

Human, Social and Political Sciences Tripos

History and Politics Tripos

Part IIB 2024-25

## Paper 15: The Politics of Africa

### Paper Guide

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<b>Office hours</b>	Prof Srinivasan (Michaelmas) Wednesdays 4.00-5.00pm: Room 131, Alison Richard Building
<b>Lecturers</b>	Prof Sharath Srinivasan Prof Adam Branch: <a href="mailto:arb209@cam.ac.uk">arb209@cam.ac.uk</a> Dr Jostein Hauge: <a href="mailto:jlh202@cam.ac.uk">jlh202@cam.ac.uk</a>
<b>Supervisors</b>	Ms Abii-Tah Bih Ms Amelia AmeDela Amemate Mr Hugh Pattenden
<b>Lectures:</b>	<u>MT</u> : Weeks 1-5: Tuesday at 9am, Alison Richard Building, Room SG2 Weeks 1-8: Wednesday, 11am, Alison Richard Building, Room SG1  <u>LT</u> : Weeks 1-8: Wednesday, 12noon, Alison Richard Building, Room S2 Weeks 1-4: Tuesday, 3pm, Alison Richard Building, Room S1
<b>Seminars</b>	<u>MT</u> : Friday, 3-5pm, Week 6, Alison Richard Building, Room SG2 <u>LT</u> : 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. In 2024-25, these will be:

Module 1: African Political Thought and African Studies (Professor Branch)

Module 2: African Environments and Politics (Professor Branch)

Module 3: Political Economy of Development in Africa (Dr Hauge)

### **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 sixteen questions, with ten questions on the Michaelmas term lectures, and six questions, two for each module, on the Lent Term modules. For each module, students can only answer one question from the two questions. Further 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** (*Prof 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** (*Prof 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** (*Prof 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** (*Prof Srinivasan*)

10. Conflict, Society and the State
11. Social Movements and Popular Protest

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

##### **Part V: International intervention: democracy, human rights, security** (*Prof Srinivasan*)

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 12pm)
15. Anti-Colonial, Nationalist, and Pan-African Political Thought (W2, Wed 12pm)
16. Debating African Philosophy and Political Thought (W3, Wed 12pm)
17. Rethinking African Studies (W4, Wed 12pm)

### Module 2: African Environments and Politics (*Prof Branch*)

18. Environmental History, Knowledge, and Power (W5, Wed 12pm)
19. Environment, Territory, and Political Authority (W6, Wed 12pm)
20. Politics of Conservation (W7, Wed 12pm)
21. Climate Change, Politics and Justice (W8, Wed 12pm)

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

### Module 3: Political Economy of Development in Africa (*Dr Hauge*)

22. Economic Growth and Development (Narratives) in Africa (W1, Tue 3pm)
23. Technological Change, Industrialization, and Industrial Policy in Africa (W2, Tue 3pm)
24. Africa's Role in International Trade and Global Value Chains (W3, Tue 3pm)
25. The Political Economy of Development in Ethiopia (W4, Tue 3pm)

## Easter Term

Revision Lecture/Class: Rethinking African politics and Q&A (*Prof Srinivasan*)

## 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 (5<sup>th</sup> 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=PL0dOB0uDQc3ppMrNmghH\\_-sBQ8QE2SSK0](https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL0dOB0uDQc3ppMrNmghH_-sBQ8QE2SSK0)

Davidson, Basil, *'Africa: A Voyage of Discovery'*,

[youtube.com/watch?v=bPTUnzLONJU&list=PLI\\_tlxrH8tQxTwCZ7-sMv276Z2QgA8wAY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bPTUnzLONJU&list=PLI_tlxrH8tQxTwCZ7-sMv276Z2QgA8wAY)

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*, Berkeley: 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 3<sup>rd</sup> Floor. The library website is: [www.african.cam.ac.uk/library/](http://www.african.cam.ac.uk/library/)

Many of the other texts can be found 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/](http://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](http://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/index.htm)

*More contemporary material*

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

**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?

#### Core readings

- \* 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](http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/03/the-white-savior-industrial-complex/254843/)," *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

### Sample questions

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

### Core readings

\*Mamdani, Mahmood, [\*Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism\*](#), Princeton University Press, 1996 – particularly Introduction and Ch. II, III

\*Herbst, Jeffrey, [\*States and Power in Africa: 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*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Longman, 1999.

