Human, Social and Political Sciences Tripos

History and Politics Tripos

Part IIB 2023-24

Paper 15: The Politics of Africa

Paper Guide

Course Organiser	Dr Sharath Srinivasan
	Room 131, Alison Richard Building, ss919@cam.ac.uk
Office hours	Dr Srinivasan (Michaelmas)
	Wednesdays
	4.00-5.00pm: Room 131, Alison Richard Building
Lecturers	Dr Sharath Srinivasan, Prof Adam Branch
Supervisors	TBC
	Lectures:
	MT:
	Weeks 1-8: Wednesday, 11am, Alison Richard Building, Room SG1
	And Weeks 1-5: Tuesday, 9am, Alison Richard Building, Room SG2
	LT:
	Weeks 1-8: Wednesday, 11am, Alison Richard Building, Room S2
	And Weeks 3-6: Tuesday, 9am, Alison Richard Building, Room SG2
Classes	MT: Thursday, 1-3pm, SG2, Week 6
	LT: Thursday, 11-1pm, S1, Week 6;

Aims and Objectives

- To provide a broad overview of major themes in African politics and economic development, including their historical and international dimensions and current debates.
- To provide opportunities for linking theoretical and conceptual arguments with in-depth empirical analysis of country and region case studies.
- To encourage multi-disciplinary approaches to the study of politics.
- To encourage critical reflection on representations, epistemologies and knowledge hierarchies in academic study and popular discourse concerning '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, classes 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, classes 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 classes, 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 eight sections, five core Parts in Michaelmas Term and three Modules in Lent Term. Michaelmas Term begins with Africa's global and historical politics before shifting to themes in economy, political institutions, conflict and violent and international intervention. In Lent Term, three standalone modules are taught on contemporary themes in African politics. It will be helpful to keep the following introduction to the structure of the paper front of mind as the year progresses.

Michaelmas Term

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 post-independence period; the second turns to the era of Structural Adjustment Programmes and so-called democratic transitions in the late 1980s and early 1990s; and the third examines contemporary transformations in African economies by the rise of China and the other "BRICS", including the renewed importance of African natural resources, the return of 'developmental states' and the lauding of 'emerging markets'.

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

Part III, Lectures 7-9, examines 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 identity, class and politics in Africa. This Part also examines African political experience through ethno-linguistic, religious and class lenses.

Part IV: State and society (ii): coercion and contestation

Lectures 10 and 11 in Part IV 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 V: International intervention: democracy, human rights, security

The final lectures in Michaelmas Term Lectures 11 and 12 look at recent international interventions in African politics. The first lecture critically assesses Western interventions claiming to promote liberal democratic institutional orders, whether through electoral democracy promotion, civil society development and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), or human rights. 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.

Lent Term

In Lent Term 3 standalone modules are taught, which cover topical themes and debates in African Politics.

Module 1: African Political Thought and African Studies

Module 2: African Environments and Politics

Module 3: Communication Technology and African Politics

Mode of teaching

Teaching comprises of 25 one-hour lectures, 2 two-hour classes and 6 supervisions (3 in each of Michaelmas and Lent Terms). In Easter Term, there will be 1 one-hour revision lecture. 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 at least twelve questions, which will address topics covered in both Terms' lectures. Detailed guidance on modes of assessment will be provided by the Faculty in due course.

Outline of Lectures and Classes

Michaelmas Term
Part I: Africa & the World: The Past of the Present *(Dr Srinivasan)*
1. Introductory lecture. 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

Part III: State and society (i): rule, mobilization and identity *(Dr Srinivasan)*
7. Political Mobilization, Control and the State
8. Identity, Ethnicity and Political Competition
9. Class and Politics: Peasants and Workers, Rulers and Capitalists

Part IV: State and society (ii): coercion and contestation *(Dr Srinivasan)*
10. Conflict, Society and the State
11. Social Movements and Popular Protest

Class: War, Peace & Popular Revolution in Sudan (Week 6) *(Dr Srinivasan)*

Part V: International intervention: democracy, human rights, security *(Prof Branch)*
12. Trajectories of Democracy
13. Intervening in Political Violence: Humanitarianism, Peacebuilding, and Security

Lent Term
Module 1: African Political Thought and African Studies *(Prof Branch)*
14. African History and World History (W1, Wed 11am)
15. Anti-Colonial, Nationalist, and Pan-African Political Thought (W2, Wed 11am)

16. Defining African Philosophy and Political Thought (W3, Wed 11am)
17. Rethinking African Studies (W4, Wed 11am)

Module 2: African Environments and Politics *(Prof Branch)*
18. Environmental History, Knowledge, and Power (W5, Wed 11am)
19. Environment, Territory, and Political Authority (W6, Wed 11am)
20. Politics of Conservation (W7, Wed 11am)
21. Climate Change, Politics and Justice (W8, Wed 11am)

Class: The Politics of Energy and "Natural Resources": Charcoal (Week 6) *(Prof Branch)*

Module 3: Communication Technology and African Politics *(Dr Srinivasan)*
22. Histories of Communication Technology and African Politics (W3, Tue 9am)
23. Technology, the State and Security (W4, Tue 9am)
24. Digital Capitalism and Global Development (W5, Tue 9am)
25. Contentious Politics in a Digital Age (W6, Tue 9am)

Easter Term
Revision Lecture/Class: Rethinking African politics and Q&A

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).

*Thompson, Alex, *An Introduction to African Politics*, Basingstoke: Routledge 2023 (5th edition)

An excellent foundational book, recently updated, 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 *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

Starting out, you might also want to take a look at two excellent film series on Africa, by eminent scholars Ali Mazrui and Basil Davidson:

Mazrui, Ali, '*The Africans: A Triple Heritage*',
https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL0dOB0uDQc3ppMrNmqhH_-sBQ8QE2SSK0

Davidson, Basil, '*Africa: A Voyage of Discovery*',
youtube.com/watch?v=bPTUnzLOnJU&list=PLI_tIxrH8tQxTwCZ7-sMv276Z2QqA8wAY

The **key texts** below are 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 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. Clapham, Christopher, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

5. 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.

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

7. Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin Classics, 1961: 'Concerning Violence' and 'Pitfalls of National Consciousness'

8. Ferguson, James, *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development", Depoliticisation and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*, University of Minnesota Press, 1990, Preface, Conclusion

9. Herbst, Jeffrey, *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

10. 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

11. Mbembe, Achille, *On the Postcolony,* Berkley: University of California Press, 2001, Chapters 1 and 2

12. 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

13. Ake, Claude, 'The Unique Case of African Democracy', *International Affairs*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (Apr., 1993), pp. 239-244.

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

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 either online via iDiscover, on Moodle or in hard copy at the **Seeley Library** (Faculty of History) or the **Centre of African Studies Library**, ARB 3rd Floor. The library website is: www.african.cam.ac.uk/library/

Many of the other texts can be found online via iDiscover, on Moodle or in the Seeley Library or the Centre of African Studies Library.

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:

Check out online resources at the Centre of African Studies Library (www.african.cam.ac.uk/library/)**.** 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

More contemporary material

African Arguments   https://africanarguments.org/
Africa is a Country   https://africasacountry.com/
This Week in Africa   https://thisweekinafrica.substack.com/p/this-week-in-africa-14f?utm_source=substack&utm_medium=email
The Elephant   https://www.theelephant.info/
Democracy in Africa   https://democracyinafrica.org/
Rev. Afr. Pol. Econ.   http://roape.net/
AllAfrica.com   http://allafrica.com/
BBC news   http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/default.stm /
Afrobarometer   www.afrobarometer.org
Think Africa Press   http://www.thinkafricapress.com
Africa Research Institute   http://www.africaresearchinstitute.org

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

<u>Core readings</u>

* Wainaina, Binyavanga, '[How to write about Africa](http://www.granta.com/extracts/2615)', *Granta*, 2006, http://www.granta.com/extracts/2615

* 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/

* James Ferguson, *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*, Duke University Press, 2006, Introduction pp. 1-23.

* Sarr, Felwine, (trans by Drew S. Burk, and Sarah Jones-Boardman). [Introduction: Thinking Africa](#). In *Afrotopia*, Ix-Xvi. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2019.

* Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J., 2015. [Decoloniality as the Future of Africa](#). *History Compass*, *13*(10), pp.485-496.

* Táíwò, O. (2022). *Against decolonisation: Taking African agency seriously*. Hurst Publishers.

