

Human, Social and Political Sciences Tripos

History and Politics Tripos

Part IIB 2022-23

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

### **Paper Guide**

- Organiser:** Dr Sharath Srinivasan (Michaelmas)  
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Dr Holly Porter (Lent & Easter)  
Room 210A, Alison Richard Building, [hep44@cam.ac.uk](mailto:hep44@cam.ac.uk)
- Office hours:** Dr Srinivasan (Michaelmas)  
Wednesdays  
2.00-3.00pm: Room 131, Alison Richard Building  
Dr Holly Porter (Lent & Easter)  
Wednesdays  
11.30-12.30: Room 210A, Alison Richard Building
- Lecturers:** Dr Sharath Srinivasan (MT)  
Dr Holly Porter, Dr Devon Curtis, Dr Stephanie Diepeveen
- Supervisors:** Rachel Sittoni  
Ola Osman  
Lyn Kouadio  
Emmah Wabuke
- Lectures:** MT: Wednesday, 4pm, Alison Richard Building, Room S1  
*and* Tuesday Week 1, 9am, Alison Richard Building, Room SG2  
*and* Tuesday Week 8, 1-2pm, Alison Richard Building, Room S2  
LT: Wednesday, 9am, Alison Richard Building, Room SG1
- Classes:** M: Thursday, 1-3pm, SG2, Weeks 4, 6 and 8  
L: Thursday, 12-2pm, SG2, Weeks 4, 8;  
2-4pm Faculty of Divinity Lecture Room, 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.
- To provide opportunities for linking theoretical and conceptual arguments with in-depth analysis of case studies and close readings of official reports.
- To encourage multi-disciplinary approaches to the study of empirical politics.
- To encourage critical reflection on popular and academic representations of 'Africa'.

## Brief Description

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

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

The course is taught thematically, however students develop case-based knowledge of a diverse range of African experiences through country-specific readings, 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 six parts, three in each of the first two terms. Michaelmas Term begins with Africa's global and historical politics before shifting to contemporary politics, society and economy. In Lent Term, this theme is continued before turning to international interventions and finally African political futures. It will be helpful to keep the following introduction to the structure of the paper front of mind as the year progresses.

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

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

*Part II: Global economic order & African development*

In Part II, Lectures 4-6, we examine Africa’s place in global economic structures and those structures’ repercussions for African politics. The first lecture explores the debate around development and underdevelopment in the late colonial and 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*

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

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

Beginning Lent Term, 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*

Reflecting on the themes of state authority, 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.

*Part VI: Futures of African politics*

The final part of the course asks about possible futures of African politics, drawing upon the debates explored in earlier lectures. The continent is changing rapidly, its trajectories and tendencies many and varied. The specific angles on these questions are: politics in Africa in a

digital age; youth, students and social reproduction, at a time of rapid demographic and social change; and new or renewed political imaginaries that are remaking Africa in the world.

### Mode of teaching

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

### Mode of assessment

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

The examination paper will consist of at least twelve questions, which will address topics covered in both Terms' lectures. Students must answer three questions in a five hour window (detailed assessment rules will be provided by the Faculty in due course).

## Outline of Lectures and Classes

### Michaelmas Term

#### **Part I: Africa & the World: The Past of the Present** (*Dr Srinivasan*)

1. 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’

*Class:* African political thought around independence (Week 4)

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

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

*Class:* Zambia and the political economy of development (Week 6)

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

7. Political Mobilization, Control and the State
8. Identity, Ethnicity and Political Competition
9. Class and Politics: Peasants and Workers, Rulers and Capitalists

*Class:* Kenya – Patrimonialism, ethnicity and party politics (Week 8)

### Lent Term

#### **Part IV: State and society (ii): coercion and contestation** (*Dr Porter*)

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

*Class:* Contemporary African Social Movements and Uprisings (Week 4)

