African Journalism Studies* 38, no. 2: 49-70.

Egbunike, N., & Olorunnisola, A. (2015). "Social media and the #occupy Nigeria Protests: igniting or damping a harmattan storm?" *Journal of African Media Studies* 7, no. 2.

Dugo, H (2017). "[The Powers and Limits of New Media Appropriation in Authoritarian Contexts: A Comparative Case Study of Oromo Protests in Ethiopia.](#)" *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies* 10, no. 10 (2017): 48-69.

#### *Surveillance and security*

Purdeková, A. (2016). "Mundane Sights of Power: The History of Social Monitoring and Its Subversion in Rwanda." *African Studies Review* 59, no. 2: 59-86.

Lamoureaux, S., & Sureau, T. (2018). "Knowledge and legitimacy: the fragility of digital mobilisation in Sudan." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, no. 1.

Markó, F. D. (2016). "'We Are Not a Failed State, We Make the Best Passports': South Sudan and Biometric Modernity." *African Studies Review* 59, no. 2: 113-32.

Breckenridge, K. (2005). [The Biometric State: The Promise and Peril of Digital Government in the New South Africa](#), *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 31:2, 267-282.

#### *Digital and development*

Friederici, Nicolas, Ojanperä, Sanna & Graham, Mark. (2017). "The impact of connectivity in Africa: Grand Visions and the mirage of inclusive digital development." *The Electronic Journal of Information Systems in Developing Countries* 79, no. 2, 1-20.

Thompson, M. (2004). "Discourse, 'Development' and the Digital Divide: ICT and the World Bank." *Review of African Political Economy* 99: 103-23.

Kleine, D., and Unwin, T. (2009). "Technological revolution, evolution and new dependencies: What's new about ICT4D?" *Third World Quarterly* 30, no. 5: 1045-67.

Lafrance, A. (2016). "Facebook and the new colonialism." *The Atlantic*, 11 February. Accessed at <http://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2016/02/facebook-and-the-new-colonialism/462393/>

Smith, J. H. (2011). "Tantalus in the Digital Age: Coltan ore, temporal dispossession, and 'movement' in the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo." *American Ethnologist* 38, no. 1: 17-35.

Foster, C. and Graham, M. (2017). "Reconsidering the role of the digital in global production networks." *Global Networks* 17, no. 1: 68–88.

Bhakti Shringarpure (2018). "Africa and the Digital Savior Complex." *Journal of African Cultural Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13696815.2018.1555749>

## Lecture 15. Youth, Students, and Social Reproduction

### Sample questions

- Do urban youth matter to African political futures?
- How are African societies and politics reshaped intergenerationally?
- What roles do students play in African politics?

### Core Reading

Honwana, A. (2014). Ch.2 'Waithood': Youth Transitions and Social Change. In *Development and Equity* (pp. 28-40). Brill.

Comaroff, Jean and John L. Comaroff (2006). "Reflections on Youth, from the Past to the Postcolony". In: *Frontiers of Capital: Ethnographic Reflections on the New Economy*. Melissa S. Fisher and Greg Downey Eds. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Munene, Irungu (2003). "Student activism in African higher education". In: *African Higher Education: An International Reference Handbook*. Ed. by Damtef Teferra and Philip G. Altbach. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, pp. 117–127

Abbink, Jan and Ineke van Kessel, *Vanguard or Vandals: Youth, Politics and Conflict in Africa*, Brill, 2005, Ch. 1, 4, 5

Waller, R. (2006). Rebellious youth in colonial Africa. *The Journal of African History*, 47(1), 77-92.