* Amina Mama. 2007. [Is It Ethical to Study Africa? Preliminary Thoughts on Scholarship and Freedom](#). *African Studies Review,* vol 50 (1) (2007): 1–26.

* Hegel, G.W.F., *[Lectures on the Philosophy of World History](#),* CUP, 1975, Appendix, pp. 174-90

Lecture 2. Pre-colonial and colonial Africa

- 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: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control.* 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 Terence 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*, 2nd 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.

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*, 2nd 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

* Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin Classics, 1961, 'Concerning Violence' and 'Pitfalls of National Consciousness' (and preface by Jean-Paul Sartre)

* 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. http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/75620

* Malik, Kenan, *CLR James, Frantz Fanon and the meaning of liberation*, May 2012, http://kenanmalik.wordpress.com/2012/04/16/clr-james-frantz-fanon-and-the-meaning-of-liberation/

* Allen, Chris, 'Understanding African Politics', *Review of African Political Economy* 22 (65), 1995, pp. 301-320.

* Clapham, Christopher, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, Ch.s 5 & 6.

Supplementary readings

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso, 2006 – Chapter 6

Cooper, Frederick. *Africa since 1940: the past of the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019, Chs 3-4.

Hyam, Ronald, 'Africa and the Labour Government, 1945-1951', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 16, 3 (1988), pp.148-72

James, CLR, *A History of Pan-African Revolt*, PM Press, 2012.

Cases

Kenya

Anderson, David, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2005.

Branch, Daniel and Nicholas Cheeseman, 'The Politics of Control in Kenya: Understanding the Bureaucratic-executive state, 1952-78', *Review of African Political Economy*, 107 (2006), pp.11-31

Berman, B. and Lonsdale, J. *Unhappy valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* Cambridge University Press, 1992 – volume two

Zambia

Kaunda, Kenneth, *Zambia Shall be Free*, London: Heinemann, 1962.

Phiri, Bizeck Jube, 'The Capricorn Africa Society Revisited: The Impact of Liberalism in Zambia's Colonial History, 1949-1963', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 1991.

Kalusaa, Walima T., 'The Killing of Lilian Margaret Burton and Black and White Nationalisms in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) in the 1960s', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37/1, 2011: 63-77

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

Ghana

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, Frederick, *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.

Gleijeses, Piero, *Conflicting Mission: Havana, Washington and Africa 1959-1976*, University of North Carolina Press, 2002, Introduction.

Aluko, Olajide "African Response to External Intervention in Africa since Angola". *African Affairs* 80 (319), 1981, pp. 159-179.

Clapham, Christopher. "Sovereignty and the Third World State". *Political Studies* 47 (3):522-537, 1999.

Coker, Chris, *Nato, the Warsaw Pact and Africa*, Macmillan, 1985.

Harbeson, John W. & Donald Rothchild (eds.): *Africa in World Politics. The African State System in Flux. 3rd Edition*, Boulder: Westview, 2000.

Laidi, Zaki, *The Superpowers and Africa: The Constraints of a Rivalry, 1960-1990*, University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Lefebvre, Jeffrey A. "The United States, Ethiopia and the 1963 Somali-Soviet arms deal: containment and the balance of power dilemma in the Horn of Africa", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36, iv (1998), 611-43

Mazrui, Ali Al Amin, 'Pan-Africanism in the Cold War', in *Towards a Pax Africana: a study of ideology and ambition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967, Ch. 11.

Taylor, Ian and Paul Williams (eds), *Africa in International Politics: External Involvement on the Continent*, Routledge, 2004.

Thompson, Alex, 'Sovereignty I: External influences on African politics', *An Introduction to African Politics*, Routledge, 2016, Ch. 8.

Official US Documents: Foreign Relations of the United States 1964-68, XXIV, Africa, www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/vol_xxiv/y.html Documents 252-260.

On Ethiopia and Somalia in the Cold War

Gebru Tareke "The Ethiopian-Somalia War of 1977 Revisited", *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 33, iii (2000), 635-67

Ottaway, Marina. *Soviet and American influence in the Horn of Africa* (New York, 1982)

Westad, Odd Arne, *The Global Cold War*, Cambridge: CUP, 2005, Ch. 7.

Thompson, Alex, 'Case study: Somalia's International Relations', *An Introduction to African Politics*, Routledge, 2016, Ch. 8.

Ayoob, Mohammed, "The Horn of Africa" in M. Ayoob (ed), *Conflict and Intervention in the Third World*, London: Croom Helm, 1980, Ch. 6.

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

Bereket Habte Selassie, "The American Dilemma on the Horn", *The Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol. 22, No. 2 (Jun., 1984), pp. 249-272.

On Southern Africa in the Cold War

Irwin, Ryan M, *Gordian Knot: Apartheid and the Unmaking of the Liberal World Order*, OUP 2012

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

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Wallerstein, Immanuel, 'Fanon and the revolutionary class', in *The Capitalist World-Economy*, Cambridge University Press, 1979

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.

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

Zeleza, Paul Timbaye, 'Banishing the Silences: Towards the Globalization of African History', Presentation at the 11th CODESRIA General Assembly, 2005. www.codesria.org/IMG/pdf/zeleza.pdf

Nugent, Paul, *Africa since Independence: A Comparative History*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, Ch. 5

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Shivji, Issa, 'The state in the dominated social formations of Africa: some theoretical issues',

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Frank, Andre Gunder, 'The Development of Underdevelopment', *Monthly Review* 18, no. 4 (1966): 17-31

Chang, Ha-Joon. *Kicking away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective*, Anthem, 2002. Ch. 4, pp. 125-141.

Escobar, Arturo. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, Princeton University Press, 1995. Ch.s 1 and 2, pp. 1-55. –*read alongside*– Matthews, S., 'Colonised minds? Post-development theory and the desirability of development in Africa' *Third World Quarterly*, 38(12) (2017), pp. 2650-2663

Shivji, Issa, *Class Struggles in Tanzania,* Heinemann, 1976, Ch. 1, 2

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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

<u>Sample questions</u>

- 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?

<u>Core reading</u>

* 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

* Ferguson, James, *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development", Depoliticisation and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*, University of Minnesota Press, 1990, Preface, Ch. 2, Conclusion

<u>Supplementary readings</u>

Structural Adjustment and Foreign Aid

Williams, Gavin, 'Why structural adjustment is necessary and why it doesn't work', *Review of African Political Economy* 21, no. 60 (1994): 214-225 - <u>*read alongside*</u> - Bracking, Sarah, 'Why structural adjustment isn't necessary and why it does work*', Review of African Political Economy* 26, no. 80 (1999)

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

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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

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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

Mkandawire, Thandika, 'Good Governance: the itinerary of an idea', *Development in Practice* 17, no. 4/5 (2007): 679-81

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

Harrison, Graham, *Neoliberal Africa: The Impact of Global Social Engineering*, Zed Books, 2010

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

The Development Discourse

Sachs, Wolfgang (ed.), *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power,* Zed Books, 1992

Escobar, Arturo, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*, Princeton University Press, 1995, Ch. 1, 2

Leys, Colin, *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory*, Verso, 1996

Rist, Gilbert, *The History of Development: From Western Origins to Global Faith*, Zed Books, 1997

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

Rajagopal, Balakrishnan, 'From Resistance to Renewal: The Third World, Social Movements, and the Expansion of International Institutions', *Harvard International Law Journal* 41, no. 2 (2000): 529-578

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

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

Golooba-Mutebi, Frederick and Sam Hickey, 'Governing Chronic Poverty under Inclusive Neoliberalism: The Case of the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund', *Journal of Development Studies* 46, no. 7 (2010): 1216–39

Henry Veltmeyer (ed.), *The Critical Development Studies Handbook: Tools for Change*, Pluto Press, 2011.

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, Intro, Ch. 1, 4

* Dreher, A., Fuchs, A., Hodler, R., Parks, B. C., Raschky, P. A., & Tierney, M. J. (2019). African leaders and the geography of China's foreign assistance. *Journal of Development Economics*, *140*, 44-71.