Clapham, Christopher, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp 28-43.

Crowder, Michael, "Indirect Rule: French and British Style" *Africa* 34 (1964), pp. 197-205.

Hodgkin, Thomas, *Nationalism in colonial Africa*, London: Frederick Muller, 1956.

Robinson, R, J. Gallagher and A. Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Macmillan, 1981.

Thompson, Alex, *An Introduction to African Politics*, Oxford: Routledge, 2016, Ch. 2.

Young, Tom *Africa: A Beginners Guide*, Oxford: OneWorld, 2010, Ch. 1.

### Cases

Caplan, Gerald L. 'Barotseland's Scramble for Protection' *J of African History*, 1969, 10

Hochschild, Adam, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Houghton, 1998.

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

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

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

#### Sample questions

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

#### Core readings

\* 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.

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

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

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

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

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

## Part II: Global economic order & African development

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

#### Sample questions

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

#### Core reading

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

#### Supplementary readings

- Fanon, Franz, 'The Trials and Tribulations of National Consciousness', in *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. C. Farrington, Grove Press, 1963
- Senghor, Léopold Sédar, *On African Socialism*, trans. Mercer Cook, 1964, pp. 3-6, 67-103
- 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
- Zezeza, Paul Timbaye, 'Banishing the Silences: Towards the Globalization of African History', Presentation at the 11<sup>th</sup> CODESRIA General Assembly, 2005. [www.codesria.org/IMG/pdf/zezeza.pdf](http://www.codesria.org/IMG/pdf/zezeza.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

Amin, Samir, *Unequal Development*, Monthly Review Press, 1976, Introduction and Ch. 1

Prashad, Vijay, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World*, New Press, 2008, Introduction, part 1: 'Bandung', 'Havana'

Leys, Colin, *Underdevelopment in Kenya: the political economy of neo-colonialism*, University of California Press, 1975

Hochschild, Adam, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa*, Houghton Mifflin, 1999, Ch. 7-15

Arrighi, Giovanni, 'The African crisis: World Systemic and Regional Aspects', *New Left Review*, 15 (2002): 5-36

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

### Sample questions

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

### Core reading

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

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#### *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 - *read alongside* - 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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

### *Good Governance*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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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

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- \* 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

#### *Rising Global Powers*

- 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
- Ban, Cornel and Mark Blyth, 'The BRICs and the Washington Consensus: An introduction', *Review of International Political Economy* 20, no. 2 (2013)
- Harneit-Sievers, Axel, Stephen Marks and Sanusha Naidu, *Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa*, Fahamu Books, 2010
- Neo-Developmental States, New Opportunities*
- wa Gĩthĩnji, Mwangi and Olugbenga Adesida, 'Industrialization, Exports and the Developmental State in Africa: The Case for Transformation', UMass Amherst Working Paper no. 2011-18, 2011
- Kelsall, T. and D. Booth, 'Developmental Patrimonialism? Questioning the orthodoxy on political governance and economic progress in Africa', Working Paper, Overseas Development Institute, Africa Power and Politics Programme, 2010
- Clapham, Christopher. 'The Ethiopian developmental state.' *Third World Quarterly* 39, no. 6 (2018): 1151-1165.
- Booth, David and Frederick Golooba-Mutebi, 'Developmental Patrimonialism? The Case of Rwanda', *African Affairs* 111, no. 444 (2012): 379-403
- Mann, Laura, and Marie Berry, 'Understanding the political motivations that shape Rwanda's emergent developmental state.' *New Political Economy* 21, no. 1 (2016): 119-144.
- Tandon, Yash, 'Aid without dependence: an alternative conceptual model for development cooperation', *Development* 52 (2009): 356-362
- Amin, Samir, 'On Delegitimising Capitalism: the scourge of Africa and the South', *Africa Development* XXXVII, no. 4 (2012): 15-72
- Shivji, Issa, *Accumulation in an African Periphery: A Theoretical Framework*, African Books, Ch. 1-3

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

### Lecture 7. Political Mobilization, Control and the State

#### Sample questions

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

#### Core reading

- \* Chabal, Patrick and Jean-Pascal Daloz. *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument*, James Currey Publishers, 1999, Part I, 'The informalisation of politics'
- \* Meagher, Kate, 'Cultural Primordialism and the Post-Structuralist Imaginaire: Plus 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.