Zeilig, Leo (2009). "The Student-Intelligentsia in sub-Saharan Africa: Structural Adjustment, Activism and Transformation". In: *Review of African Political Economy* 36 (119), pp. 63–78

### Supplementary reading

#### *African Student Movements*

Nombulelo Shange (2017): Mappings of feminist/womanist resistance within student movements across the African continent, *Agenda* 31(3-4): 60-67.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2017.1392155>

Altbach, Philip G. (1984). "Student politics in the third world". In: *Higher Education* 13.6, pp. 635–655. doi: 10.1007/bf00137017

Zeilig, Leo, *Revolt and Protest: Student Politics and Activism in Sub-Saharan Africa*, I.B. Tauris, 2012, Ch. 1, 2

Zeilig, Leo (2009). "Turning to Africa: Politics and Student Resistance in Africa since 1968". In: *1968 in Retrospect: History, Theory, Alterity*. Ed. by Gurminder K. Bhambra and Ipek Demir. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 131–146

Kassa, Hibist (2017) "Education Struggles in Ghana: reflections on the past, Visions for tomorrow". In: *Pathways to Free Education, Vol 3: Third World Education and Social Welfare Programmes*. Cape Town: Independently Published by the PTFE Collective.

Heffernan, Anne and Noor Nieftagodien, eds. (2016). *Students Must Rise: Youth Struggle in South Africa Before and Beyond Soweto '76*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. See particularly Ch16: Naidoo's *Contemporary Student Politics in South Africa*

Lewis, D., & Hendricks, C. M. (2017). Epistemic Ruptures in South African Standpoint Knowledge-Making: Academic Feminism and the #FeesMustFall Movement. *Gender Questions*, 4(1), 18 pages. <https://doi.org/10.25159/2412-8457/2920>

Badat, Saleem (1999). *Black Student Politics, Higher Education & Apartheid From SASO to SANSCO, 1968-1990*. Cape Town: HSRC Press

Bosch, T. (2017). “[Twitter activism and Youth in South Africa: The case of #RhodesMustFall](#).” *Information, Communication and Society* 20, no. 2: 221-32.

*Social Reproduction Theory, Education, and Intergenerational Politics*

Platzky Miller, Josh (2019) “Education Contested: Critical Theories of Social Reproduction and Education”. In: *Politics, Education and the Imagination in South African and Brazilian student-led mobilisations (2015-16)*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Doctoral Thesis: p35-45. <https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.51079>

Bhattacharya, Tithi, ed. (2017). *Social Reproduction Theory. Remapping Class, Recentring Oppression*. London: Pluto Press

See also shorter articles:

Tithi Bhattacharya (15 Feb 2018) Mapping Social Reproduction Theory. Available Online: <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3555-mapping-social-reproduction-theory>

Colin Barker - Social Reproduction Theory: Going Beyond ‘Capital’. Available At: <https://www.plutobooks.com/blog/social-reproduction-beyond-marx-capital/>

Jaffe (2020) *Social Reproduction Theory and the Socialist Horizon: Work, Power and Political Strategy*

See Interview: Aaron Jaffe - Social Reproduction Theory and the Socialist Horizon - with Sara Farris. Available Online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1CWIw-JD8GE>

Sacks, Jared (2019) Rethinking surplus-value: recentring struggle at the sphere of reproduction. *Interface: a journal for and about social movements* 11(1):147-177

Von Holdt, K.R., & Webster, E., 2005, ‘Work restructuring and the crisis of social reproduction: A southern perspective’, in E. Webster & K. von Holdt (eds.), *Beyond the apartheid workplace: Studies in transitions*, pp. 3–40, 1st ed., University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville

Ben Cousins, Alex Dubb, Donna Hornby & Farai Mtero (2018) Social reproduction of ‘classes of labour’ in the rural areas of South Africa: contradictions and contestations, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 45:5-6, 1060-1085, DOI: 10.1080/03066150.2018.1482876

Bezuidenhout, A. and Fakier, K. (2006), *Maria's Burden: Contract Cleaning and the Crisis of Social Reproduction in Post-apartheid South Africa*. *Antipode*, 38: 462-485. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0066-4812.2006.00590.x>

Mangset, Marte, Claire Maxwell, and Agnès van Zanten (2017). “Knowledge, skills and dispositions: the socialisation and ‘training’ of elites”. In: *Journal of Education and Work* 30 (2), pp. 123–128.

Naidoo, Prishani (2006). “‘Constituting the Class’: Neoliberalism and the Student Movement in South Africa”. *Asinamali*. Asmara: Africa World Press, pp. 51–68.

