## MPhil in Politics and International Studies

## University of Cambridge

## The Politics of Africa: Past, Present and Future

## 2020-21

## Michaelmas Term

**Course Organiser:** Dr Sharath Srinivasan (ss919@cam.ac.uk)

**Drop in office hours:** 4-5pm Wednesdays on Zoom (wait in waiting room; max 10 minutes unless no one waiting)

Zoom link:

https://us02web.zoom.us/j/87089307841?pwd=M0Q3NVhJc0Z6MFZ4TXdWRzRXVDA2QT09

Meeting ID: 870 8930 7841

Passcode: 841841

**Seminar Leaders:**

Dr Sharath Srinivasan

Dr Josh Platzky Millar (jjpm2@cam.ac.uk)

**Seminar times and locations:**

1-3pm Wednesdays, starting on 14th October 2020 for 7 weeks.

Attendance at the seminars is required (attendance will be taken) and they will take place over Zoom. All attendees are expected to attend with video on. Etiquette for the seminar discussion will be discussed in the first seminar. Seminars will *not* be recorded unless previously arranged and with the written consent of all participants.

Zoom link:

https://us02web.zoom.us/j/88471187544?pwd=bEQ0eHczQ3NkZG1hbWZ4WXlLb3NjUT09

Meeting ID: 884 7118 7544

Passcode: 299361

**Lectures on African politics\*** (optional, but suggested for students with little background in African politics): **Wednesdays, 11-12, starting 14 October.** Please contact Dr Srinivasan for more information if you wish to attend these.

\* The Paper Guide for this 3rd year undergraduate politics course will be uploaded to Moodle. Lecture slides will also be made available.

**Course aims and objectives:**

* To promote a critical engagement with a wide range of theoretical literature in African politics
* To encourage reflection on popular representations of African politics and development
* To develop an awareness of the sources of authority, legitimacy, stability, violence and political change in Africa
* To provide students with a solid basis for further study in African politics or for related careers

**Brief description of the course:**

This MPhil course immerses students in the politics of Africa, past, present and future, by exploring major themes through in-depth reading of key texts. It examines the interaction of historical, international, contemporary and local factors that have influenced the continent’s political trajectories. It assesses the relevance of theories and concepts developed in the fields of comparative politics and international relations to the study of Africa. It also engages critically with the study of Africa and the study of the politics of Africa, including from a decolonial perspective. Finally, it studies the politics of Africa in a multi-disciplinary fashion, drawing on scholarship from a range of disciplines including, politics, social anthropology, history and sociology.

Each weekly seminar will focus on a specific theme in African politics, focused on a primary set seminar text (usually a book) and core texts. Students will develop skills in the close reading of monographs, including critically appraising methodology and argument. The reading for the course is demanding and rewarding in equal measure. We will explore the histories and legacies of state formation in Africa, and assess theories of the state and their relevance in different parts of Africa. We will focus on key aspects of politics in Africa, including the nature of political authority and the relationship between violence, politics, economy and identity. We will also look closely at the international politics of Africa, including the politics of development and security.

Students will be required to read the following books. Students may wish to buy them, as they are all classics or important books (the list has been given to Heffers bookstore, on Trinity Street). Alternatively, the books are in the HSPS/Seeley library, African Studies Centre library, and most college libraries.

* Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism,* Princeton University Press, 1996.
* Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin Classics, 1961.
* Nanjala Nyabola, *Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics: How The Internet Era Is Transforming Kenya*, Zed Books, 2018.
* William Reno. *Warfare in Independent Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011 (available on library site as e-book).
* James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine: Development, Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*, University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
* Ifi Amadiume, *Daughters of the Goddess, Daughters of Imperialism: African Women, Culture, Power and Democracy*, Zed Books, 2000.

**Assessment**

Students are expected to write one 3000-word essay displaying significant research and probing in depth one of the themes of the course. Questions are set by the Course Organiser and released in late October. This essay is worth 100% of the final grade and is due at 5pm on **4th December 2020.**

**Readings**

***\* This year, an unprecedented number of the readings for this course have been made available online by the Seeley Library in an accessible way: go to Moodle and click on Seeley Library resources.***

The reading list divides material into different categories. The *General* books are useful starting points for the course.