#### **Part V: International intervention: democracy, human rights, security** (*Dr Curtis*)

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

*Class:* TBC (Week 6)

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

14. African Politics in the Digital Age (*Dr Diepeveen*)
15. Youth, Students and Struggle (*Dr Porter*)
16. Reimagining and Remaking Africa in the World (*Dr Diepeveen*)

*Class:* Debating African futures (Week 8)

### Easter Term - Revision

17. Revision Lecture/Class: Rethinking African politics and Q&A

## Resources

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

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

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

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

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

The **key texts** below 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. Collier, P and Hoeffler, A (2004) "On the Incidence of Civil War in Africa." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46: 13.
6. 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.

7. Ekeh, Peter, 'Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A theoretical statement', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17, no. 1 (1975): 91-112
8. Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, Penguin Classics, 1961: 'Concerning Violence' and 'Pitfalls of National Consciousness'

9. Ferguson, James. 'Seeing Like an Oil Company: Space, Security, and Global Capital in Neoliberal Africa' *American Anthropologist* 107:3, 2005

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

10. Herbst, Jeffrey, *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
11. 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

12. Mbembe, Achille, *On the Postcolony*, Berkley: University of California Press, 2001, Chapters 1 and 2
13. 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

14. Ake, Claude, '[The Unique Case of African Democracy](#)', *International Affairs*, Vol. 69, No. 2 (Apr., 1993), pp. 239-244.
15. Nyabola, Nanjala, *Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics: How The Internet Era Is Transforming Kenya*, Zed Books, 2018, Introduction.
16. Ranger, Terrence, 'The Invention of Tradition in Africa', in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, Canto 1996.

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

## Reference material

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*More contemporary material*

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



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

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

Documents written by or for African Governments, donor agencies, activist groups, think tanks and NGOs are sometimes referenced in the reading list. Students should also search the web for relevant, up to date, publicly available policy material about particular cases and places. This so-called ‘grey literature’ often presents data and analysis in a non-contestable form, generating what sound like anodyne and technocratic policy proposals designed to appeal to ‘common sense’.

That’s no reason to take it at face value - as with the scholarly literature, students should be alert to the questions of who is making an argument and why, whose interest and ideologies it reflects and serves.

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

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

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

#### Sample questions

- Is the study of African politics trapped in its past?
- What explains the continuities in Africa's portrayal in the West?
- How is Africa being re-invented?

#### Core readings

- \* Hegel, G.W.F., [\*Lectures on the Philosophy of World History\*](#), CUP, 1975, Appendix, pp. 174-90
- \* Mazrui, Ali Al' Amin, "The Re-invention of Africa: Edward Said, V. Y. Mudimbe, and Beyond", *Research in African Literatures*, 36 (3), 2005: 68-82.
- \* Wainaina, Binyavanga, '[How to write about Africa](http://www.granta.com/extracts/2615)', *Granta*, 2006, <http://www.granta.com/extracts/2615>
- \* Cole, Teju, "[The White Savior Industrial Complex](#)," *The Atlantic*, 21 March 2012, <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/03/the-white-savior-industrial-complex/254843/>
- \* James Ferguson, *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*, Duke University Press, 2006, Introduction pp. 1-23.
- \* Pillay, Suren, 2018. "Thinking the State from Africa: Political Theory, Eurocentrism and Concrete Politics". *Politikon*, 45(1), pp.32-47.
- \* 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.
- \* Amina Mama. 2007. [Is It Ethical to Study Africa? Preliminary Thoughts on Scholarship and Freedom](#). *African Studies Review*, vol 50 (1) (2007): 1-26.
- \* Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J., 2015. [Decoloniality as the Future of Africa](#). *History Compass*, 13(10), pp.485-496.