#### Supplementary readings

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

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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

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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

### Sample questions

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

### Core reading

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

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- 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.

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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,  
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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

### Sample questions

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

### Core reading

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

### Supplementary readings

- Arrighi, Giovanni and John Saul, *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa*, New York, 1973. Particularly the 'Perspectives' Section.
- Beckman, Bjorn. 'Peasants, Capital and the State', *Review of African Political Economy*, 10, 1977.
- Bernstein, Henry. *Class dynamics of agrarian change*, Kumarian Press, 2010. Introduction. Can be downloaded free at [http://www.fernwoodpublishing.ca/website\\_pdfs/classdynamics.pdf](http://www.fernwoodpublishing.ca/website_pdfs/classdynamics.pdf)
- Callaghy, Thomas, 'The State and the Development of Capitalism in Africa: Theoretical, Historical and Comparative Reflections', in D. Rothchild and N. Chazan (eds), *The Precarious Balance: State and Society in Africa*. London: Westview Press, 1988.
- Cohen, Robin, Peter Claus Wolfgang Gutkind and Phyllis Brazier (eds), *Peasants and proletarians: the struggles of Third World workers*, Monthly Review Press, 1979.
- Cox, Kevin R., and Rohit Negi. 'The State and the Question of Development in sub-Saharan Africa'. *Review of African Political Economy* 37/123. 2010: 71–85.
- Fatton, Robert. "Bringing the Ruling Class Back in: Class, State, and Hegemony in Africa," *Comparative Politics* 20 (3), 1988: 253-264.
- Freund, Bill. 'Labor and Labor History in Africa: A Review of the Literature', *African Studies Review*, 27 (2), 1984.
- Freund, Bill. *The African Worker*, CUP, Cambridge, 1988

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Cases

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Part 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 Rienner, 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 Rienner, Boulder CO.

(also good on Liberia and how the two conflicts are interrelated)

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

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

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

#### *Mozambique*

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

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

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

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

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

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

### *Zimbabwe*

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

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

Kruger, 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

Zezeza, Paul Tiyaambe, '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 Gurinder 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

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

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

### Sample questions

- Will human rights intervention in Africa always be counterproductive?
- What have been the political consequences of the War on Terror in Africa?

### Core reading

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### *Peacebuilding*

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

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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

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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 12pm)

#### 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.
- \* 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.
- \* 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.
- \* Mahmood Mamdani, *Define and Rule: Native as Political Identity* (Harvard, 2012), pages 1-74.

##### Supplementary Reading

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- 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.
- Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Univ California, 2000), Ch 1
- Jean Allman, Susan Geiger, Nakanyike Musisi, eds., *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Indiana University Press, 2002), Introduction.
- 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.
- Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, “Gender Biases in African Historiography,” in *African Gender Studies: A Reader*, ed. Oyeronke Oyewumi (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).
- 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?

### Core Reading

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

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

Sylvia Tamale, *Decolonization and Afro-Feminism* (Daraja Press, 2020), Chapters 2 and 9.

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

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

### Supplementary Reading

#### *Debating Anti-Colonial Thought*

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

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

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

Aili Marie Tripp, 'Women's Mobilization in Uganda: Nonracial Ideologies in European-African-Asian Encounters, 1945-1962', *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.

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

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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/>

### *Histories of Pan-Africanism*

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

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

Amina Mama and Hakima Abbas, "Feminism and Pan-Africanism," *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.

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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).

### *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).

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).

## 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.

Oyèrónké Oyèwùmí, *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses* (University of Minnesota, 1997), Preface, Chapter 1; and "Conceptualising Gender: Eurocentric Foundations of Feminist Concepts and the Challenge of African Epistemologies" in *African Gender Scholarship: Concepts, Methodologies and Paradigms* (CODESRIA, 2004).

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

Natasha Shivji, "Universalism in Unevenness: Writing History at the Hill." *Small axe: a journal of criticism* 27.3 (2023): 84–94.

Suren Pillay, "The Problem of Colonialism: Assimilation, Difference, and Decolonial Theory in Africa." *Critical Times* 4.3 (2021): 389–416.

### Supplementary Reading

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).

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

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Patrick W Otim, "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.

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, 2<sup>nd</sup> 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

### Sample questions

- 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?

### Core Reading

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.

Awino Okech, "African feminist epistemic communities and decoloniality," *Critical African Studies* 12, no. 3 (2020): 313-329.