For each seminar topic you will find the *Seminar* reading, as well as *Core* and *Supplementary* readings.

The *Seminar* readings are essential readings for all students. Most weeks, the seminar reading will be a full book. There are some copies available at the libraries (including the college libraries) but if your budgets allow it you may want to consider purchasing them. You could also pool resources with other students in the seminar to share books.

The *Core* readings are discussed in the seminar alongside the seminar reading. These are recommended and also assigned to individuals to briefly introduce and relate to the seminar reading and key questions on the topic. The *Supplementary* reading lists are provided for those who want to dig deeper into particular issues. Many of the readings are relevant for more than one seminar topic.

The texts are available either online (**University Library** e-resources**)** or at the **HSPS Library** on Free School Lane or the **Centre of African Studies Library** in the ARB. The library website is: <http://www.african.cam.ac.uk/library/>. You can also try libraries across the university, including college libraries, Haddon, Marshall, Seely, and Geography.

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 HSPS 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

**The following Internet sites are good for news and research about Africa.** Also check the on-line resources on the Centre of African Studies website (<http://www.african.cam.ac.uk/library/>)

African Arguments <https://africanarguments.org/>

Africa is a Country <https://africasacountry.com/>

AllAfrica.com <http://allafrica.com/>

Africa news online [www.africanews.org/index.html](http://www.africanews.org/index.html)

BBC Focus on Africa <http://allafrica.com/partners/bbc/focus_on_africa.ram>

Pambazuka.org <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/>

News.Africa.Com <http://www.news.africa.com>

African political resources [www.politicalresources.net/africa.htm](http://www.politicalresources.net/africa.htm)

Africa guide from Stanford [www.sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/guide.html](http://www.sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/guide.html)

Afrobarometer Surveys on democracy in Africa [www.afrobarometer.org](http://www.afrobarameter.org)

The New Humanitarian <https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/>

World Bank <http://www.worldbank.org/afr/>

Think Africa Press <http://www.thinkafricapress.com>

Africa Research Institute <http://www.africaresearchinstitute.org>

**Detailed reading list**

**General books**

As an introduction to contemporary African politics, I encourage you to read:

Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940: the past of the present*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019 ([info on new edition](https://www.cambridge.org/gb/academic/subjects/history/african-history/africa-1940-past-present-2nd-edition?format=PB)) (OLD EDITION e-book: <http://ebooks.cambridge.org/ebook.jsf?bid=CBO9780511800290>)

The following are basic introductory texts that come at the issues from rather different perspectives, and may be of interest to some of you to read before term starts.

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

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

Finally, the *Oxford Encyclopedia 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>

**Weekly Readings**

**1. Africa and the World: past, present, future (14 October)**

Is the study of African politics trapped in its past? Who is writing its future, and how? How might the study of African politics help us rethink world politics? What are we to make of current debates on ‘Africa Rising’ or the ‘Afro-Pessimism’ of recent decades?

**Seminar readings**

Two Atlantics, one white, one black:

Kaplan, Robert, “[The Coming Anarchy: How Scarcity, Crime, Overpopulation and Disease are Rapidly Destroying the Social Fabric of our Planet](https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1994/02/the-coming-anarchy/304670/)”, *The Atlantic*, February 1994.

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.

Mbembe, Achille. 2016. [Africa In The New Century](https://africasacountry.com/2016/06/africa-in-the-new-century/). *Africa is a Country (*[*https://africasacountry.com/*](https://africasacountry.com/)*)*

James Ferguson, *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*, Duke University Press, 2006, [Introduction](https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/cam/reader.action?docID=1169293&ppg=12) pp. 1-23.

Sarr, Felwine, (trans by Drew S. Burk, and Sarah Jones-Boardman). [Introduction: Thinking Africa](https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/10.5749/j.ctv105bb1g.3.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Aafff77aeaf6c9f8f4b27ea89ed69f4ee). In *Afrotopia*, Ix-Xvi. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2019.