* Van der Merwe, J., Bond, P., & Dodd, N. (Eds.). (2019). *BRICS and Resistance in Africa: Contention, Assimilation and Co-optation*. Bloomsbury Publishing. Introduction

* 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

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

Watts, Michael, 'Oil, Development, and the Politics of the Bottom Billion', *Macalaster International* 24 (2009): 79-130

Humphreys, Macartan, Jeffrey D. Sachs and Joseph Stiglitz (eds.), *Escaping the Resource Curse*, Columbia University Press, 2007, Introduction

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

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Alden, Chris, *China in Africa*, Zed Books, 2007, Introduction, Ch. 1-4

Alden, Chris, '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

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

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

Harman, Sophie and William Brown, 'In from the margins? The changing place of Africa in International Relations', *International Affairs* 89, no. 1 (2012): 69–87

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

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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.

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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, Ch. 1-3

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

Lecture 7. Political Mobilization, Control and the State

<u>Sample questions</u>

- Why do some argue that African politics is 'neopatrimonial'?

- What does clientalism explain and what does it overlook in the study of African politics?

<u>Core reading</u>

* 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 ca Change', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, v.76 (4), 2006, pp. 590-597.

* Pitcher, A., Moran, M. H., & Johnston, M. (2009). Rethinking patrimonialism and neopatrimonialism in Africa. *African Studies Review*, *52*(1), 125-156.

* Mkandawire, T. (2015). Neopatrimonialism and the political economy of economic performance in Africa: Critical reflections. *World Politics*, *67*(3), 563-612.

* Allen, Chris, 'Understanding African Politics', *Review of African Political Economy* 22 (65), 1995, pp. 301-320.

<u>Supplementary readings</u>

* Young, Tom (ed.), *Readings in African Politics.* James Currey, 2003. Selections from Bayart, Chabal and Daloz, and Jackson and Rosberg - full texts below.

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', , 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.

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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 8. Identity, Ethnicity and Political Competition

<u>Sample questions</u>

- 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?

<u>Core reading</u>

* Berman, Bruce, "Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism" *African Affairs*, 97, 1998.

* Ellis, S. and Gerrie ter Haar, 'Religion and Politics in sub-Saharan Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36(2), 1998:.175-201

* Koter, D. (2013). King makers: Local leaders and ethnic politics in Africa. *World Politics*, *65*(2), 187-232.

* 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)

<u>Supplementary readings</u>

Harrison, Graham, Issues in the Contemporary Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa, Palgrave, London, 2002. Ch 5.

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)

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

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

Koter, D. (2016). *Beyond ethnic politics in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.

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',

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

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Englebert, 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/

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 9. Class and Politics: Peasants and Workers, Rulers and Capitalists

<u>Sample questions</u>

- Are African peasants neglected, or exploited, or both?

- What are the constraints facing political protest by Africa's urban underclass?

<u>Core reading</u>

* 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)

<u>Supplementary readings</u>

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

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.

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

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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.

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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.

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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 IV: State and society (ii): coercion and contestation

Lecture 10. 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, Will (1998). *Warlord Politics and African States*. Lynne Riener, Boulder CO. Introduction

* de Waal, Alex (2015). *The real politics of the Horn of Africa: Money, war and the business of power*. John Wiley & Sons. Introduction

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

* Collier, Paul and Hoeffler, Anke (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)

* Porter, Holly (2016). *After rape: Violence, justice, and social harmony in Uganda.* Cambridge University Press. Introduction

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

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

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.

Englebert 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, Caitriona, 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 Riener, 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 11. 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". *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

Zeleza, 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 V: International intervention: democracy, human rights, security

Lecture 12. Trajectories of Democracy

Sample questions

- Is populism a useful concept for understanding contemporary African politics?

- Can trends in democratization be identified in Africa?

- Are elections a necessary part of democracy in Africa?

Core reading

* Claude Ake, *The Feasibility of Democracy in Africa* (CODESRIA, 2000), Ch. 1, 2.

* Tukumba Lumumba-Kasongo, ed., *Liberal Democracy and Its Critics in Africa: Political Dysfunction and the Struggle for Social Progress* (CODESRIA, 2005), Ch. 1, 2, Conclusion.

* Issa Shivji, *Silences in NGO Discourse: The Role and Future of NGOs in Africa* (Fahamu Books, 2007), Part 1.

* Danielle Resnick, "Populism in Africa", in *The Routledge Handbook of Global Populism*, edited by Carlos De La Torre (Routledge, 2018).

* Leonardo R Arriola, Lise Rakner, and Nicolas Van De Walle. *Democratic Backsliding in Africa?* (Oxford University Press, 2023), Ch. 1 (and see country case studies).

Supplementary readings

Post-Cold War Political Liberalization

Nugent, Paul, *Africa since Independence: A Comparative History,* Palgrave Macmillan, 2004, Ch. 9

Lumumba-Kasongo, Tukumbi. "Africa's Third-Term Syndrome: A Trend Toward Authoritarianism or a Unique Form of Democracy?" *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* 8, no. 1 (2007): 125-33.

Michael Bratton and Nicolas van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), Introduction, Ch. 3.

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

Ayers, Alison, 'Demystifying Democratization: The Global Constitution of (Neo) Liberal Polities in Africa', *Third World Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (2006): 321-338

Mamdani, Mahmood, 'Democratic Theory and Democratic Struggles', *Economic and Political Weekly* 27, no. 41 (1992): 2228-2232

Lindberg, Staffan, *Democracy and Elections in Africa,* Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006

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

Term Limits, Elections, and Authoritarianism

M Anne Pitcher, "Mozambique elections 2019: Pernicious polarization, democratic decline, and rising authoritarianism", *African Affairs*, Vol 119, no 476 (2020): 468–486.

Clionadh Raleigh et al., "The Sahel crisis since 2012", *African Affairs*, vol. 120, no 478 (2021): 123–143.

Eloïse Bertrand, "Opposition in a hybrid regime: The functions of opposition parties in Burkina Faso and Uganda", *African Affairs*, Volume 120, Issue 481, October 2021, Pages 591–610

Richard Banégas , Camille Popineau, The 2020 Ivorian election and the 'third-term' debate: A crisis of 'Korocracy'?, *African Affairs*, Volume 120, Issue 480, July 2021, Pages 461–477

Gabrielle Lynch and Peter VonDoepp (eds), *Routledge handbook of democratization in Africa* (Routledge, Abingdon, 2019).

Tull, Denis M., and Claudia Simons. "The Institutionalisation of Power Revisited: Presidential Term Limits in Africa", *Afrikaspectrum* 52, no. 2 (2017): 79-102.

Gyimah Boadi, E. "Africa's Waning Democratic Commitment", *Journal of Democracy*, 26.1 (2015): 101-13. Web.

Rakner, Lise. "Don't Touch My Constitution! Civil Society Resistance to Democratic Backsliding in Africa´s Pluralist Regimes." Global Policy 12, no. S5 (2021): 95-105.

LeBas, Adrienne. "Term Limits and Beyond." Current History (1941) 115, no. 781 (2016): 169-74.

Amoah, Michael. "Extending Term Limits, Constitutional Referendums and Elections in Francophone Africa." Social Sciences & Humanities Open 7, no. 1 (2023): 100454.

Filip Reyntjens, "Respecting and circumventing presidential term limits in sub-Saharan Africa: A comparative survey", *African Affairs*, Volume 119, Issue 475, April 2020, Pages 275–295.

UNDP, "Soldiers and Citizens: Military Coups and the Need for Democratic Renewal in Africa," July 2023, Executive Summary, available at:
https://www.soldiersandcitizens.org/assets/UNDP_Soldiers_and_citizens_ENG.pdf

Populism

Sishuwa Sishuwa, "Roots of Contemporary Political Strategies: Ethno- Populism in Zambia during the Late Colonial Era and Early 2000s", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 47:6 (2021), 1061-1081

Sam Wilkins et al., "Briefing: Contextualizing the Bobi Wine factor in Uganda's 2021 elections", *African Affairs*, Volume 120, Issue 481, October 2021, Pages 629–643

Mazrui, A. A., & Engholm, G. F. "Rousseau and Intellectualized populism in Africa", *The Review of Politics, 30*, 1 (1968): 19-32.

Hess, Steve, and Richard Aidoo. "Charting the Roots of Anti-Chinese Populism in Africa: A Comparison of Zambia and Ghana", *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 49, no. 2 (2014): 129-47.

Peter Kagwanja, "Courting genocide: Populism, ethno-nationalism and the informalisation of violence in Kenya's 2008 post-election crisis", *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 27, 3 (2009): 365-387.

