

POL4: MT 2024 Module
Uganda and Kenya: Geographies of Power

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This module will begin by asking what it means to study the politics of Africa, inquiring into the different ways that Africa has been “invented” – in Mudimbe’s phrase – through writing its history and politics. After these first two lectures, the module will then turn to a major theme that runs throughout the study of African politics – the rural-urban divide. We will look at each side of this supposed divide, first at the politics of the rural, with a focus on environment and land, and then the politics of the urban, looking to the dynamics of urban power and urban protest. Throughout, we will read texts on the politics and history of Uganda and Kenya in order to engage these themes and questions.

Since this is a new module for POL4, previous year’s exam questions are not available.

You will have two supervisions for this module. Supervisions will be scheduled at the start of MT. The first supervision will be on lectures 3 and 4 (rural politics) and the second on lectures 5 and 6 (urban politics). Readings from lectures 1 and 2 may be drawn upon in either supervision as relevant. In preparing your supervision essays, you are expected to primarily use texts from the core reading, but are also encouraged to engage with the further reading where relevant to gain a more focused understanding of specific themes and issues.

Supervision 1:

1. How do colonial legacies shape the politics of the environment in contemporary Kenya and/or Uganda?
Or
2. How do struggles around land shape state politics in Kenya and/or Uganda?

Supervision 2:

1. Are African cities central to or marginal to national politics? Discuss with reference to Kenya and/or Uganda.
Or
2. What challenges do the legacies of colonial urbanism pose to contemporary political protest in Kenya and/or Uganda?

Lecture 1: The Idea of Africa

Core Reading:

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

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

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.

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

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

Further Reading:

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.

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

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

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.

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

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

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 (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2007), pp. 235-276. Available at: <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/59n2d2n1>

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.

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

Achille Mbembe, '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.

Lecture 2: The Study of African Politics

Core reading is starred in each of the three sections.

1. International politics – anti-colonialism, internationalism, Pan-Africanism

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

Frederick Cooper, *Africa in the World* (Harvard, 2014), Chapters 2 and 3.

Jean Allman, 'Between the Present and History: African Nationalism and Decolonization', in John Parker and Richard Reid (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Modern African History* (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 224-40.

Siba N. Grovogui, *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns, and Africans* (Minnesota, 1996), Ch. 1 and 2.

Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), Chapters 1 and 2.

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

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

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

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.

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

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

2. International Political Economy : Dependency and Neo-colonialism

* Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Howard University Press, 1974, Ch. 1, 5

Julius Nyerere, "Ujamaa: the Basis of African Socialism (1962)" in *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism*, Oxford University Press, 1968.

Nkrumah, Kwame, 'Some Aspects of Socialism in Africa', in *African Socialism*, Stanford University Press, 1964; 'The Mechanisms of Neo-colonialism', in *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, 1965.

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

Cooper, Frederick, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present*, Cambridge University Press, 2019, Ch. 1, 5.

Mkandawire, Thandika, 'Thinking About Developmental States in Africa', *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 25, no. 3 (2001): 289-314

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

Mkandawire, Thandika, and Charles Soludo, *Our Continent, Our Future: African Perspectives on Structural Adjustment*, CODESRIA, 1999, Introduction, Ch. 1-3

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

3. The Specificity of the African State

* Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton UP, 1996): Introduction, Chapter 2, Chapter 3 (only pages 72-82, 102-108).

* Oyèrónké Oyèwùmí, *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses* (University of Minnesota, 1997), Preface, Chapter 1, 4.

Achille Mbembe, 'On Commandement', in *On The Postcolony* (University of California Press 2000).

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).

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

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

Ifi Amadiume, *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society* (Zed Books, 1987), “Preface,” “Gender and the Economy,” “The Ideology of Gender,” and “Colonialism and the Erosion of Women’s Power.”

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”.

Lecture 3: Environment, Knowledge, and Power

Core reading is starred in each of the four sections.

1. Environmental history and politics

* 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. (Or *Misreading the African Landscape*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, Introduction and Chapter 1.)

* 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).

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

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

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

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

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): Introduction, Chapter 3.