Amina Mama. 2007. [Is It Ethical to Study Africa? Preliminary Thoughts on Scholarship and Freedom](https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/20065338.pdf?casa_token=W4ZItxuIGbIAAAAA:kdK0LRuI69boycjdL-LeKTUufZN7yyELzKWWXkfvNDdNvrkB4Nt_cFnHG-QeSjSH1RdMP4RHDhu75lx1PCG0P87E6AqcyhUNxsMN5UNYOQmoC-_TMlY). *African Studies Review,* vol 50 (1) (2007): 1–26.

Ndlovu‐Gatsheni, S.J., 2015. [Decoloniality as the Future of Africa](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/hic3.12264). *History Compass*, *13*(10), pp.485-496.

**Supplementary readings:**

Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940: the past of the present*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019 edition, final chapter.

Makau Mutua, ‘Savages, Victims, and Saviors: The Metaphor of Human Rights,’ *Harvard International Law Journal*, 42 (2001)

Akosua Adomako Ampofo, “[Re-viewing Studies on Africa, #Black Lives Matter, and Envisioning the Future of African Studies](https://muse.jhu.edu/article/629894/pdf?casa_token=25Mhheu1F8EAAAAA:phKYmTZYBfqZI3Bq__q6duqEt7qxdwcVo3Keg4MPkojosTwX0a0ENMXbf5JjXVBgakWkeotN7A),” *African Studies Review,* vol 59(2) (2016): 7-29.

Ndlovu, Morgan, 2018. ‘Coloniality of knowledge and the challenge of creating African futures.’ *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, *40*(2).

Pillay, Suren, 2018. ‘Thinking the State from Africa: Political Theory, Eurocentrism and Concrete Politics’. *Politikon*, *45*(1), pp.32-47.

Jean-Francois Bayart, “[Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion](https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/723809.pdf)” *African Affairs*, no. 99, April 2000.

Megan Vaughan, “[Africa and the Birth of the Modern World](https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/25593864.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A298b20e78892376b883cad6416fa06ef),” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 16 (2006): 143-162.

Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony.* U California Press 2000 / Wits UP 2015(‘Introduction: Time on the Move’)

Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, chapters 1 and 2.

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

Joel Barkan, “The Many Faces of Africa”, *Harvard International Review*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 2002.

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

Chazan, Naomi, “The Diversity of African Politics: Trends and Approaches”. In Naomi Chazan (ed.), *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1999, pp. 5-34.

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

Engel, Ulf, and Gorm Rye Olsen, *Africa and the north: between globalization and marginalization*, London; New York: Routledge, 2005.

Mazrui, Ali Al Amin, *Africa's international relations: the diplomacy of dependency and change*, London, Heinemann, 1977.

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

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

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

Mazrui, Ali AlʼAmin, “The Re-invention of Africa: Edward Said, V. Y. Mudimbe, and Beyond”, [*Research in African Literatures*, 36 (3), 2005](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/research_in_african_literatures/toc/ral36.3.html): 68-82.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J. 2019. “[Revisiting the African Renaissance](https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-720)”, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of African Politics*

**2. Colonialism and its legacies (21 October)**

Did colonial rule simply reproduce European ideas of the state in Africa? Alternatively, have rulers in Africa – colonial or otherwise – encountered similar and enduring challenges to forming centralised states in mostly the same sorts of ways? In what ways and why did colonial elites ‘invent’ tradition in Africa? Are critiques of how rural Africa has been historically ruled less relevant today?

**Seminar reading:**

\* Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism,* Princeton University Press, 1996.

**Core readings:**

Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940*, Cambridge 2019, chapters 1-4. (or [e-book from 2002 edition](https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/africa-since-1940/4A6AADCAEA3125B9100D016B00A33644))

Peter Ekeh, “Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa”, in Peter Lewis, (ed), *Africa: Dilemmas of Development and Change*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1998.

Crawford Young, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, Yale University Press, 1994, Chapter 1.

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015 (updated edition), Ch.s 2 and 3.