*Youth Politics: Organised and Everyday*

Honwana, Alcinda and Filip De Boeck (eds.), *Makers and Breakers: Children and Youth in Postcolonial Africa*, James Currey, 2005, Introduction and Afterword

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## Lecture 16. Reimagining and Remaking Africa in the World

### Sample questions

- Is Africa no longer post-colonial?
- Have imaginaries of African political futures changed from the colonial period to the present?

### Readings

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#### *Pan-Africanism reprised*

\* Abrahamsen, Rita. 'Internationalists, sovereigntists, nativists: Contending visions of world order in Pan-Africanism.' *Review of International Studies* 46, no. 1 (2020): 56-74.

\* Shivji, Issa. 'The struggle to convert nationalism to Pan-Africanism', Keynote address to the 4th European Conference on African Studies, Uppsala June 15 to 18, 2011. Available at: <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/75620>.

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#### *Decolonisation and Decoloniality*

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### *African Feminisms*

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See e.g.,

Ch1 (Visualizing the Body: Western Theories and African Subjects),

Ch4 (Decolonizing Feminism),

Ch11 (Gender Biases in African Historiography),

Ch16 (Definitions of Women and Development: An African Perspective),

Ch21 (African Gender Research and Postcoloniality: Legacies and Challenges)

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### *Afrocentrism, Negritude & Afrofuturism*

\* Appiah, Kwame Anthony, "Europe Upside Down: Fallacies of the New Afrocentrism," chapter 3 in *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History and Representation*; an online version is found here: <http://www.aei.org/publication/fallacies-of-eurocentrism-and-afrocentrism/> (1993)

\* Lisa Yaszek, 'Afrofuturism, science fiction, and the history of the future', *Socialism and Democracy*, 20:3, 41-60 (2006).

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\* Amin, S. (2018). Toward a Fifth International? In J. Sen (Ed.), *The movements of movements: Rethinking our dance* (pp. 465–483). New Delhi: OpenWord and PM Press.

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## Sample examination paper

Answer three of the following questions:

1. Did colonial rule simply reproduce European ideas of the state in Africa?
2. Was African nationalism a failure?
3. Is armed violence in Africa best understood as a social phenomenon?
4. Have African polities been 'disciplined' by the global economic order?
5. Does engaging the world economy provide the best route out of poverty for African states?
6. Is good governance and civil society development a precondition for democracy in Africa or its antithesis?
7. What political mobilisation strategies by elites are the most successful in Africa?
8. Are political elites responsible for the ethnicization of politics in Africa?
9. Do African social movements marginalise women?
10. How do African education systems shape African politics?
11. Are digital communications politically emancipatory in Africa?
12. Which actors in Africa stand to gain and lose the most over the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

### Pol 9 Examination Paper 2012-13

Answer three of the following questions:

1. What was unique about the way European colonialists projected authority in their African territories?
2. To what extent was the motivating force for African nationalism the question of race?
3. Was the Cold War best understood as a resource or a threat for African rulers? Discuss with reference to one or more cases.
4. How have African politicians responded to the difficulty of mobilising popular political support?
5. Does the political engagement of ethnic identities inevitably generate violence in Africa?
6. Is the poverty of African peasants a result of being neglected or exploited?
7. Why has the idea of African industrialisation fallen out of fashion?
8. What sustains African economic dependence on Western countries?
9. Why did democratisation in Africa stall?
10. Does the idea of "the liberal project" provide the best standpoint for criticising governance or security interventions in Africa?
11. What difference has the rise of China made to Africa?
12. Does the development industry depend on cultivating a sense of moral superiority over Africans?