Fölscher, Marine, Nicola De Jager, and Robert Nyenhuis. "Populist Parties Shifting the Political Discourse? A Case Study of the Economic Freedom Fighters in South Africa." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 59, no. 4 (2021): 535-58.

Nic Cheeseman & Miles Larmer (2015) "Ethnopopulism in Africa: opposition mobilization in diverse and unequal societies", *Democratization*, 22:1, 22-50.

Dan Paget (2021) "Mistaken for populism: Magufuli, ambiguity and elitist plebeianism in Tanzania", *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 26:2, 121-141.

H. Melber, "Populism in Southern Africa under Liberation Movements as Governments", *Review of African Political Economy*, 45(158) (2018), pp. 678–686.

Lacatus, Corina. "Populism, Competitive Authoritarianism, and Foreign Policy: The Case of Uganda's 2021 Election", *Global Studies Quarterly* 3, no. 1 (2023).

Haynes, Jeffrey, "Revolutionary Populism and Democracy in Ghana", *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 60, no. 4 (2022): 503-26.

Civil Society, NGOs and Human Rights in Context

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

Ndegwa, Stephen, *The Two Faces of Civil Society: NGOs and Politics in Africa,* Kumarian Press, 1996

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

Monga, Célestin, 'Civil Society and Democratisation in Francophone Africa', *Journal of Modern African Studies* 33, no. 3 (1995)

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

Gyimah-Boadi, Emmanuel, 'Civil society in Africa', *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 2 (1996): 118-132

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.

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

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

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

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

Englund, Harri, *Prisoners of Freedom: Human Rights and the African Poor,* University of California Press, 2006, Introduction, Ch. 1, 4, 7, 8

Lecture 13. Intervening in Political Violence: Humanitarianism, Peacebuilding, and Security

<u>Sample questions</u>

- Will human rights intervention in Africa always be counterproductive?

- What have been the political consequences of the War on Terror in Africa?

<u>Core reading</u>

* Mahmood Mamdani, *Saviors and Survivors: Darfur, Politics and the War on Terror,* Pantheon, 2010: Ch. 2, conclusion.

* Adam Branch, *Displacing Human Rights: War and Intervention in Northern Uganda*, Oxford University Press, 2011: Ch. 1, 3

* Samar Al-Bulushi, "Citizen-Suspect: Navigating Surveillance and Policing in Urban Kenya", *American Anthropologist* 123, no. 4 (2021): 819-32.

* Ntagahoraho Z Burihabwa and Devon E A Curtis, "Postwar Statebuilding in Burundi: Ruling Party Elites and Illiberal Peace", *International Affairs* 97, no. 4 (2021): 1221-238.

* Sharath Srinivasan, *When Peace Kills Politics: International Intervention and Unending Wars in the Sudans*, Hurst & Co/OUP, 2021, Introduction and Chapter 1.

<u>Supplementary readings</u>

Humanitarianism

Malkki, Liisa, 'Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization', *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 3 (1996): 377–404

Teferra, Gerawork. "Kakuma Refugee Camp: Pseudopermanence in Permanent Transience." *Africa Today* 69, no. 1/2 (2023): 162-89.

Terry, Fiona, *Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humanitarian Action,* Cornell University Press, 2002

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

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

Bah, Abu Bakarr, "The Contours of New Humanitarianism: War and Peacebuilding in Sierra Leone." *Africa Today* 60, no. 1 (2013): 3-26.

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R. Müller, Tanja. "Covid-19 and Urban Migrants in the Horn of Africa: Lived Citizenship and Everyday Humanitarianism." IDS Bulletin (Brighton. 1984) 53, no. 2 (2022): 11-IV.

de Waal, Alex, *Famine Crimes: Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa,* James Currey, 1997, Ch. 3, 4, 7-11

Peacebuilding

Autesserre, Severine, *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding,* Cambridge University Press, 2010, Ch. 1, 3, 6

Curtis, Devon EA, Florence Ebila, and Maria Martin De Almagro. "Memoirs of Women-in-conflict: Ugandan Ex-combatants and the Production of Knowledge on Security and Peacebuilding." *Security Dialogue* 53, no. 5 (2022): 402-19.

Branch, Adam, *Displacing Human Rights: War and Intervention in Northern Uganda,* Oxford University Press, 2011, Ch. 4, 5

Pouligny, 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

R2P and Humanitarian Military Intervention

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=

Deng, Francis Mading, Sadikiel Kimaro, Terrence Lyons, Donald Rothchild, and I. William Zartman, *Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa,* Brookings Institution Press, 1996

Ifediora, Obinna Franklin. "A Regional Responsibility to Protect? Towards 'Enhancing Regional Action' in Africa." *Global Responsibility to Protect* 8, no. 2-3 (2016): 270-93.

Hehir, Aidan, and Robert Murray (eds.), *Libya, the Responsibility to Protect and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013

Adam Branch, "The Irresponsibility of the Responsibility to Protect in Africa", in *Critical Perspectives on the Responsibility to Protect: Interrogating Theory and Practice*, edited by Philip Cunliffe (Routledge, 2011).

Harrison, Graham. "Onwards and Sidewards? The Curious Case of the Responsibility to Protect and Mass Violence in Africa." *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 10, no. 2 (2016): 143-61.

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

Lwabukuna, Olivia et al., "The Responsibility to Protect Internally Displaced Persons in Africa." Journal of African Law 65, no. S1 (2021): 73-100.

Smith, Karen. "South Africa and the Responsibility to Protect: From Champion to Sceptic." International Relations (London) 30, no. 3 (2016): 391-405.

Securitization and Counterterrorism

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

Rita Abrahamsen, "Defensive Development, Combative Contradictions: Towards an International Political Sociology of Global Militarism in Africa", *Conflict, Security & Development* 19, no. 6 (2019): 543-62.

Al-Bulushi, S. (2021). "Race, space, and 'terror': Notes from East Africa", *Security Dialogue*, 52 (1_suppl), 115–123.

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

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

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

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

Lent Term

Module I: African Political Thought and African Studies (Weeks 1-4, Wed 11am)

Lecture 14: African History and World History

Sample questions

- What are the assumptions behind different ideas of Africa?

- How has "the Part Which Africa Has Played in World History" (in Du Bois's phrase) shaped the continent's politics?

Core Reading

* W.E.B. Du Bois, *The World and Africa* (Oxford, 2007 [1947]), Foreword, Introductions, Chapters 1-3, 7, first two pages of Chapter 8.

* Ali A. Mazrui, "On the Concept of 'We Are All Africans'", *The American Political Science Review* 57, no. 1 (1963): 88-97.

* Cheikh Anta Diop, *The African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality*, edited by Mercer Cook (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1974), Preface, p. 1-42, and Chapter 7.

* Oyèrónkẹ́ Oyèwùmí, *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses* (University of Minnesota, 1997), Preface, Chapter 1.

* Tiffany Patterson and Robin Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World," *African Studies Review,* 43, 1 (2000): 11-45.

Supplementary Reading

J. Ki-Zerbo, "General Introduction" to UNESCO General History of Africa, p. 1-24 in *General History of Africa I: Methodology and African Prehistory*, ed. J. Ki-Zerbo (UNESCO, Heinemann, 1981).

Samir Amin, *Eurocentrism*, Monthly Review Press, 1988, Introduction.

Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "Banishing the Silences: Towards the Globalization of African History", CODESRIA, 2005, available at https://www.codesria.org/spip.php?article723

Frederick Cooper, *Africa in the World* (Harvard, 2014), Introduction, Chapter 2.

J. F. Ade Ajayi, "Colonialism: An Episode in African History" in Toyin Falola, ed., *Tradition and Change in Africa: The Essays of J. F. Ade Ajayi* (Africa World Press, 2000): 165-174.

Ali A. Mazrui, "The Re-Invention of Africa: Edward Said, V. Y. Mudimbe, and Beyond," *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (2005): 68-82.

Steven Feierman, "African Histories and the Dissolution of World History" in *Africa and the Disciplines: The Contribution of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and Humanities* (1993), 167-212.

Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (University of California, 2000), Chapter 1.

Jean Allman, Susan Geiger, Nakanyike Musisi, eds., *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Indiana University Press, 2002), Introduction.

Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "Gender Biases in African Historiography," in *African Gender Studies: A Reader*, ed. Oyeronke Oyewumi (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

Barbara Cooper, 'Oral Sources and the Challenge of African History', ch. 7 in *Writing African History*, edited by John Phillips (University of Rochester Press, 2006).