Ebook:  [http://www.degruyter.com/viewbooktoc/product/465759](%20http%3A//www.degruyter.com/viewbooktoc/product/465759)

Terence Ranger, ‘The invention of tradition in Colonial Africa’, in Hobsbawm, E., & Ranger, T. (Eds.). (2012). The invention of tradition. Cambridge University Press. Ch 6 [also in *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History, and Representation* (1997)]. See also Hobsbawm’s introduction (and for the more interested, a later revisit by Ranger: Ranger, T. (1993). The invention of tradition revisited: the case of colonial Africa. In *Legitimacy and the State in Twentieth-century Africa* (pp. 62-111). Palgrave Macmillan UK.

**Supplementary readings**

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

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

*History and Historiography*

Bates, Robert, “The Centralization of African Societies,” in *Essays on the Political Economy of Rural Africa*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983, Ch. 2.

Iliffe, John, *Africans: History of a Continent*, Cambridge University Press, 1996. Chs. 6, 7 & 8 [pre/early Colonial Africa] and 9 & 10 [Colonial Africa].

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

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

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

M.E. Chamberlain, *The Scramble for Africa*, 2nd edition, Longman, 1999.

Lee, J. M. *Colonial development and good government: a study of the ideas expressed by the British official classes in planning decolonization 1939-1964*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

*Critical analyses on Colonial Rule*

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

Young, Crawford, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, Yale University Press, 1994.

Attiyey, George (ed), *Africa Betrayed*, Palgrave MacMillan, 1993.

Rodney, Walter. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1981.

**3. Nationalism, independence and ‘Third World’ politics (28 October)**

Did African nationalism fail independent Africa? Whatever happened to Pan-Africanism? How did the role of violence in struggles for liberation shape the post-colonial trajectories of African states? What explains the different ways in which colonial authorities managed decolonisation across African states?

**Seminar Reading**

Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin Classics, 1961 (and preface by Jean-Paul Sartre)

**Core readings**

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

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

Julius Nyerere, ‘Ujamaa, the basis of African socialism’ in Nyerere, *Ujamaa : essays on socialism*,Dar es Salaam: OUP, 1968.

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

Steve Biko, “White Racism and Black Consciousness” in A. Stubbs ed. *Steve Biko: I Write what I Like: A Selection of Writings.* London: Penguin Books, 1987. [Moodle]

**\*NOTE:** You can find excerpts from Nkrumah, Kaunda, Nyerere and others in Martin Minogue and Judith Molloy (eds), *African aims and attitudes: selected documents*, Cambridge University Press, 1974. (PDF on Moodle)

**Supplementary readings**

\* Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940*, Cambridge 2002, [chapter 4](https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/africa-since-1940/4A6AADCAEA3125B9100D016B00A33644) (oe 2019 edition, ch 4).

\* Paul Nugent, *Africa Since Independence*, Palgrave Macmillan 2004/2012 chapter 3. (See Moodle; also time-limited online reader: [Dawsonera](https://www.dawsonera.com/abstract/9780230393561))

\* Abrahamsen, Rita,. Internationalists, sovereigntists, nativists: Contending visions of world order in Pan-Africanism. *Review of International Studies*, 46(1), pp.56-74, 2020.

Jeffrey Herbst. *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000, Ch. 4 (pp. 97-136).

Ebook: <http://lib.myilibrary.com/Open.aspx?id=333992>

Ali Al Amin Mazrui. ‘On the concept of ‘We are all Africans’, in *Towards a Pax Africana: a study of ideology and ambition,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967, Ch. 3. You can also listen to Mazrui’s more sweeping 1979 BBC Reith Lecture on this subject here: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00h4n4v>; or read the transcript here: <http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/rmhttp/radio4/transcripts/1979_reith6.pdf>.

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

Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and its Fragments*. (Based on the Bengali experience in India, but of relevance to post-colonial nationalism more generally.)

Thomson, Alex. *An Introduction to African Politics*, Oxford: Routledge, Ch. 3.

Kaarshom, Preben & Jan Hulton, eds., *Inventions and Boundaries: Historical and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism,* Roskilde, 1994.

Coleman, James S. (author) and Sklar, Richard (ed), *Nationalism and Development in Africa: Selected Essays*, University of California Press, 1994.

Davidson, Basil, *The Black Man’s Burden. Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*, London: James Currey, 1992.