### Pol 9 Examination Paper 2013-14

Answer three of the following questions:

1. What effects have environmental factors had on the types of political authority that have been common in Africa?
2. Did the nationalism of African anti-colonial movements kill hopes for democracy at independence?
3. Can African ethnicity be a source of progressive political ideas?
4. Is the idea that a social contract underpins African polities fanciful?
5. How much autonomy do African states have to make their own security decisions?
6. How useful is the concept of the labour aristocracy to understanding African politics?
7. Is the conscious planning of African industrialisation inevitably self-defeating?
8. Under what conditions might African states be able to negotiate trade regimes that enable them to flourish?
9. Why has donor thinking about the political management of economic reform in Africa changed over time?
10. Is democracy the only game in town in Africa?
11. What does Africa's experience of the global economic crisis tell us about contemporary opportunities and challenges for development?
12. Does celebrity advocacy for African development matter?

### **Pol 9 Examination Paper 2014-15**

Answer three of the following questions:

1. Are the legacies of European colonialism in Africa overstated?
2. In what ways was the anti-colonial struggle in Africa a struggle over history?
3. What does an analysis of the relationship between state and society illuminate about political authority in African states?
4. Is there any truth to the assumption that African politics is all about ethnicity?
5. How useful is the notion of class struggle in understanding African politics?
6. Has the international state system increased or decreased the risk of war in Africa?
7. What best explains Africa's 'lost development decade' in the 1980s?
8. What is new about the good governance agenda in Africa?
9. Are externally supported processes of democratisation in Africa a waste of time and money?
10. Do contemporary social movements in Africa hold promise for political progress emerging from within the continent?
11. Has security and stability in Africa replaced development as the primary concern of Western donor governments?
12. Do Western societies need Africa more than African countries need the West?

### **Pol 15 Examination Paper 2015-16**

Answer three of the following questions:

1. What was colonialism's most important legacy for politics in post-independence Africa?
2. What was the significance of violence in nationalist struggles in Africa?
3. Are African states strong in their weakness, or weak in their strength, or neither?
4. Do variations in political institutions best explain the role of ethnicity in national politics in African countries?
5. What particular features of African politics require a class analysis to be best understood?
6. Why does most conflict in Africa occur within states and not between them?
7. Has development been a discourse of political control or of political struggle?
8. What has been the impact of the international order upon African states' development trajectories?
9. To what extent does the "Africa Rising" narrative reflect a fundamental change in Africa's status internationally?
10. Does violence or non-violence most predominantly characterize contemporary political struggles in Africa?
11. Do we see a push-back against liberal ideas of good governance and human rights from African states today?
12. Are elections a necessary part of democracy in Africa?

### **Pol 15 Examination Paper 2016-17**

Answer three of the following questions:

1. Does the history of colonialism in Africa remain politically contentious today?
2. Have independent states in Africa failed to live up to the promise of nationalism?
3. Is clientelism a symptom or a cause of the problems of political legitimacy in African states?
4. To what extent are elites responsible for the importance of ethnic identity in African politics?
5. Should more attention be paid to class dynamics in the study of African politics?
6. Is violent conflict in Africa best viewed as a cause or a consequence of political crisis?
7. Who has benefited from development in Africa?
8. Has the international economic order hurt the independent African state more than helped it?
9. To what extent have new rising global powers brought new possibilities for development in African states?
10. Do human rights non-governmental organisations in Africa benefit those they claim to serve?
11. Is electoral democracy in crisis in African states?
12. Are patterns of foreign intervention in Africa changing for the better?

### **Pol 15 Examination Paper 2019-20**

Answer three of the following questions:

1. In what way is the study of politics in Africa political?
2. What was the biggest challenge facing newly independent African states?

3. How has the global economic order shaped economic development in Africa?
4. Is the good governance agenda helpful to the political aspirations of citizens of African countries?
5. Is Africa 'rising' a story of China 'rising'?
6. Who are the major beneficiaries of Western peace and humanitarian interventions in African conflicts and crises?
7. In what ways does neopatrimonialism help with an understanding of political authority and behaviour in Africa?
8. Are unfulfilled expectations for democracy in Africa due to the politics of identity?
9. What does a class perspective explain about African politics?
10. Are violent conflicts in Africa more wars of economic accumulation than of political revolution?
11. Do urban protests in Africa influence political change?
12. Who stands to gain the most from Africa's digital transformations?