Nancy Rose Hunt, 'Placing African Women's History and Locating Gender', *Social History* 14, no. 3 (1989): 359-379.

Pikirayi, I. 2015. 'The Future of Archaeology in Africa', *Antiquity* 89 (345), pp. 531-541.

Richard Reid, 'Past and presentism: The precolonial and the foreshortening of African history', *Journal of African History* 52 (2011), 135-155.

Lecture 15: Anti-Colonial, Nationalist, and Pan-African Political Thought

Sample questions

- How did colonial rule shape anti-colonial struggle?

- What role does culture play in liberation?

Reading (core is * *starred in each of the three sections below*)

Writings by Anti-Colonial Political Leaders

* Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite* (New York: Praeger, 1963): Introduction, "Freedom First", "Achieving our Sovereignty"; *Revolutionary Path* (Panaf Books, 1973): "What I Mean by Positive Action" (1949).

* Amílcar Cabral, 'Brief Analysis of the Social Structure in Guinea' (1964) and 'The Weapon of Theory' (1966), in *Unity and Struggle* (Monthly Review Press, 1979). Both available online.

Amílcar Cabral, "National Liberation and Culture," in *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings of Amilcar Cabral* (New York & London: Monthly Review Press, 1979).

Frantz Fanon, Chapter 2: "Grandeur and Weakness of Spontaneity," in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961). [Note that the title may vary in different translations.]

Kenneth Kaunda, *The Riddle of Violence* (San Francisco: Harper and Row Publishers, 1981).

Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000 [1955]).

Léopold Sédar Senghor, "Negritude: A Humanism of the Twentieth Century," *Colonial Discourse/ Post-Colonial Theory*, Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (eds.) (New York: Columbia 1994), pp. 27-35.

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

Thomas Sankara, "The Revolution Cannot Triumph without the Liberation of Women," in *Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle* (Pathfinder Press, 1990/2007).

Nnenna Ifeanyi-Ajufo, "Gender, Anti-Colonialism and Nationalism: The Anti-Colonial Legacies of African Women", *The Republic* (Nigeria), August/September 2021, available at https://republic.com.ng/vol5-no3/gender-and-anticolonialism/

Debating Anti-Colonial Thought

* Abiola F. Irele, 'Négritude of Black Cultural "Nationalism', in *The Journal of African Studies*, 3, 3 (1965): 321- 48; and 'Négritude: Literature and ideology', in *The Journal of African Studies*, 3, 4 (1965): 499–526.

* Shiera S. el-Malik, "Intellectual Work 'In-the-World': Women's Writing and Anti-Colonial Thought in Africa," *Irish Studies in International Affairs* 24 (2013): 101-120.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiongʾo, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (London, J. Currey; Heinemann, 1986), Introduction and Chapter 1, "The Language of African Literature".

Adom Getachew, *Worldmaking After Empire: The Rise and Fall of Self-Determination* (Princeton, 2019), Introduction, Ch. 1, 3.

Joseph-Gabriel, Anette K. *Reimagining Liberation: How Black Women Transformed Citizenship in the French Empire* (University of Illinois Press, 2020), Chapter 1: Introduction.

Frederick Cooper, *Africa in the World* (Harvard, 2014), Chapter 3, Conclusion.

Aili Marie Tripp, '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.

Elizabeth Schmidt, "'Emancipate Your Husbands!': Women and Nationalism in Guinea, 1953-1958", Chapter 12 in Jean Allman, Susan Geiger, Nakanyike Musisi, eds., *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Indiana University Press, 2002).

Mekgwe Pinkie, "Theorizing African Feminism(s):the 'Colonial' Question", *QUEST: An African Journal of Philosophy* (2008): 11-22.

Imaobong D. Umoren, "Anti-Fascism and the Development of Global Race Women, 1928–1945," *Callaloo*, 39, 1 (2016): 151-165.

Gary Wilder, *Freedom time: Negritude, decolonization, and the future of the world* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), Chapter 1.

Jean Allman, Susan Geiger, Nakanyike Musisi, eds., *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Indiana University Press, 2002), Chapters 11, 13.

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

Histories of Pan-Africanism

* Amina Mama and Hakima Abbas, "Feminism and Pan-Africanism," Special Issue of *Feminist Africa*, no. 20 (2015).

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

Zachary Mondesire, "On Pan-Africanism and Secession: Thinking Anti-Colonialism from South Sudan", Transforming Anthropology, Vol. 29, Number 1, pp. 29–42, 2021.

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.

Brenda Nyandiko Sanya and Anne Namatsi Lutomia (2015) Archives and Collective Memories: Searching for African women in the pan-African imaginary. *Feminist Africa* (Iss.20): 69-76

Gerard McCann. "Where was the *Afro* in Afro-Asian Solidarity? Africa's 'Bandung Moment' in 1950s Asia" *Journal of World History vol 30, no 1/2* (2019).

Hakim Adi, *Pan-Africanism: A History* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2018).

Lecture 16: Defining African Philosophy and Political Thought

Sample questions

- What makes African philosophy or political thought African?

- How does attention to gender help rethink what is meant by African philosophy or political thought?

Core Reading

* V. Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa* (Bloomington, 1988), Introduction, Ch. 1.

* Paulin Hountondji, *African Philosophy: Myth and Reality* (Indiana, 1983), Preface to the 2nd Edition, Ch. 1-3, 8 and postscript.

* Louise du Toit and Azille Coetzee, "Gendering African Philosophy, or African Feminism as Decolonizing Force", in A. Afolayan and T. Falola (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of African Philosophy* (New York: 2017).

* Ousmane Kane, *Beyond Timbuktu: An Intellectual History of Muslim West Africa* (Harvard, 2016), Prologue, Ch. 2-5.

* Oyèrónkẹ́ Oyèwùmí, "Conceptualising Gender: Eurocentric Foundations of Feminist Concepts and the Challenge of African Epistemologies" in *African Gender Scholarship: Concepts, Methodologies and Paradigms* (CODESRIA, 2004).

Supplementary Reading

Kwasi Wiredu, "Introduction: African Philosophy in Our Time," in *A Companion to African Philosophy*, edited by Kwasi Wiredu (Blackwell, 2004).

George Hull, ed., *Debating African philosophy: perspectives on identity, decolonial ethics, and comparative philosophy* (London: Routledge 2018), Introduction.

Sylvia Tamale, *Decolonization and Afro-Feminism* (Daraja Press, 2020).

Dismas Masolo, *African Philosophy in Search of Identity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

Anthony Kwame Appiah, *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Kwame Gyekye, *Tradition and Modernity: Philosophical Reflections on the African Experience* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1997), ch. 1 and 8.

P.H. Coetzee, ed., *African Philosophy Reader* (Routledge, 2003, 2nd edition): Mogobe B. Ramose, "Introduction: The Struggle for Reason in Africa"; Moya Deacon, "The Concept of Ethnophilosophy"; Abiola Irele, "Francophone African Philosophy"; and Odera Oruka, "Four Trends in African Philosophy".

Gail M. Presbey, 'Should women love "wisdom"? Evaluating the Ethiopian Wisdom Tradition', in *Research in African Literatures,* 30, 2 (1999): 165–181.

Lucius T. Outlaw Jr., '"Black" Philosophy, "African" Philosophy, "Africana" Philosophy: Transnational Deconstructive and Reconstructive Renovations in "Philosophy"', in A. Afolayan and T. Falola, eds, *The Palgrave Handbook of African Philosophy* (Palgrave Macmillan, New York: 2017).

Souleymane B Diagne, "Toward an Intellectual History of West Africa: the Meaning of Timbuktu," in Shamil Jeppie and Souleymane Bachir Diagne (eds.), *The Meanings of Timbuktu* (Cape Town, 2008).

Kai Kresse, *Philosophising in Mombasa: Knowledge, Islam and Intellectual Practice on the Swahili Coast* (Edinburgh University Press, 2007), Prologue, Chapters 1, 3, 5, Epilogue.

Robert Launay and Rudolph T. Ware III, "How (Not) to Read the Qur'an? Logics of Islamic Education in Senegal and Cote d'Ivoire", in Robert Launay (ed.), *Islamic Education in Africa* (Indiana University Press, 2016): 255-267.

Souleymane Bachir Diagne, *Open to Reason: Muslim Philosophers in Conversation with the Western Tradition* (Columbia University Press, 2018).