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.

### Supplementary Reading

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](https://studentsnotcustomers.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/vfinal_vol9_book.pdf)

Sylvia Tamale, *Decolonization and Afro-Feminism* (Daraja Press, 2020), Chapters 3 and 7.

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.

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

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.

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.

Suren Pillay, '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 Timbaya 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

## Module 2: African Environments and Politics (Weeks 5-8, Wed 12pm)

### Lecture 18: Environmental History, Knowledge, and Power

#### Sample questions

- How do colonial narratives of the environment shape postcolonial environmental politics?
- Is “the environment” a useful concept in the study of Africa?

#### Core Reading

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), Chapter 1; and *The Mobile Workshop: The Tsetse Fly and African Knowledge Production* (MIT Press, 2018), pages ix-xv, 1-23, 49-65.

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.

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

#### Supplementary Reading

Lesley Green, *Rock / Water / Life : Ecology & Humanities for a Decolonial South Africa* (Duke, 2020), Chapters 1 and 2.

Cajetan Iheka, *Naturalizing Africa: Ecological Violence, Agency, and Postcolonial Resistance in African Literature* (Cambridge, 2018), Introduction, Chapter 1.

Grove, Richard, and Toyin Falola, “Chiefs, Boundaries, and Sacred Woodlands: Early Nationalism and the Defeat of Colonial Conservationism in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, 1870-1916,” *African Economic History*, no. 24 (1996): 1–23.

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

William Beinart, “African History and Environmental History,” *African Affairs*, 99 (2000), 269-302.

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), Chapter 1.

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

Paulin Hountondji, "Scientific Dependence in Africa Today", *Research in African Literatures* vol. 21, no. 3 (1990): 5-15.

Suman Seth, "Colonial History and Postcolonial Science Studies", *Radical History Review*, no. 127 (2017): 63–85.

Banu Subramaniam, "Methodologies for the Pressed: Cartographies for Adisciplinary Sciences", *Science, Technology & Society*, vol. 28, no. 1 (2023): 68–76.

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* 43 (1997): 59-73.

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

## Lecture 19: Environment, Territory, and Political Authority

### Sample questions

- How has the effort to control land shaped African states?
- What is the contemporary political relevance of forests in Africa?

### Core Reading

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.

Sara Berry, "Debating the Land Question in Africa," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 4 (2002): 638-668

Lyn Ossome, "Pedagogies of Feminist Resistance: Agrarian Movements in Africa." *Agrarian South: Journal of Political Economy* 10.1 (2021): 41-58.

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

### Supplementary Reading

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

Sam Moyo, *African land questions, agrarian transitions and the state : contradictions of neo-liberal land reforms* (Senegal: CODESRIA, 2008).

Sam Moyo and Paris Yeros, eds., *Reclaiming the land: The resurgence of rural movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America* (London: Zed, 2005)

Corson, C. 2011. "Territorialization, enclosure and neoliberalism: non-state influence in struggles over Madagascar's forests", *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 38: 703-726.

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).

Boone, C., 2014. *Property and political order in Africa: Land rights and the structure of politics*. Cambridge University Press.

James C. Scott, "Compulsory Villagization in Tanzania: Aesthetics and Miniaturization," Ch. 7 in *Seeing Like a State*.

Reginald Cline-Cole, "On territorialising power and rendering space and resources legible", *Review of African Political Economy*, 42:144 (2015): 167-173.

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.

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.

Adunbi, Omolade, "The Social Death of the Environment: Degradation, Infrastructure, Displacement, Trade, and the Complicated Technologies of Extraction," in *Enclaves of Exception: Special Economic Zones and Extractive Practices in Nigeria* (Indiana University Press, 2022): 166-188.

## 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

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

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), Chapter 1.

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

Mathew Bukhi Mabele, Judith E. Krauss, and Wilhelm Kiwango, “Going Back to the Roots,” *Conservation and Society* 20, no. 2 (2022): 92-102.

### Supplementary Reading

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

Dlamini, Jacob. *Safari Nation : A Social History of the Kruger National Park*. 2020. (Ohio University Press)

Neumann, R. P., “Stories of Nature’s Hybridity in Europe,” in Hecht, Morrison, Padoch, eds., *The Social Lives of Forests : Past, Present, and Future of Woodland Resurgence* (University of Chicago Press, 2014).