Cajetan Iheka, “Ecologies of Oil and Uranium: Extractive Energy and the Trauma of the Future”. In *African Ecomedia: Network Forms, Planetary Politics*. Duke University Press (2021): 108-151.

2. Wildlife conservation in Kenya

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

* John Lonsdale, 'Kenya: Home County and African Frontier' in Robert Bickers (ed.), *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons Over the Seas* (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 74-111.

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.

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

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.

3. Carbon forestry in Uganda

* Fischer, Klara, and Flora Hajdu. 2017. “The Importance of the Will to Improve: How ‘Sustainability’ Sidelined Local Livelihoods in a Carbon-Forestry Investment in Uganda.” *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning* 20 (3): 328–41.

Sandbrook, Chris, Cavanagh, Connor Joseph, & Tumusiime, David Mwesigye, eds., *Conservation and development in Uganda* (Routledge 2018).

Fischer, K., Giertta, F. and Hajdu, F. (2019) ‘Carbon-binding biomass or a diversity of useful trees? (Counter)topographies of carbon forestry in Uganda’, *Environment and Planning E: Nature and Space*, 2(1), pp. 178–199.

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).

Byakagaba, Patrick, and Ruth Muhiirwe. 2017. “Industrial Forest Plantations in Uganda: Local Adjacent Community Perspectives.” *Journal of Sustainable Forestry* 36 (4): 375–87.

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.

Nel, A. (2015). The neoliberalisation of forestry governance, market environmentalism and re-territorialisation in Uganda. *Third World Quarterly*, 36(12), 2294–2315.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1086262>

Blum, M. (2020). Whose climate? Whose forest? Power struggles in a contested carbon forestry project in Uganda. *Forest Policy and Economics*, 115, 102137.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2020.102137>

4. Alternative forms of environmental knowledge

* 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.

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

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

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

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

Lesley Green, *Rock / Water / Life : Ecology & Humanities for a Decolonial South Africa* (Duke, 2020), Chapters 3 and 4.

Lecture 4: Land and Political Authority

1. Land and state power

* 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

Christian Lund and Catherine Boone, "Introduction: Land Politics in Africa - Constituting Authority over Territory, Property and Persons," *Africa* 83, no 1 (2013): 1-13. *See also the articles in the special issue.*

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

Cherry Leonardi and Adrian J. Browne, "Introduction: Valuing Land in Eastern Africa", *Critical African Studies* 10, no. 1 (2018): 1-13. *See also the articles in the special issue.*

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

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.

2. Gender and labor in rural political economy

* 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.

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

Jane Guyer, "Female farming in anthropology and African history", in *Readings in Gender in Africa*, Andrea Cornwall, editor (Indiana, 2005).

Dzodzi Tsikata and Dede-Esi Amanor-Wilks, eds., "Editorial: Land and Labour in Gendered Livelihood Trajectories", *Feminist Africa* 12 (2009): 1-9.

3. Rural social movements

* Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject* (Princeton UP, 1996): Chapter 6.

Sam Moyo and Paris Yeros, eds., *Reclaiming the land: The resurgence of rural movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America* (London: Zed, 2005), Chapters 1 and 2.

Shivji, Issa G. "The Concept of 'Working People'" *Agrarian South: journal of political economy* 6.1 (2017): 1–13.

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

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.

4. Forests and the state

* Branch, A., and G. Martiniello, "Charcoal Power: The Political Violence of Non-Fossil Fuel in Uganda", *Geoforum* 97 (2018): 242–52.

Branch, Adam, Jon Phillips, and Frank Kwaku Agyei, "Charcoal Politics in Africa: Value Chains, Resource Complexes, and Energopolitics", *Progress in Environmental Geography* 2, no. 1-2 (2023): 77-96.

Jagger, P. (2014) 'Confusion vs. clarity: Property rights and forest use in Uganda', *Forest policy and economics*, 45, pp. 32–41.

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

Idalina Baptista, "Space and Energy Transitions in Sub-Saharan Africa: Understated Historical Connections", *Energy Research & Social Science* 36 (2018): 30–5.

Lecture 5: Constructing and Governing Urban Space

1. History of African urbanism: informality, precarity, violence

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

* Myers, Garth. *African Cities: Alternative Visions of Urban Theory and Practice*. 2011: Chapters 3 and 4.