Lecture 17: Rethinking African Studies

<u>Sample questions</u>

- Does decolonising African Studies mean different things in different contexts?

- How does knowledge being produced about African politics inside the university relate to that being produced outside the university?

<u>Readings (*core * starred in each of the three sections below*)</u>

African Studies in Western Universities

* Pearl T. Robinson, "Area Studies in Search of Africa: The Case of the United States," in Paul Tiyambe Zeleza and Adebayo Olukoshi, eds., The Study of Africa, Vol.2: Global and Transnational Engagements (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2007), pp. 235-276. Available online at: https://escholarship.org/uc/item/59n2d2n1

* Amina Mama, "Is It Ethical to Study Africa? Preliminary Thoughts on Scholarship and Freedom," *African Studies Review,* Vol 50, No 1 (2007): 1-26.

Jean M Allman, '#HerskovitsMustFall? A Meditation on Whiteness, African Studies, and the Unfinished Business of 1968', *African Studies Review* 62, no. 3 (2019): 6-39.

Anthony Kirk-Greene and D. Rimmer (eds.) *The British Intellectual Engagement with Africa in the Twentieth Century* (Palgrave, 2000).

Akosua Adomako Ampofo, "Re-viewing Studies on Africa, #Black Lives Matter, and Envisioning the Future of African Studies," *African Studies Review,* Vol 59, No 2 (2016): 7-29.

Adam Branch, 'Decolonizing the African Studies Centre', *Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 36, 2 (2018).

P. T. Zeleza, *The Study of Africa: Volume 2: Global and Transnational Engagements* (CODESRIA, 2007), Introduction and Part II.

J.D. Fage, 1989. 'British African Studies since the Second World War: A Personal Account'. *African Affairs* 88 (352): 397–413.

Elísio Macamo, 2018. 'Urbane Scholarship: Studying Africa, Understanding the World'. *Africa* 88 (1): 1-10.

Thomas Kwasi Tieku, "A new research agenda for Africa's international relations", *African Affairs*, Volume 121, Issue 484 (2022): 487-499.

Contestations around African Universities

* Mahmood Mamdani, "Between the Public Intellectual and the Scholar: Decolonization and some Post- Independence Initiatives in African Higher Education," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies,* Vol 17, No 1 (2016): 68-83.

* Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J., 2015, "Decoloniality as the Future of Africa", *History Compass*, *13*(10), pp.485-496.

* Rhodes Must Fall Statements, in *Johannesburg Salon*, Volume 9, 2015, pages 6-19. Available at: https://studentsnotcustomers.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/vfinal_vol9_book.pdf

Achille Mbembe, "Decolonizing the university: New Directions," *Arts & Humanities in Higher Education* Vol 15, No 1 (2016): 29–45.

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.

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

Jansen, J. (2023). The problem with decolonisation: Entanglements in the politics of knowledge. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, 61*(1), 139-156.

Paul Timbaye Zeleza, "African Studies and Universities since Independence," *Transition,* No 101 (2009): 110-135.

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

Mbembe, Achille, 'African Modes of Self-Writing', *Identity, Culture and Politics* 2, no. 1 (2001).

Mbembe, A. 2015. 'Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive', Public lecture manuscript, Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research (WISER), University of the Witwatersrand , Johannesburg, 4 May 2015.

Knowledge Production beyond the University

* Kenyan Organic Intellectuals Network, Everyday Capitalism and Nairobi: https://africasacountry.com/series/capitalism-in-my-city

* Clapperton Chakanetsa Mavhunga, *The Mobile Workshop: The Tsetse Fly and African Knowledge Production* (MIT Press, 2018): Preface, Introduction, Chapters 1, 2, Conclusion.

Green, L., "Beyond South Africa's 'indigenous knowledge – science' wars", South African Journal of Science, 2012, 108(7/8), (2012).

Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1990): Introduction, Chapters 3, 10.

Otim, Patrick W. "Local Intellectuals: Lacito Okech and the Production of Knowledge in Colonial Acholiland." History in Africa 45, no. 2018 (2018): 275-305.

Issa Shivji, "The Metamorphosis of the Revolutionary Intellectual," in Agrarian South:Journal of Political Economy 7(3) 2021, 1-7.

Derek R. Peterson and Giacomo Macola, "Homespun Historiography and the Academic Profession," in *Recasting the Past: History Writing and Political Work in Modern Africa*, ed. Derek R. Peterson and Giacomo Macola (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2009), 1–28

Alagoa, E.J. "The Dialogue Between Academic and Community History in Nigeria." *African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History,* ed. Luise White, Stephan F. Miescher, David William Cohen. Indiana University Press. pp. 91-102.

Earle, Jonathon L, 'African Intellectual History and Historiography', Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History, Oxford University Press.

Module 2: African Environments and Politics (Weeks 5-8, Wed 11am)

Lecture 18: Environmental History, Knowledge, and Power

<u>Sample questions</u>

- How do colonial narratives of the environment shape postcolonial environmental politics?

- Is "the environment" a useful concept in the study of Africa?

<u>Core Reading</u>

* James Fairhead and Melissa Leach, "False Forest History, Complicit Social Analysis: Rethinking Some West African Environmental Narratives", *World Development* 23, no. 6 (1995): 1023-1035.

* Clapperton Chakanetsa Mavhunga, *Transient Workspaces: Technologies of Everyday Innovation in Zimbabwe* (MIT Press, 2014), Prologue, Introduction, Chapter 1, 2, 4.

* Maano Ramutsindela, "Environment", in Gaurav Gajanan Desai and Adeline Marie Masquelier, eds., *Critical Terms for the Study of Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).

* Abena Dove Osseo-Asare, *Bitter Roots: The Search for Healing Plants in Africa* (Chicago, 2014): Introduction, Chapter 4.

<u>Supplementary Reading</u>

James McCann *Green Land, Brown Land, Black Land: An Environmental History of Africa, 1800–1990* (Heinemann, 1999), Chapters 1, 2, 7.

James Fairhead and Melissa Leach, *Reframing Deforestation : Global Analyses and Local Realities : Studies in West Africa*. London: Routledge, 1998, Chapters 1 & 8.

Emmanuel Kreike, *Environmental Infrastructure in African History: Examining the Myth of Natural Resource Management in Namibia* (Cambridge, 2013), Chapters 1, 2.

Jane Carruthers, "Africa: Histories, Ecologies and Societies", *Environment and History* 10, no. 4 (2004): 379-406.

William Beinart and JoAnn McGregor, eds., *Social History & African Environments* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003), Introduction.

Gregory H. Maddox, "Africa and Environmental History", in *A Companion to African History*, edited by William H. Worger, Charles Ambler, and Nwando Achebe (Wiley Blackwell, 2018).

Helen Tilley, *Africa as a Living Laboratory: Empire, Development, and the Problem of Scientific Knowledge, 1870–1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011): Introduction, Chapters 3, 4, 7.

Clapperton Chakanetsa Mavhunga, *The Mobile Workshop: The Tsetse Fly and African Knowledge Production* (MIT Press, 2018).

Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1990): Introduction, Chapters 3, 10.

Gufu Oba, *African Environmental Crisis: A History of Science for Development* (Taylor and Francis, 2020).

Crosby, Alfred W. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Terence Ranger, "Making Zimbabwean Landscapes : Painters, Projectors and Priests", *Paideuma (Wiesbaden)* 43 (1997): 59-73.

Agrawal, Arun. "Dismantling the Divide Between Indigenous and Scientific Knowledge." *Development and Change* 26, no. 3 (1995): 413-39.

Lecture 19: Environment, Territory, and Political Authority

<u>Sample questions</u>

- How has the effort to control land shaped African states?

- What is the contemporary political relevance of forests in Africa?

<u>Core Reading</u>

* Christian Lund and Catherine Boone, "Introduction: Land Politics in Africa - Constituting Authority over Territory, Property and Persons", *Africa* 83, no 1 (2013): 1-13. Plus one article from the volume.

* Dzodzi Tsikata, "Gender, Land Tenure and Agrarian Production Systems in Sub-Saharan Africa", *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy* 5, no. 1 (2016): 1-19.

* Kojo S Amanor, "Introduction: Land and Sustainable Development Issues in Africa", in K.S. Amanor and S. Moyo, eds., *Land and Sustainable Development in Africa* (London, 2008), pp. 1-32.