Weldemichel, Teklehaymanot G. “Othering Pastoralists, State Violence, and the Remaking of Boundaries in Tanzania’s Militarised Wildlife Conservation Sector.” *Antipode*, vol. 52, no. 5, 2020, pp. 1496–518, doi:10.1111/anti.12638.

Mabele, Mathew Bukhi, “The ‘War on Charcoal’ and Its Paradoxes for Tanzania’s Conservation and Development”, *Energy Policy* 145 (2020): 111751.

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.

Hajdu F, Penje O and Fischer K ‘Questioning the use of “degradation” in climate mitigation: A case study of a forest carbon CDM project in Uganda’ *Land Use Policy* 59 (2016): 412–422.

C. Cavanagh, T.A. Benjaminsen, Virtual nature, violent accumulation: the ‘spectacular failure’ of carbon offsetting at a Ugandan National Park, *Geoforum*. 56 (2014) 55–65.

Büscher, B. and Maano Ramutsindela, “Green Violence: Rhino Poaching and the War to Save Southern Africa’s Peace Parks” *African Affairs*, 115 (2016).

Stephen Macekura, *Of Limits and Growth: The Rise of Global Sustainable Development in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 2016), Introduction, Ch. 2.

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.

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.

Brockington, D. & Scholfield, K. (2010) The Conservationist Mode of Production and Conservation NGOs in sub-Saharan Africa. *Antipode* 42: 551-575

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.

Jane Guyer and Paul Richards, "The Invention of Biodiversity: Social Perspectives on the Management of Biological Variety in Africa", *Africa* 66, no. 1 (1996): 1-13.

Duffy, R. 2014. "Waging a war to save biodiversity: the rise of militarized conservation", *International Affairs* 90 (4): 819-834.

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

Suzuki, Yuka. 2017. "The Leopard's Black and White Spots" in *The Nature of Whiteness: Race, Animals, and Nation in Zimbabwe*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

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).

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.

## Lecture 21: Climate Change, Politics and Justice

### Sample questions

- Why do African states participate in the UNFCCC process?
- What does climate justice prescribe in terms of adaptation and mitigation policies in Africa?

### 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/>

### Core Reading

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.

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

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

Leal Filho, W., Barbir, J., Gwenzi, J., Ayal, D., Simpson, N. P., Adeleke, L., ... & Yaffa, S. (2022). The role of indigenous knowledge in climate change adaptation in Africa. *Environmental Science & Policy*, 136, 250-260

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>

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

Axelle Karera, "Blackness and the Pitfalls of Anthropocene Ethics", *Critical Philosophy of Race*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2019): 32-56.

### Supplementary Reading

Okereke, Chukwumerije. "Degrowth, Green Growth, and Climate Justice for Africa." *Review of international studies* (2024): 1–11.

Ingo Haltermann and Julia Tischler, eds., *Environmental Change and African Societies* (Brill, 2020): Chapters 1-3.

Jhénelle Williams et al., "Africa and climate justice at COP27 and beyond: impacts and solutions through an interdisciplinary lens", *UCL Open Environment* (2023).



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.

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

Chin-Yee, S., "Briefing: Africa and the Paris climate change agreement", *African Affairs* Vol 115, no 459 (2016): 359-368.

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

Adam Branch, "From Disaster to Devastation: Drought as War in Northern Uganda", *Disasters* 42, no. S2 (2018): S306-327.

Bond, W. J., N. Stevens, G. F. Midgley and C. E. R. Lehmann, "The Trouble with Trees: Afforestation Plans for Africa", *Trends in Ecology & Evolution*, 34, no 11 (2019): 963–965.

"African perspectives on climate change research," *Nature Climate Change* 12 (December 2022): 1078–1084.

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

Mikulewicz, Michael, and Marcus Taylor, "Getting the Resilience Right: Climate Change and Development Policy in the 'African Age'", *New Political Economy* 25, no. 4 (2020): 626-41.

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 Doeverspeck, 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.

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

Sheridan, Michael, "When Rain is a Person: Rainmaking, Relational Persons, and Post- Human Ontologies in Sub-Saharan Africa." In *Climate Change Epistemologies in Southern Africa*, edited by Jörn Ahrens, Ernst Halbmayer (Routledge 2023), 49-73.

Ntapanta, Samwel Moses. 2021. "'Lifescaping' Toxicants: Locating and Living with e-Waste in Tanzania." *Anthropology Today* 37 (4): 7–10.