#### Supplementary readings

##### *Popular representations of Africa*

- Kaplan, Robert, "The Coming Anarchy: How Scarcity, Crime, Overpopulation and Disease are Rapidly Destroying the Social Fabric of our Planet", *The Atlantic Monthly*, 1994.
- Lindqvist, Sven, *Exterminate All the Brutes*, The New Press, 1996
- Césaire, Aime, *Discourse on colonialism*. NYU Press, 2001.

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

Burman, Erica, 'Innocents Abroad: Western Fantasies of Childhood and the Iconography of Emergencies', *Disasters* 18, no. 3 (1994): 238-253

Williams, David, 'Aid as autobiography', *Africa* 72, no. 1 (2002): 150-63

Jarosz, Lucy, 'Constructing the Dark Continent: Metaphor as Geographic Representation of Africa', *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography* 24, no. 2 (1992): 105-115

Farrell, Nathan, 'Celebrity Politics: Bono, Product (RED) and the Legitimising of Philanthrocapitalism', *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations* 14, no. 3 (2012): 392-406

Jefferess, David, 'For Sale—Peace of Mind', *Critical Arts: A Journal of North-South Cultural Studies* 16, no. 1 (2002): 1-21

Repo, J. and R. Yrjola, 'The Gender Politics of Celebrity Humanitarianism in Africa', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 13, no. 1 (2011): 44-62

Ekine, Sokari, 'White saviours, black victims: An old story', *Pambazuka News*, no. 578, 21 March 2012, <http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/80923>

Harrison, Graham, *The African Presence: Representations of Africa in the Construction of Britishness*, Manchester University Press, 2013

Pieterse, Jan Nederveen, 'Into the Dark Continent', in *White on Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture*, Yale University Press, 1995

Jean-Francois Bayart, "[Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion](#)" *African Affairs*, no. 99, April 2000.

Mbembe, Achille. 2016. [Africa In The New Century](#). *Africa is a Country* (<https://africasacountry.com/>)

### *The Politics of Studying Africa*

Mudimbe, V.Y., [The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge](#), Indiana University Press, 1988, Introduction, Ch. 1, conclusion

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

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

Zeleza, Paul Tiyambe, *The Study of Africa: Volume I: Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Encounters*, Codesria, 2006, Introduction, Ch. 6, 7, 8, 10

Zezeza, Paul Tiyambe, *The Study of Africa: Volume II: Global and Transnational Engagements*, Codesria, 2007

Zezeza, Paul Tiyambe, 'African Studies and Universities since Independence', *Transition* no. 101 (2009): 110-135

Hountondji, Paulin, 'Ethnophilosophy', in *African Philosophy: Myth and Reality* (trans. Henri Evans), 1976.

Lonsdale, John, 'African Studies, Europe and Africa' Plenary Lecture at 2005 Annual AEGIS conference: <http://aegis-eu.org/old/archive/ecas2005/Plenary%20Lonsdale.htm/> and Reprinted in *Africa Spectrum* 40(3) (2005), pp. 377-402.

Robinson, Pearl, 'Ralph Bunche and African Studies: Reflections on the politics of Knowledge', *African Studies Review* 51, no. 1 (2008): 1-16

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### *Rhodes Must Fall*

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Lecture 2. Pre-colonial and colonial Africa

### Sample questions

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

### Core readings

- \*Mamdani, Mahmood, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton University Press, 1996 – particularly Introduction and Ch. II, III
- \*Herbst, Jeffrey, *States and Power in Africa: 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.
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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)
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- \* 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.  
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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.