Ranger, Terence & Femi Vaughan, eds., *Legitimacy and the State in Twentieth Century Africa*, Macmillan/St. Antony’s, 1993.

Falola, Toyin *Nationalism and African intellectuals*. Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2001.

Padmore, George, *Pan-Africanism or Communism*, New York: Doubleday, 1971.

Cooper, Frederick. *Africa since 1940: the past of the present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, Ch.s 1-4.

Iliffe, John, *Africans: History of a Continent*, Cambridge University Press, 1996. Chs. 6, 7 & 8 [pre/early Colonial Africa] and 9 & 10 [Colonial Africa], Ch. 11.

Rotberg, Robert I., and Ali Al Amin Mazrui, *Protest and power in black Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Englebert, Pierre, *State Legitimacy and Development in Africa*, Lynne Rienner, 2000.

Rotberg, Robert I, “The Rise of African Nationalism: The Case of East and Central Africa” *World Politics* 15 (1):75-90, 1962.

Matthew Lange “British Colonial Legacies and Political Development” *World Development*, Vol. 32, Issue 6, June 2004.

**4.**   **Democracy and political authority (4 November)**

How is ‘democratisation’ faring in Africa and what kind of democracy matters in Africa in the 21st century? What, if anything, makes African politics ‘neopatrimonial’? What does clientelism explain and what does it overlook in the study of African politics? What explains differences among African states regarding the strength of party versus identity politics or degrees of patronage and personal rule?

 **Seminar reading:**

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

**Core reading**

Claude Ake, ‘[The Unique Case of African Democracy’](https://www.jstor.org/stable/2621592?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents), *International Affairs*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (Apr., 1993), pp. 239-244.

Peter Ekeh, “[Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa](https://www.jstor.org/stable/178372?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)”, in Peter Lewis, (ed), *Africa: Dilemmas of Development and Change*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1998.

Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz. *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument* James Currey Publishers, 1999, Part I, ‘[The informalisation of politics’](https://www.vle.cam.ac.uk/draftfile.php/325402/user/draft/152148467/%230241_Chabal_Chapter1.pdf).

Chris Allen, ‘[Understanding African Politics’](https://www.african.cam.ac.uk/images/files/articles/allen)*. Review of African Political Economy*, 22 (65), 1995.

Nicholas Cheeseman, [*Democracy in Africa*](http://idiscover.lib.cam.ac.uk/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=44CAM_ALMA51527868470003606&context=L&vid=44CAM_PROD&search_scope=SCOP_HIS&isFrbr=true&tab=cam_lib_coll&lang=en_US), Cambridge University Press, 2015. Introduction.

**Supplementary readings**

*Democracy*

Claude Ake, *The Feasibility of Democracy in Africa*, CODESRIA 2000. Introduction

Ekeh, Peter P. ‘Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17 (1), 1975: 91-112.

Nic Cheeseman (ed), *Institutions and Democracy in Africa*, Cambridge 2018.

Miles Larmer and Alistair Fraser, ‘Of Cabbages and King Cobra: Populist Politics and Zambia's 2006 Election’, *African Affairs*, Vol. 106, Issue 425, pp. 611-637, 2007

Nic Cheeseman & Miles Larmer, ‘Ethnopopulism in Africa: opposition mobilization in diverse and unequal societies’ *Democratization* Vol. 22 , Issue 1, 2015

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

Young, Tom, ‘Democracy in Africa?’ *Africa* 72, no. 3 (2002): 484–496

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Branch, Daniel, ‘Democratization, sequencing and state failure in Africa: Lessons from Kenya’, *African Affairs* (2009): 1-26

*The State, Clientelism, Neopatrimonialism*

Bayart, Jean-Francois, *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* London: Longman, 1993.

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

Young, Crawford, *The Postcolonial State in Africa*, University of Wisconsin Press, 2012, Ch. 5, 6

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.

Thomson, Alex, ‘Legitimacy, neo-patrimonialism, personal rule and centralisation of the African state’, *An Introduction to African Politics*, Routledge, 2000, Ch. 6.