## Module 3: Political Economy of Development in Africa (Lent Term, weeks 1-4, Tu 3pm)

### Lecture 22. Introduction: Economic Growth and Development (Narratives) in Africa

#### Sample questions

- Is Africa economically developed, underdeveloped, or neither? What explains economic development and/or the lack thereof in Africa?
- Should we strive to decolonize African studies and development economics? What does that mean in practice?

#### Core Reading

Chelwa, G. (2021). Does economics have an 'Africa problem'? *Economy and Society*, 50(1), pp.78-99.

Jerven, M. (2015). *Africa: Why Economists Get It Wrong*. Zed Books. Introduction and chapter 1.

Lopes, C. (2018). *Africa in Transformation: Economic Development in the Age of Doubt*. Palgrave Macmillan. Chapter 1.

#### Supplementary readings

Branch, A. (2018). Decolonizing the African studies centre. *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology*, 36(2), pp.73-91.

Bughin, J., Chironga, M. and Desvaux, G. (2016). *Lions on the move II: Realizing the potential of Africa's economies*. McKinsey Global Institute.

Chang, H.J., Hauge, J. and Irfan, M. (2016). *Transformative Industrial Policy for Africa*. UN Economic Commission for Africa.

Cramer, C., Sender, J. and Oqubay, A. (2020). *African Economic Development: Evidence, Theory, Policy*. Oxford University Press.

Easterly, W. and Levine, R. (1997). Africa's growth tragedy: policies and ethnic divisions. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 112(4), pp.1203-1250.

Frankema, E. and Van Waijenburg, M. (2018). Africa rising? A historical perspective. *African Affairs*, 117(469), pp.543-568.

Jerven, M. (2022). *The Wealth and Poverty of African States: Economic Growth, Living Standards and Taxation since the Late Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge University Press.

Medie, P.A. and Kang, A.J. (2018). Power, knowledge and the politics of gender in the Global South. *European Journal of Politics and Gender*, 1(1-2), pp.37-54.

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

Rowden, R. (2013). The Myth of Africa's Rise. *Foreign Policy Magazine*, 4 January 2013.

Taylor, I. (2016). Dependency redux: Why Africa is not rising. *Review of African Political Economy*, 43(147), pp.8-25.

## Lecture 23. Technological Change, Industrialization, and Industrial Policy in Africa

### Sample questions

- 'In Africa, the best industrial policy is no industrial policy'. Discuss this statement.
- Do African countries need to focus on manufacturing in order to develop economically and technologically?

### Core Reading

Cramer, C., Sender, J. and Oqubay, A. (2020). *African Economic Development: Evidence, Theory, Policy*. Oxford University Press. Read Part II.

Hauge, J. (2023). *The Future of the Factory: How Megatrends are Changing Industrialization*. Oxford University Press. Read introduction and chapter 1.

Mkandawire, T. (2001). Thinking about developmental states in Africa. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 25(3), pp.289-314.

### Supplementary readings

Itaman, R. and Wolf, C. (2021). Industrial policy and monopoly capitalism in Nigeria: lessons from the Dangote business conglomerate. *Development and Change*, 52(6), pp.1473-1502.

Hauge, J. (2021). Manufacturing-led development in the digital age: how power trumps technology. *Third World Quarterly*.

Chang, H.J. and Andreoni, A. (2020). Industrial policy in the 21st century. *Development and Change*, 51(2), pp.324-351.

Lawrence, P. (2005). Explaining Sub-Saharan Africa's Manufacturing Performance. *Development and Change*, 36(6), pp.1121-1141.

Mazzucato, M. (2013). *The Entrepreneurial State*. Anthem Press.

Monga, C. and Lin, J-Y. (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of Structural Transformation*. Oxford University Press.

Noman, A. and Stiglitz, J. (2015). *Industrial policy and economic transformation in Africa*. Columbia University Press.

Oqubay, A. (2015). *Made in Africa: Industrial policy in Ethiopia*. Oxford University Press.

Szirmai, A. (2012). Industrialisation as an engine of growth in developing countries, 1950–2005. *Structural Change and Economic Dynamics*, 23(4), pp.406-420.

Whitfield, L., Therkildsen, O., Buur, L. and Kjær, A.M. (2015). *The politics of African industrial policy: A comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press.