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

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#### On Southern Africa in the Cold War

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

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

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

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

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

## Part II: Global economic order & African development

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

#### Sample questions

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

#### Core reading

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

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

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

### Sample questions

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

### Core reading

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

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#### *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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### *Good Governance*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Sample questions

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

### Core Reading

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

### Supplementary readings

#### *Natural Resource Economies*

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



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

Mayer, Jörg and Pilar Fajarnes, *Tripling Africa's Primary Exports: What? How? Where?*, UNCTAD Working Paper No. 180, 2005. [http://www.unctad.org/en/docs/osgdp20054\\_en.pdf](http://www.unctad.org/en/docs/osgdp20054_en.pdf)

McFerson, H. M., 'Governance and hyper-corruption in resource-rich African countries', *Third World Quarterly* 30 (2009): 1529-1547

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

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

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

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

#### *Rising Global Powers*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Neo-Developmental States, New Opportunities*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Shifting Western Engagements*

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

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

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

International Monetary Fund, *Regional Economic Outlook, Sub-Saharan Africa: Sustaining Growth amid Global Uncertainty*, World Economic and Financial Surveys, April 2012, [www.elibrary.imf.org](http://www.elibrary.imf.org)

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

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

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

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

## Part III: 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.
- \* Allen, Chris, 'Understanding African Politics', *Review of African Political Economy* 22 (65), 1995, pp. 301-320.
- \* Pitcher, Ann, Mary H. Moran and Michael Johnston, 'Rethinking Patrimonialism and Neopatrimonialism in Africa', : 125-156
- \* Mkandawire, Thandika, '°. *World Politics*, 67(3), 2015, 563-612.
- \* Young, Tom (ed.), *Readings in African Politics*. James Currey, 2003. Selections from Bayart, Chabal and Daloz, and Jackson and Rosberg - full texts below.

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- 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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### *The Future of Electoral Democracy*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### *Cases*

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

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

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

## Lecture 8. Identity, Ethnicity and Political Competition

### Sample questions

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

### Core reading

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

### Supplementary readings

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Cases

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



## Lecture 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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Warren, Bill. *Imperialism, Pioneer of Capitalism* (edited by John Sender). Verso, 1980. Two useful reviews of Warren: Richard Jeffries, in *African Affairs*, 1982,

<http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/81/324/433.full.pdf> and *David McMullen*, originally 1993 in “Red Politics”. Available online at <http://www.lastsuperpower.net/docs/warren>

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

### Cases

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Lent Term

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

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.

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

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

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

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

#### *New Armed Movements*

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Case studies

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

#### *Sierra Leone*

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

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

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

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

### *Mozambique*

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

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

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

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

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

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

### *Zimbabwe*

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

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

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

### Lecture 12. Debating Democratization, Civil Society, and Human Rights

#### Sample questions

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

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- \* Bratton, M. and N. van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, Introduction, Ch. 3
- \* Ekeh, Peter, 'Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A theoretical statement', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17, no. 1 (1975): 91-112
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- Bayart, J.-F., *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*, Polity, 2009, Part III
- Cheeseman, Nic, *Democracy in Africa*, Cambridge University Press, 2015, Ch. 3, 4
- Ake, Claude, *Development and Democracy in Africa*, Brookings, 1996
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Robinson, William I., *Promoting polyarchy: globalization, US intervention, and hegemony*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, Ch. 1 and 2

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### *Civil Society in Africa*

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

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

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

### Sample questions

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

### Core reading

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- \* de Waal, Alex, *Famine Crimes: Politics and the Disaster Relief Industry in Africa*, James Currey, 1997, Ch. 3, 4, 7-11
- \* Mamdani, Mahmood, *Saviors and Survivors: Darfur, Politics and the War on Terror*, Pantheon, 2010, Ch. 2, conclusion
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- \* Malkki, Liisa, 'Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization', *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 3 (1996): 377-404
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- Jok, Jok Madut, 'Information Exchange in the Disaster Zone: Interaction between Aid Workers and Recipients in South Sudan', *Disasters* 20, no. 3 (1996): 206-15
- Marriage, Zoë, *Not Breaking the Rules, Not Playing the Game: International Assistance to Countries at War*, Hurst & Company, 2006
- Deng, Francis Mading, Sadikiel Kimaro, Terrence Lyons, Donald Rothchild, and I. William

Zartman, *Sovereignty as Responsibility: Conflict Management in Africa*, Brookings Institution Press, 1996