Burton, Andrew. *African Underclass: Urbanization, Crime and Colonial Order in Dar es Salaam*. 2005: Chapter 1.

Chakanetsa Mavhunga. 2013. "Cidades Esfumacadas: Energy and the Rural-Urban Connection in Mozambique." *Public Culture* 25: 261-271.

Diouf, M., & Fredericks, R. *The Arts of Citizenship in African Cities: Infrastructures and Spaces of Belonging*. Palgrave, 2014: Chapters 1, 2.

Goodfellow, T. *Politics and the Urban Frontier: Transformation and Divergence in Late Urbanizing East Africa*. Oxford U.P., 2022: Chapters 1, 3, 4.

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

Mbembe, Achille, and Sarah Nuttall. "Writing the World from an African Metropolis." *Public Culture* (2004).

Mkandawire, Thandika. "The Terrible Toll of Post-Colonial 'Rebel Movements' in Africa: Towards an Explanation of the Violence against the Peasantry." *Journal of Modern African Studies* (2002).

Mitullah, W. (2010). "Informal Workers in Kenya and Transnational Organizing: Networking and Leveraging Resources." In I. Lindell (ed.), *Africa's Informal Workers*, London and Uppsala: Zed Books and the Nordic Africa Institute.

Simone, A. M. *The Surrounds: Urban Life within and beyond Capture*. Duke U.P., 2022.

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.

2. Nairobi: Legacies of racialized urbanism

* Kimari, Wangui. 2019. "The Story of a Pump: Life, Death and Afterlives within an Urban Planning of 'Divide and Rule' in Nairobi, Kenya." *Urban Geography* 42(2): 141-160.

Fontein, J., T. Diphorn, P. Lockwood, and C. Smith. 2024. *Nairobi Becoming: Security, Uncertainty, Contingency*. Punctum Books.

Kimari, Wangui. 2023. "On the Police as Infrastructure and Managers in the African City." *Planning Perspectives* 39(1): 195-204.

Kinyanjui, Mary Njeri. 2014. *Women and the Informal Economy in Urban Africa: From the Margins to the Centre*. London: Zed Books.

Mutongi, Kenda. 2017. *Matatu: A History of Popular Transportation in Nairobi*. The University of Chicago Press.

Smith, Constance. 2022. *Nairobi in the Making: Landscapes of Time and Urban Belonging*. James Currey.

3. Kampala: Infrastructure Power

* Gore, Christopher D. 2017. *Electricity in Africa: The Politics of Transformation in Uganda*. James Currey, Chapter 1, 4.

* Monteith, W. 2019. "Markets and Monarchs: Indigenous Urbanism in Postcolonial Kampala." *Settler Colonial Studies* 9(2): 247–265.

Degani, M., B. Chalfin, and J. Cross. 2020. "Introduction: Fuelling Capture: Africa's Energy Frontiers." *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology* 38(2): 1–18.
<https://doi.org/10.3167/cja.2020.380202>.

Doherty, Jacob. 2022. *Waste Worlds: Inhabiting Kampala's Infrastructures of Disposability*. University of California Press.

Huber, M. 2015. "Theorizing Energy Geographies." *Geography Compass* 9(6): 327–338.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12214>.

Maclean, L., J. Baldwin, and R. Nyoike. 2016. "Expectations of Power: The Politics of State-Building and Access to Electricity Provision in Ghana and Uganda." *Journal of African Political Economy & Development* 1(1).

McFarlane, C., and J. Silver. 2017. "Navigating the City: Dialectics of Everyday Urbanism." *Transactions - Institute of British Geographers (1965)* 42(3): 458–471.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/tran.12175>.

Monteith, W., and L. Camfield. 2019. "Business as Family, Family as Business: Female Entrepreneurship in Kampala, Uganda." *Geoforum* 101: 111–121.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2019.03.003>.

Simone, A., and A. Abouhany, eds. 2005. *Urban Africa: Changing Contours of Survival in the City*. Zed Books.

Lecture 6: Urban Protest

1. Protest in African Politics

* Branch, Adam and Zachariah Mampilly, *Africa Uprising: Popular Protest and Political Change*, Zed Books, 2015, Ch. 1, 3, 4.