* Albert Arhin and Joanes Atela, "Forest Carbon Projects and Policies in Africa"; Joanes Atela, "Implementing REDD+: Evidence from Kenya", and Melissa Leach and Ian Scoones, "Introduction", in Melissa Leach and Ian Scoones, eds., *Carbon conflicts and forest landscapes in Africa* (Routledge, 2015).

* Thaddeus Raymond Sunseri, *Wielding the Ax: State Forestry and Social Conflict in Tanzania, 1820–2000* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009): Preface, Chapters 7 and 8.

<u>Supplementary Reading</u>

Carl Death, *The Green State in Africa* (Yale Agrarian Studies Series, 2016), Chapter 3: "Green Land and State Territory".

Stephen Macekura, *Of Limits and Growth: The Rise of Global Sustainable Development in*

the Twentieth Century (Cambridge, 2016), Introduction, Ch. 2.

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Michael Watts, 'Violent environments: petroleum conflict and the political ecology of rule in the Niger delta', in *Liberation ecologies: environment, development, social movements,* edited by Peet, R & Watts, M. (London, 2004).

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Kirshner, Joshua, Vanesa Castán Broto, and Idalina Baptista. 2020. "Energy Landscapes in Mozambique: The Role of the Extractive Industries in a Post-Conflict Environment", *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 52 (6): 1051–71.

Richards, P. 1996. *Fighting for the Rainforest: War, Youth and Resources in Sierra Leone*. London: James Currey.

Guy Patrice Dkamela, et al (2014) "Lessons for REDD+ from Cameroon's Past Forestry Law Reform: A Political Economy Analysis." *Ecology and Society* 19(3): 30.

Rantala, S, and M Di Gregorio. 2014. "Multistakeholder Environmental Governance in Action: REDD+ Discourse Coalitions in Tanzania." *Ecology and Society* 19(2): 66.

Lecture 20: Politics of Conservation

Sample questions

- Has conservation always been a "big lie"?

- Are "neoliberal conservation" and "militarized conservation" complementary or contrasting?

Core Reading

* John Mbaria and Mordecai Ogada, *The Big Conservation Lie: The Untold Story of Wildlife Conservation in Kenya* (Auburn, WA: Lens & Pens Publishing, 2016), pages 27-74, 144-150.

* David Anderson and Richard Grove, "The Scramble for Eden: Past, Present and Future in African Conservation", in D. Anderson and R. Grove (eds), *Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Practice* (Cambridge University Press, 1987).

* Maano Ramutsindela, Frank Matose, and Tafadzwa Mushonga, eds., *The Violence of Conservation in Africa: State, Militarization and Alternatives* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2022), Chapters 1, 3.

Grace A. Musila, *A Death Retold in Truth and Rumour: Kenya, Britain and the Julie Ward Murder* (James Currey, 2015): Chapter 6.

Büscher, B., Sullivan, S., Neves, K., Igoe, J., Brockington, D., "Towards a Synthesized Critique of Neoliberal Biodiversity Conservation", *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 23 (2012): 4-30.

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Clapperton Chakanetsa Mavhunga, *Transient Workspaces: Technologies of Everyday Innovation in Zimbabwe* (MIT Press, 2014), Prologue, Introduction, Chapters 6, 7, 8

Connor J. Cavanagh, Teklehaymanot Weldemichel, and Tor A. Benjaminsen, "Gentrifying the African Landscape: The Performance and Powers of For-Profit Conservation on Southern Kenya's Conservancy Frontier", *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 110, no. 5 (2020): 1594-612.

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Tor A. Benjaminsen and Ian Bryceson, "Conservation, green/blue grabbing and accumulation by dispossession in Tanzania", *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 39:2 (2012): 335-355.

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Büscher, Bram. *Transforming the Frontier: Peace Parks and the Politics of Neoliberal Conservation in Southern Africa* (Durham: Duke UP, 2013).

R. P. Neumann, *Imposing Wilderness: Struggles over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998): Introduction, Chapter 1.

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Dan Brockington, *Fortress Conservation: The Preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002): Introduction, Chapter 6.

Lunstrum, L., "Green Militarization: Anti-Poaching Efforts and the Spatial Contours of Kruger National Park", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* Vol., 4, 104 (2014).

J Fairhead, M Leach & I Scoones, "Green grabbing: a new appropriation of nature?", *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 39(2), 2012, pp 237–261;

Igoe, J., Neves, K, & Brockington, D. (2010). A Spectacular Eco-Tour around the Historic Bloc: Theorising the Convergence of Biodiversity Conservation and

Capitalist Expansion. Antipode 42: 486-512

Ahebwa, W. et al. (2012). Private-community Partnerships: Investigating a New Approach to Conservation and Development in Uganda. Conservation & Society 10: 305-317

Tumusiime, D. M. and Svarstad, H. (2011) A Local Counter-Narrative on the Conservation of Mountain Gorillas. Forum for Development Studies 38(3): 239–265.

Connor Joseph Cavanagh & Tor A. Benjaminsen (2015) Guerrilla agriculture? A biopolitical guide to illicit cultivation within an IUCN Category II protected area, Journal of Peasant Studies, 42:3-4, 725-745.

Lecture 21: Climate Change, Politics and Justice

<u>Sample questions</u>

- Why do African states participate in the UNFCCC process?

- What does climate justice prescribe in terms of adaptation and mitigation policies in Africa?

<u>Core Reading</u>

* Nnimmo Bassey, *To Cook a Continent: Destructive Extraction and the Climate Crisis in Africa* (Cape Town, Oxford: Pambazuka, 2012): Chapters 1, 6, 7.

* Habiba Daggash, "Nigeria Shouldn't Have Joined the Race to Net Zero", November 2021, available at:

https://www.habibadaggash.com/post/nigeria-shouldn-t-have-joined-the-race-to-net-zero

* Nicholas Chan, "'Special Circumstances' and the Politics of Climate Vulnerability: African Agency in the UN Climate Change Negotiations", *Africa Spectrum* 2021, Vol. 56(3) 314–332.

* Meche, Brittany. "Desert Black." Transition (Kampala, Uganda), no. 133 (2022).

* Connor Joseph Cavanagh, Pål Olav Vedeld, Leif Tore Trædal, "Securitizing REDD+? Problematizing the emerging illegal timber trade and forest carbon interface in East Africa", *Geoforum* 60 (2015) 72–82.

* Michael Mikulewicz, "The Discursive Politics of Adaptation to Climate Change", *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 110, no. 6 (2022): 1807-1830.

* Olúfẹ́mi O. Táíwò, *Reconsidering Reparations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022): Introduction, Chapter 5.

<u>Supplementary Reading</u>

For Reference: Trisos, C.H., I.O. Adelekan, E. Totin, et al. "Africa", in *Climate Change 2022: Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability.* Contribution of Working Group II to the Sixth Assessment Report of the IPCC (Cambridge UP, 2022): pages 1285–1455. Available at: https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/wg2/chapter/chapter-9/

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M.B. Nelson, "Africa's regional powers and climate change negotiations", *Global Environmental Politics* 16(2), 2016: 110–129.

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Gufu Oba, *Climate Change Adaptation in Africa: An Historical Ecology* (Routledge Advances in Climate Change Research, 2014).

Patience Mususa and Stephen Marr, "Comparing Climate Politics and Adaptation Strategies in African Cities: Challenges and Opportunities in the State-Community Divide", *Urban Forum* (Johannesburg) 33, no. 1 (2022): 1-12.

Harry Verhoeven, "Gardens of Eden or Hearts of Darkness? The Genealogy of Discourses on Environmental Insecurity and Climate Wars in Africa", *Geopolitics* 19, no. 4 (2014): 784-805.

A. Nyong, F. Adesina, and B. Osman Elasha, "Value of Indigenous Knowledge in Climate Change Mitigation and Adaptation Strategies in the African Sahel", *Mitigation and Adaptation Strategies for Global Change* 12, no. 5 (2007): 787-97.

Mikkel Funder, Carol Mweemba & Imasiku Nyambe (2018) "The Politics of Climate Change Adaptation in Development: Authority, Resource Control and State Intervention in Rural Zambia", *The Journal of Development Studies*, 54:1, 30-46.

Florian Weisser, Michael Bollig, Martin Doevenspeck, and Detlef Müller-Mahn, "Translating the 'adaptation to Climate Change' Paradigm: The Politics of a Travelling Idea in Africa", *The Geographical Journal* 180, no. 2 (2014): 111-19.