Part 1 of Young, Tom (ed.), *Readings in African Politics.* James Currey, 2003 contains key selections from the Bayart, Chabal and Daloz and Jackson and Rosbert, as well as a range of important related texts.

Eisenstadt, Shmuel N. *Traditional Patrimonialism and Modern Neopatrimonialism*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1973.

Erdmann, Gero and Engle, Ulf, *Neopatrimonialism Revisited: Beyond a Catch-All Concept*. GIGA Working Papers No 16. Hamburg: German Institute of Global and Area Studies, 2006. (available from GIGA website and at CAS library)

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

Ebook: <http://lib.myilibrary.com/Open.aspx?id=333992>

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

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

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

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

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

**5. War and violence (11 November)**

In accounting for the substantial but also changing nature of violence in Africa, how do we understand the roles of politics, economics and identity appeals? To what extent are global economic actors responsible for cycles of political violence in Africa? Is contemporary political violence in Africa simply not political enough? Is violent conflict in Africa an unavoidable feature of state formation processes and of economic and political development?

**Seminar Reading:**

\* William Reno. *Warfare in Independent Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011 ([available on library site as e-book](http://idiscover.lib.cam.ac.uk/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=44CAM_ALMA51529316030003606&context=L&vid=44CAM_PROD&search_scope=SCOP_HIS&tab=cam_lib_coll&lang=en_US))

**Core readings:**

Christopher Cramer, *Civil War is Not a Stupid Thing: Accounting for Violence in Developing Countries* (Hurst 2006)

Paul Collier, and A Hoeffler “[On the Incidence of Civil War in Africa](https://www.jstor.org/stable/3176237?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents).” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2004, volume 46: 13

Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. [Introduction](http://idiscover.lib.cam.ac.uk/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=44CAM_ALMA51527647090003606&context=L&vid=44CAM_PROD&search_scope=SCOP_HIS&isFrbr=true&tab=cam_lib_coll&lang=en_US), pp. 1-27.

Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*, Cambridge University Press, 1996. See [e-book](http://idiscover.lib.cam.ac.uk/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=44CAM_ALMA51526486160003606&context=L&vid=44CAM_PROD&search_scope=SCOP_HIS&isFrbr=true&tab=cam_lib_coll&lang=en_US)

Herbst, Jeffrey. “[War and the State in Africa](https://www.jstor.org/stable/2538753?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)”, *International Security*, 14 (4) 1990.

**Supplementary readings:**

Allen, Chris, 'Warfare, Endemic Violence and State Collapse in Africa', *Review of African Political Economy*, 81, 1999, pp.367-384

Kaldor, Mary, *New & old wars: organized violence in a global era*

Kalyvas, Stathis, “ ‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?” *World Politics*, Vol.54, No.1, pp.99-118.

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

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

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

Herbst. Jeffrey. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Power and Control*. Princeton University Press, 2000. pp. 137-272.

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Zachariah Mampilly (2011), *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent governance and civilian life during war* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca NY)

Bayart, Jean-Francois, Ellis, Stephen and Hibou, Beatrice. *The Criminalization of the State in Africa,* Oxford: James Currey, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.

Bayart, Jean-Francois. *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*, Longman, 1993.

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

Pierre Englebert and Denis M. Tull, “Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States” *International Security*, Vol 32, No. 4, Spring 2008.

Robert I. Rotberg, “Failed states in a world of terror”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 81, No. 4, July/August 2002, pp.127-40

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Keen, David. *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone*, Oxford: James Currey, 2005.

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le Billon, Philippe “Angola’s Political Economy of War”, *African Affairs*, 398 (100), 2001.

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

MacLean, Sandra. “Mugabe at War: The Political Economy of Conflict in Zimbabwe”, *Third World Quarterly*, 23(2), 2002.**6. Development and governance (18 November)**

Has development in Africa been a political or economic project? How does the development project relate to global economic and political order? Good governance has been characterized as a disciplinary project – is this accurate? If so, who is being disciplined and to what effect? Do the rise of the BRICS, new donors and the ‘neo-developmental state’ present a break from the past?