## Lecture 24. Africa's Role in International Trade and Global Value Chains

### Sample questions

- Has the expansion of global value chains been beneficial for economic development in Africa?
- What characterizes African countries' participation in international trade and global value chains?

### Core Reading

Rodney, W. (2018[1972]). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Verso Books. Read chapters 4 and 5.

Selwyn, B. and Leyden, D. (2021). 'Oligopoly-driven development: The World Bank's Trading for Development in the Age of Global Value Chains in perspective.' *Competition & Change*.

UNCTAD (2023). *Economic Development in Africa Report 2023*. Geneva: UNCTAD. Read summary/overview.

### Supplementary readings

Cattaneo, O., Gereffi, G., Miroudot, S. and Taglioni, D. (2013). 'Joining, Upgrading and Being Competitive in Global Value Chains: A Strategic Framework.' World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 6406. Washington DC: World Bank.

Chang, H-J., Hauge, J. and Irfan, M. (2016). *Transformative Industrial Policy for Africa*. Addis Ababa: UNECA (Chapter 5.2).

Chang, H-J. (2014). *Economics The User's Guide*. Penguin Books (Chapter 12).

Cramer, C., Sender, J. and Oqubay, A. (2020). *African Economic Development*. Oxford University Press (Chapter 5).

Rodrik, D. (2017). *Straight Talk on Trade*. Princeton University Press.

Suwandi, I. (2019). *Value chains: The New Economic Imperialism*. Monthly Review Press.

UNCTAD (2020). *Trade and Development Report 2020*. Geneva: UNCTAD

UNCTAD (2021). *Economic Development in Africa Report 2021*. Geneva: UNCTAD

Wade, R. (2003). 'What strategies are viable for developing countries today? The World Trade Organization and the shrinking of 'development space'. *Review of International Political Economy*, 10 (4), pp. 621-644.

World Bank (2020). *World Development Report 2020: Trading for Development in the Age of Global Value Chains*. Washington DC: World Bank.

## Lecture 25. The Political Economy of Development in Ethiopia

### Sample questions

- Can the Ethiopian state be understood as a 'developmental state'?
- In what ways does the recent regime change and civil war in Ethiopia shape the country's development trajectory?

### Core Reading

Cheru, F. Cramer, C. and Oqubay, A (eds.). (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*. Oxford University Press. Browse the book as you wish.

Gebreluel, G. (2023). Ideology, grand strategy and the rise and decline of Ethiopia's regional status. *International Affairs*, 99(3), pp. 1127-1147.

Zenawi, M. (2012). States and markets: Neoliberal limitations and the case for a developmental state. In: Noman, A., Botchwey, K., Stein, H., and Stiglitz, J. E. (eds.) *Good growth and governance in Africa: Rethinking development strategies*. Oxford University Press.

### Supplementary readings

Chang, H-J. and Hauge, J. (2019). The concept of a 'developmental state' in Ethiopia. In: Cheru, F., Cramer, C., and Oqubay, A. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*. Oxford University Press.

Clapham, C. (2018). The Ethiopian developmental state. *Third World Quarterly*, 39(6), pp.1151-1165.

De Waal, A. (2013) The theory and practice of Meles Zenawi. *African Affairs*, 112(446), 148-155.

Hauge, J. (2019). Should the African lion learn from the Asian tigers? A comparative-historical study of FDI-oriented industrial policy in Ethiopia, South Korea and Taiwan. *Third World Quarterly*, 40(11), 2071-2091.

Lavers, T. (2023). *Ethiopia's 'Developmental State': Political Order and Distributive Crisis*. Cambridge University Press.

Mengisteab, K. (2019). Federalism in Ethiopia's transformation. In: Cheru, F., Cramer, C., & Oqubay, A. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Ethiopian Economy*. Oxford University Press.

Oqubay, A. (2015). *Made in Africa: Industrial policy in Ethiopia*. Oxford University Press.

Tadesse, M., Kifle, A. A., and Desta, D. (2021). Evolving state building conversations and political settlement in Ethiopia. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 21(4), 455-474.

Vaughan, S. (2015). Federalism, democracy and development. In: Prunier, G., & Ficquet, É. (eds.) *Understanding contemporary Ethiopia: monarchy, revolution and the legacy of Meles Zenawi*. C. Hurst & Co.

Weis, T. (2016). *Vanguard capitalism: party, state and market in the EPRDF's Ethiopia*. PhD Thesis, University of Oxford.