Amin, Samir. 2014. "Popular Movements Toward Socialism: Their Unity and Diversity." *Monthly Review* 66(2).

Diouf, Mamadou. 1996. "Urban Youth and Senegalese Politics: Dakar 1988-1994." *Public Culture* 8: 225-249.

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

Gouws, Amanda, and Azille Coetzee. 2019. "Women's Movements and Feminist Activism." *Agenda* 33(2): 1-8.

Honwana, Alcinda. 2015. "Enough Is Enough!: Youth Protests and Political Change in Africa." In *Collective Mobilisations in Africa. Enough Is Enough*, edited by Kadya Tall, Marie-Emmanuelle Pommerolle, and Michel Cahen, 45–65. Leiden: Brill.

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

Mamdani, Mahmood. 1995. "Introduction." In *African Studies in Social Movements and Democracy*, edited by Mahmood Mamdani and Ernest Wamba-dia-Wamba, 1-17. Dakar: CODESRIA.

Ngwane, T., L. Sinwell, and I. Ness, eds. 2017. *Urban Revolt: State Power and the Rise of People's Movements in the Global South*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

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

2. Urban Protest in Kenya

* Kimari, W., Luke Melchiorre, and J. Rasmussen. 2020. "Youth, the Kenyan State and a Politics of Contestation." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 14(4): 690–822.

* Okech, Awino. 2023. "Feminist Protest Action in Kenya: Lessons and Directions." *Politics & Gender*: 1-5.

Guma, Prince K., Mwangi Mwaura, Eunice Wanjiku Njagi, and Jethron Ayumbah Akallah. 2023. "Urban Way of Life as Survival: Navigating Everyday Life in a Pluriversal Global South." *City* 27(3-4): 275-293. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2023.2214961>.

Kagwanja, Peter. 2009. "Courting Genocide: Populism, Ethno-Nationalism, and the Informalisation of Violence in Kenya's 2008 Post-Election Crisis." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 27(3): 365-387.

Murunga, Godwin R., Duncan Okello, and Anders Sjögren, eds. 2014. *Kenya: The Struggle for a New Constitutional Order*. London: Zed Books.

Murunga, Godwin R., and Shadrack Wanjala Nasong'o, eds. 2013. *Kenya: The Struggle for Democracy*. London: Zed Books.

Mutahi, Patrick, and Mutuma Ruteere. 2019. "Violence, Security and the Policing of Kenya's 2017 Elections." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13(2): 253-271.

3. Uganda: Walk to Work, Bobi Wine, and July 23 occupyparliament

* Melchiorre, Luke. 2023. "Generational Populism and the Political Rise of Robert Kyagulanyi – aka Bobi Wine – in Uganda." *Review of African Political Economy* 50(176): 212-233.

* Macdonald, A., Owor, A., and R. Tapscott. 2023. "Explaining Youth Political Mobilization and Its Absence: The Case of Bobi Wine and Uganda's 2021 Election." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 17(1-2): 280-300.

Oloka-Onyango, Joe, and Josephine Ahikire, eds. 2017. *Controlling Consent: Uganda's 2016 Elections*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Branch, Adam, and Zachariah Mampilly. 2015. *Africa Uprising: Popular Protest and Political Change*. Zed Books, Chapter 6.

Tamale, Sylvia. 2000. *When Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda*. Westview Press.

Tripp, Aili Marie. 2004. "The Changing Face of Authoritarianism in Africa: The Case of Uganda." *Africa Today* 50(3): 3-26.

Wilkins, Sam, et al. 2021. "Briefing: Contextualizing the Bobi Wine Factor in Uganda's 2021 Elections." *African Affairs* 120(481): 629-643.

Lacatus, Corina. 2023. "Populism, Competitive Authoritarianism, and Foreign Policy: The Case of Uganda's 2021 Election." *Global Studies Quarterly* 3(1).

Reid, Richard. 2017. *A History of Modern Uganda*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 2 and 5.

Tripp, Aili Mari. 2010. *Museveni's Uganda: Paradoxes of Power in a Hybrid Regime*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Tapscott, Rebecca. 2021. *Arbitrary States: Social Control and Modern Authoritarianism in Museveni's Uganda*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.