**Seminar Reading:**

\* James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine: Development, Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*, University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

**Core readings:**

Rita Abrahamsen, 2000. *Disciplining Democracy: Development Discourse and Good Governance in Africa*, Zed Books, 2000, Introduction.

Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done About It*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, Ch. 2 (limited viewing [e-book](http://idiscover.lib.cam.ac.uk/permalink/f/oei6q7/44CAM_ALMA51529573300003606)).

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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

**Supplementary readings:**

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

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Tania Murray Li. *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

William Brown. ‘Reconsidering the Aid Relationship: International Relations and Social Development’, *The Round Table,* 98, 2009, pp. 285-99.

Rodney, Walter, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa,* Howard University Press,1974, 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

Mark Duffield. ‘Social Reconstruction and the Radicalisation of Development: Aid as a Relation of Global Liberal Governance’, *Development and Change*, 33, 5, 2002.

William Easterly. *The White Man’s Burden: why the West’s efforts to aid the rest have done so much ill and so little good*, New York: Penguin Press, 2006.

Arthur Goldsmith. 2001. “Foreign Aid and Statehood in Africa,” *International*

*Organization*, 55:1 (Winter), 123-48.

Randall Stone. 2004. “The Political Economy of IMF Lending in Africa,” *American*

*Political Science Review*, 98:4 (Nov), 577-91.

Carol Lancaster. 2005. “Development in Africa: The Good, the Bad, the Ugly.” *Current History*. Vol. 104, No. 682: pp. 222-227.

Pádraig Carmody. 2011. *The New Scramble for Africa*, Polity, Intro, Ch. 1, 5, 6, 7.

Graham Harrison. 2004. *The World Bank and Africa: The Construction of Governance States*, Routledge, 2004, Ch. 1.

R Biel, “Imperialism and International Governance: The Case of US Policy Towards Africa”, *Review of African Political Economy*, 30 (95), 2003.

**7. Non-domination: gender, class and social movements (25 November)**

If you’re a woman or a peasant or one of the urban poor, African states typically were formed in nationalist struggles that made claims for the nation as a community of undivided common interest. Questions of gender, class were ignored or left to be dealt with later. Efforts to raise questions of gender in African politics or in the study of African societies have opened debates about the contextual specificity of ideas about gender, and the applicability of ideas about class struggle to societies whose experience has not been that of western-style industrial capitalism. The spread of multi-party democracy has been accompanied by a focus on ‘civil society’, but this notion has been criticised as serving a middle-class and urban section of society, and being subject to the influence of donors. What does a focus on gender or the urban underclass reveal about the politics of protest, and of change, in Africa?

**Seminar Reading:**

Ifi Amadiume, 2000. *Daughters of the Goddess, Daughters of Imperialism: African Women, Culture, Power and Democracy*. London, Zed.

**Core readings:**

Adam Branch and Zachariah Mampilly, *Africa Uprising,* London, Zed Books, 2015. Introduction

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

Harri Englund, *Prisoners of Freedom*: *Human Rights and the African Poor* (California UP, 2006), Introduction, Ch 1.

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**Supplementary readings:**

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

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

Megan H. Mackenzie, *Female Soldiers in Sierra Leone: Sex, Security and Post-Conflict Development*, London: New York University Press, 2012.

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Alidou, O.D., 2005. *Engaging modernity: Muslim women and the politics of agency in postcolonial Niger*. Univ of Wisconsin Press.

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Medie, P. A. 2013. ‘Fighting Gender-based Violence: The Women’s Movement and the Enforcement of Rape Law in Liberia.’ *African Affairs*. 112 (448): 377-397.

Oloka-Onyango, J. and Tamale, S. 1995. ” The Personal is Political,” or Why Women’s Rights are Indeed Human Rights: An African Perspective on International Feminism. *Human Rights Quarterly*. 17(4): 691-731.

Oyěwùmí, O. 1997. *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses.* University of Minnesota Press.

Tamale, S. 1999. *When Hens Begin to Crow: Gender and Parliamentary Politics in Uganda.* Westview Press.

Tamale, S. 2007. ‘Out of the Closet: Unveiling Sexuality Discourses in Uganda’. In *Africa After Gender* edited by C.M. Cole (et al), 17-29.