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Duffield, Mark, *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples*, Polity, 2007, Ch. 1

Chandler, David, 'Resilience and human security: The post-interventionist paradigm' *Security Dialogue* 43, no. 3 (2012): 213-229

Curtis, Devon, 'China and the Insecurity of Development in the Democratic Republic of the Congo', *International Peacekeeping* 20, no. 5 (2013)

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

Campbell, Horace, and Amber Murrey, ‘Culture-centric pre-emptive counterinsurgency and US Africa Command: assessing the role of the US social sciences in US military engagements in Africa’, *Third World Quarterly* 35, no. 8 (2014): 1457-1475

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## Part VI: African political futures

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

#### Sample questions

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

#### Core Reading

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- \* Gagliardone, I. (2014). "[New media and the developmental state in Ethiopia](#)." *African Affairs* 113, no. 451:279-299.
- \* Karekwaivanane, G. (2018). "Tapanduka Zvamuchese': Facebook, 'unruly publics', and Zimbabwean politics." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, 1
- \* Nanjala Nyabola, *Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics: How The Internet Era Is Transforming Kenya*, Zed Books, 2018, Introduction.
- \* Rotberg, R. I., and Aker, J. C. (2013). "[Mobile Phones: Uplifting Weak and Failed States](#)." *The Washington Quarterly* 36, no. 1: 111-125.
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- Davis, S. R. (2009). "The African National Congress, its Radio, its Allies and Exile." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35, no. 2: 349-73.
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- Omanga, D. (2018). "WhatsApp as 'digital publics': the *Nakuru Analysts* and the evolution of participation in county governance in Kenya." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, 1.
- Zayani, Mohamed. (2015). *Networked Publics and Digital Contention: The Politics of Everyday Life in Tunisia*. New York: Oxford University Press.

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

#### *Surveillance and security*

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

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

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

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

#### *Digital and development*

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

## Lecture 15. Youth, Students, and Struggle

### Sample questions

- Do urban youth matter to African political futures?
- What roles do students play in African politics?

### Core Reading

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- \* Comaroff, Jean and John L. Comaroff (2006). "Reflections on Youth, from the Past to the Postcolony". In: *Frontiers of Capital: Ethnographic Reflections on the New Economy*. Melissa S. Fisher and Greg Downey Eds. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
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- \* Waller, R. (2006). Rebellious youth in colonial Africa. *The Journal of African History*, 47(1), 77-92.
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### Supplementary reading

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

*Social Reproduction Theory, Education, and Intergenerational Politics*

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

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

### Sample questions

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

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Ch1 (Visualizing the Body: Western Theories and African Subjects),  
Ch4 (Decolonizing Feminism),  
Ch11 (Gender Biases in African Historiography),  
Ch16 (Definitions of Women and Development: An African Perspective),  
Ch21 (African Gender Research and Postcoloniality: Legacies and Challenges)

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## Sample examination paper

Answer three of the following questions:

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

## Pol 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?

### **Pol 9 Examination Paper 2013-14**

Answer three of the following questions:

1. What effects have environmental factors had on the types of political authority that have been common in Africa?
2. Did the nationalism of African anti-colonial movements kill hopes for democracy at independence?
3. Can African ethnicity be a source of progressive political ideas?
4. Is the idea that a social contract underpins African politics fanciful?
5. How much autonomy do African states have to make their own security decisions?
6. How useful is the concept of the labour aristocracy to understanding African politics?



7. Is the conscious planning of African industrialisation inevitably self-defeating?
8. Under what conditions might African states be able to negotiate trade regimes that enable them to flourish?
9. Why has donor thinking about the political management of economic reform in Africa changed over time?
10. Is democracy the only game in town in Africa?
11. What does Africa's experience of the global economic crisis tell us about contemporary opportunities and challenges for development?
12. Does celebrity advocacy for African development matter?