Oli Brown, Anne Hammill, and Robert Mcleman. "Climate Change as the 'new' Security Threat: Implications for Africa." *International Affairs* (London) 83, no. 6 (2007): 1141-154.

Harry Verhoeven, "Climate Change, Conflict and Development in Sudan: Global Neo-Malthusian Narratives and Local Power Struggles", *Development and Change* 42, no 3 (2011): 679-707.

Connor Joseph Cavanagh and Tor A. Benjaminsen, "Political Ecology, Variegated Green Economies, and the Foreclosure of Alternative Sustainabilities", *Journal of Political Ecology* 24, no. 1 (2017): 200-16.

Adeniyi Asiyanbi, Albert Arhin, and Usman Isyaku, "REDD+ in West Africa: Politics of Design and Implementation in Ghana and Nigeria", *Forests* 8, no 3 (2017).

Module 3: African Politics in a Digital Age (Lent Term, weeks 3-6, Tu 9am)

Lecture 22. Histories of Communication Technology and African Politics

Sample questions

- What characterises the relationship between changes in communication technology and African politics?

- In what ways are Africans agents of political change in how they approach communication technology? Answer using a historical perspective.

Core Reading

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

* Goody, J. (1971). The impact of Islamic writing on the oral cultures of West Africa. *Cahiers d'études africaines*, *11*(Cahier 43), 455-466. *Or* Goody, J. (1977). *The domestication of the savage mind*. Cambridge University Press. Ch. 1, Evolution and Communication

* Larkin, B. (2008). *Signal and Noise: Media, Infrastructure, and Urban Culture in Nigeria.* London: Duke University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1. Online via Cambridge University Library.

Supplementary readings

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

Lawrance, B., Osborn, E. L., and Roberts, R. (2006). "Introduction: African intermediaries and the 'bargain' of collaboration." In *Intermediaries, interpreters and clerks. African employees in the making of colonial Africa*, edited by Lawrance, B., Osborn, E. L. and Roberts, R. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 3-34.

Lawrance, B., Osborn, E. L., and Roberts, R. (Eds). (2006). *Intermediaries, interpreters and clerks. African employees in the making of colonial Africa*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Newell, S. (2008). "An introduction to the writings of J. G. Mullen, an African clerk, in the *Gold Coast Leader*, 1916-19." *Africa* 78, no. 3: 384-400.

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

Lecture 23. Technology, the State and Security

<u>Sample questions</u>

- Is digital communication technology changing who has power over whom in Africa?

- Do digital technologies allow African states to broadcast power over territory and populations more effectively?

<u>Core Reading</u>

* Herbst, J. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton University Press, 2014. Preface to 2014 edition and Chapter 1.

* Platzky Miller, J., Sander, A., & Srinivasan, S. (2022). Control, Extract, Legitimate: COVID-19 and Digital Techno-opportunism across Africa. *Development and Change*, *53*(6), 1283-1307.

* Purdeková, A. (2016). Mundane Sights of Power: The History of Social Monitoring and Its Subversion in Rwanda. *African Studies Review* 59(2): 59-86

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

<u>Supplementary readings</u>

Munoriyarwa, A., & Mare, A. (2023). *Digital Surveillance in Southern Africa: Policies, Politics and Practices*. Springer Nature.

Freyburgi, T., & Garbe, L. (2018). "Blocking the Bottleneck: Internet Shutdowns and Ownership at Election Times in Sub-Saharan Africa." *International Journal of Communication* 12: 3896–3916.

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.

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

Gagliardone, I. (2014). "A Country in Order": Technopolitics, Nation Building, and the Development of ICT in Ethiopia." *Information Technologies & International Development* 10(1).

Lecture 24. Digital Capitalism and Global Development

Sample questions

- Is digital technology creating new colonial relations between Africa and the world?

- Do the advantages of digital technology for African development outweigh the disadvantages?

Core Reading

* Coleman, D. (2019). Digital Colonialism: The 21st Century Scramble for Africa through the Extraction and Control of User Data and the Limitations of Data Protection Laws. *Michigan Journal of Race and Law*, 417-439

* Nothias, T. (2020). Access granted: Facebook's free basics in Africa. *Media, Culture & Society*, *42*(3), 329-348.

* 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.

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

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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.

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

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 25. Contentious Politics in a Digital Age

Sample questions

- Is there anything distinctively new about African publics in a digital age?

- Have digital technologies strengthened protest and/or political change movements in Africa?

Core Reading

* Srinivasan, S., Diepeveen, S., & Karekwaivanane, G. (2019). Rethinking publics in Africa in a digital age. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, *13*(1), 2-17.

* Nyabola, N. (2018). *Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics: How The Internet Era Is Transforming Kenya*, Zed Books.

* Mateos, O., & Erro, C. B. (2021). Protest, Internet Activism, and Sociopolitical Change in Sub-Saharan Africa. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *65*(4), 650–665. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764220975060

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

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

Supplementary readings

Dwyer, M., & Molony, T. (Eds.). (2019). *Social media and politics in Africa: Democracy, censorship and security*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

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

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

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Cheeseman, N., Lynch, G., & Willis, J. (2018). "Digital dilemmas: the unintended consequences of election technology." *Democratization* 25, no. 8: 1397-1418.

Gagliardone, I., Stremlau, N., & Aynekulu, A. (2018). "A tale of two publics? Online politics in Ethiopia's elections." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, no. 1.

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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.

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.

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.

Sample examination paper

Answer <u>three</u> 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 21st century?

Pol 15 Examination Paper 2021-22 (online, open-book, 3-hour window, no word limit)

Answer <u>three</u> of the following questions:

1. What is the biggest intellectual dilemma when approaching the study of African politics?
2. Were experiences of colonialism in Africa too varied to allow for arguments about shared colonial legacies?
3. Was African nationalism more of a curse than a blessing for independent Africa?
4. What explains the successes and failures of Africa's developmental states after independence?
5. What does the African experience of Structural Adjustment reveal about the international politics of neoliberalism?
6. Are Western charges of neocolonialism against China merely self-serving?
7. What has been the biggest challenge facing democratisation in Africa?
8. Why do efforts to build peace in Africa often go wrong?
9. Why has 'neopatrimonialism' been a popular framework for explaining African politics?
10. What best explains the salience of ethnicity in contemporary African politics?
11. How can a class analysis help us understand political struggle in Africa?
12. To what extent are disagreements on explaining conflict in Africa about a relative emphasis on structure versus agency?
13. Why are political protests so common in Africa if they do not often bring about political change?
14. What is the most significant change to politics in Africa with the advent of digital communications?
15. What role do 'youth' play in analyses of African political futures?
16. What might a distinctively African contribution to political change in the world involve?

Pol 15 Examination Paper 2020-21 (online, open-book, 6 hour window, 4500 max words)

Answer <u>three</u> of the following questions:
1. How might the study of African politics reduce its reliance on Western political thought?
2. In what ways are debates about Africa's colonial history politically significant today?
3. Why was decolonization in Africa mostly peaceful and what were the effects of this?
4. What does dependency theory illuminate and what does it obscure about the challenges facing post-colonial African economies?
5. Were the failures of Structural Adjustment Programmes in Africa due more to their diagnosis of the problem of African development than their prescription of a solution?
6. Given the growing importance of non-Western trading partners and political allies, why are there not more developmental states in Africa?
7. Does foreign support to develop African civil society enhance African democracy more than undermine it?
8. What is the most important change needed in international interventions in African conflicts in order to advance peace?
9. What is the most persuasive critique of 'neopatrimonialism' as an explanation of political authority and the African state?
10. To what extent should identity be relied upon to explain political mobilization and control in Africa?
11. Is a class analysis essential to understand the differences between rural and urban politics in Africa?
12. In what ways do different explanations of violent conflict in Africa disagree on explanations of African politics generally?
13. Have African protests merely changed the faces of power but not the structures of power?
14. Which types of African governments benefit more from digital technology than others?
15. Are students the vanguard of political change in Africa?
16. What distinctive role can Africa play in remaking world politics in the 21stcentury?

Pol 15 Examination Paper 2019-20 (online, open-book, 3.5 hour window)

Answer <u>three</u> 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?

Pol 15 Examination Paper 2016-17

Answer <u>three</u> 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 2015-16

Answer <u>three</u> 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 9 Examination Paper 2014-15

Answer <u>three</u> 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 trust 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 9 Examination Paper 2013-14

Answer <u>three</u> 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?**