## Sample examination paper

Answer three of the following questions:

1. Did colonial rule simply reproduce European ideas of the state in Africa?
2. Was African nationalism a failure?
3. Is armed violence in Africa best understood as a social phenomenon?
4. Have African polities been 'disciplined' by the global order?
5. Does engaging the world economy provide the best route out of poverty for African states?
6. What political mobilisation strategies by elites are the most successful in Africa?
7. Are political elites responsible for the ethnicization of politics in Africa?
8. Do African social movements marginalise women?
9. Is civil society development a precondition for democracy in Africa or its antithesis?
10. Should foreign interventions in African conflicts cease?
11. *EITHER: Should African Studies strive to abolish itself?*  
*OR: Is the "African" of "African politics" the same "African" of "African philosophy"?*
12. *EITHER: How have postcolonial African states transformed colonial environmental legacies?*  
*OR: "Land in Africa is inherently political." Assess the validity of this statement.*
13. *EITHER "Africa's industrialization challenge has been made more difficult due to contemporary dynamics in the global economy". Discuss this statement.*  
*OR In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, would you characterise Africa's economic development trajectory as a success, failure, or neither?*

## Pol15 Examination paper 2023-24 (online, open-book, 5-hour window, 4500 word limit)

Answer three of the following questions:

1. Was colonialism just 'an episode in African History,' as one African scholar put it?
2. How and why did anti-colonial liberation movements in Africa vary in terms of political ideology?
3. 'Neo-colonialism is the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility, and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress' (Kwame Nkrumah, 1965). Was Nkrumah correct?
4. Do the structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s and 1990s still shape African politics?
5. Is the case for developmental authoritarianism in Africa convincing?
6. What is the most compelling critique of neopatrimonialism as an explanation of African politics?
7. What is the relationship between ethnicity and modernity in Africa?
8. How is the importance of the rural-urban divide in African politics changing today?
9. What explains the recent wave of coups in Francophone West and Central Africa?
10. Does the African Union offer a viable alternative to UN intervention in conflict in Africa?
11. *EITHER: 'African Studies does not make sense as a subject in African universities.' Assess the validity of this statement.*  
*OR: Does African nationalism necessarily have internationalist dimensions?*
12. *EITHER: Does contemporary concern over climate change in Africa reproduce colonial narratives and practices?*  
*OR: Is there a distinct 'African environmentalism'?*

13. *EITHER*: On balance, has communication technology enabled or constrained how Africans contest political authority?  
*OR*: Are African states resisting digital colonialism or contributing to it?

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

Answer three 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 three 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 21st century?

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

Answer three of the following questions:

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

**Pol 15 Examination Paper 2016-17**

Answer three of the following questions:

1. Does the history of colonialism in Africa remain politically contentious today?
2. Have independent states in Africa failed to live up to the promise of nationalism?
3. Is clientelism a symptom or a cause of the problems of political legitimacy in African states?
4. To what extent are elites responsible for the importance of ethnic identity in African politics?

5. Should more attention be paid to class dynamics in the study of African politics?
6. Is violent conflict in Africa best viewed as a cause or a consequence of political crisis?
7. Who has benefited from development in Africa?
8. Has the international economic order hurt the independent African state more than helped it?
9. To what extent have new rising global powers brought new possibilities for development in African states?
10. Do human rights non-governmental organisations in Africa benefit those they claim to serve?
11. Is electoral democracy in crisis in African states?
12. Are patterns of foreign intervention in Africa changing for the better?

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

Answer three of the following questions:

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

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

Answer three of the following questions:

1. Are the legacies of European colonialism in Africa overstated?
2. In what ways was the anti-colonial struggle in Africa a struggle over history?
3. What does an analysis of the relationship between state and society illuminate about political authority in African states?
4. Is there any truth to the assumption that African politics is all about ethnicity?
5. How useful is the notion of class struggle in understanding African politics?
6. Has the international state system increased or decreased the risk of war in Africa?
7. What best explains Africa's 'lost development decade' in the 1980s?

8. What is new about the good governance agenda in Africa?
9. Are externally supported processes of democratisation in Africa a waste of time and money?
10. Do contemporary social movements in Africa hold promise for political progress emerging from within the continent?
11. Has security and stability in Africa replaced development as the primary concern of Western donor governments?
12. Do Western societies need Africa more than African countries need the West?