# Module: Africa: Postcolonial state formation in Kenya and Tanzania

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## Lecture details:

Weeks 2-4, 6-8 (14 October, 21 October, 28 October, 11 November, 18 November, 25 November)

Fridays, 3-4pm

Room: SG1, ARB

## Justification and context for this module:

Both Tanzania and Kenya have attracted some global attention over the past few years.

Kenya: each general election reignites concerns about violence and division, often spurred by disillusionment with elite corruption, and materialising along ethnic lines. Yet, in recent elections, these familiar divides have new inflections, suggesting new avenues for consideration. In August 2022, Kenyans have gone to the polls again, voting in a very tight Presidential race, where on one side, two political opponents have aligned, while on the other, the Deputy president is running on an arguably populist campaign that speaks to the 'hustlers' in Kenya, who fight to survive. Equally, there seems to be high levels of voter apathy among Kenya's large youth population, with 75 percent being under 35 years, but only 40% of which are registered to vote. Particularly urban youth are also increasingly digital, with Twitter and Facebook, replaced by WhatsApp and now the rising popularity of TikTok as spaces for public discourse. All of this is complicated further, as wider geopolitics and social and economic issues also alter the political calculus, from relations with the BRICS, to food insecurity, to COVID-19.

Tanzania: The country's politics has equally been affected by changing geopolitics, but intersect with domestic politics in potentially quite different ways. Since independence, Tanzania's politics has been dominated by one party: CCM. In 2015, John Magufuli was elected as President with CCM, pushing an anti-corruption agenda that combined a nationalist economic approach, with an increasingly restricted public sphere and media space. Magufuli's economic approach must also be considered historically. At independence, Kenya took a capitalist path, while Tanzania was marked by a specific vision of African socialism under President Julius Nyerere. In 2021, Magufuli died from COVID-19 and complications. Since, CCM's new leader seems to be opening up to the international community, but what shape this takes, and what this means for domestic political stability remains to be explored. Finally, Tanzania's national story hides regional divisions and political violence, specifically on the Island of Zanzibar, where a very different story of political contestation has played out.

This module will explore the roots of these and other trends/dynamics in contemporary politics in Kenya and Tanzania. In so doing, we will address wider questions about how states in Africa feature in the study of politics more widely. Africa often appears exceptional in global geopolitics, standing out from the rest of the world in negative ways. The tendency has often been to focus on negative

realities on the continent, obscuring and neglecting the diversity and vibrancy of economic, political and cultural realities across a continent that has more than 1.4 billion people and is the second largest continent. Further, the integration and centrality of African states in global trajectories often side-lined, while at the same time African states are held up to ideals of democracy elsewhere, developed in contexts predicated on the imperialism of African states and other states in the Global South.

**Why compare Kenya and Tanzania?**

Environmentally and culturally the two countries appear to have mainly similarities: both bordering the Indian Ocean, Kenya and Tanzania share environmental features, overlapping cultural and linguistic communities, and were subject to British colonial administration. Both have also vacillated between generating optimism and disillusionment in the international community about their potential for political and economic development.

At the same time, they have some important differences in their experiences and ideologies of postcolonial state building. Julius Nyerere, the first leader of independent Tanzania, promoted a particular view of African socialism as a model for economic and social development in a unified Tanzania. This vision faced growing challenges in the 1970s, with protracted and rising levels of poverty, a lack of economic development, and an increasingly authoritarian one party state. Kenya experienced a more violent and contested independence struggle. The first independence government under Jomo Kenyatta sought to ensure a smooth transition to an independent state. This resulted in a commitment to private property and capitalist development. Also, unlike Tanzania, ethnicity persists as the perceived basis of political advantage and marginalisation.

How do we make sense of these politics? How do international and domestic, historical and contemporary dynamics help to explain divergences and commonalities, stabilities and instabilities in government, and in the blurring and tensions between authoritarian and democratic politics in the two countries?

Students will come away from this module with a better understanding of the state of politics in both countries, and how historical trajectories, internal dynamics and global politics might help to explain current politics. This module aims to lay the groundwork for a critical approach to studying African politics, which looks beyond Eurocentric models of state formation and democratisation.

# General reading

In preparation for this module, students are encouraged to read from the selection of books below. These offer a comprehensive overview of some of the particularities and challenge of political development in each country.

Cheeseman, Nic, Karuti Kanyinga, and Gabrielle Lynch (eds), The Oxford Handbook of Kenyan Politics, Oxford Handbooks (2020; online edn, Oxford Academic, 2 Apr. 2020), https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198815693.001.0001,

Iliffe, John. (1979). *A Modern History of Tanganyika* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Murunga, Godwin R. and Nasong'o, Shadrick W. (2007). Kenya: The struggle for Democracy. CODESRIA.

Ochieng', William. (1990). Themes in Kenyan History. Nairobi: Heinemann and London: Currey.

Nyabola, N. (2018). Digital democracy, analogue politics: How the Internet era is transforming politics in Kenya. Bloomsbury.

## Novels

In addition to general readings, students are encouraged to read a novel over the holidays to gain another perspective into the challenges and dilemmas of public life and political history in Kenya and Tanzania.

- Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o. (1967). *A Grain of Wheat.*

- Binyavanga Wainaina. (2012). *One Day I Will Write About This Place*

- Yvonne Adhiambo Owuor. (2014). *Dust.*
- Grace  Ogot. (2000). *The promised land*

- Abdulrazak Gurnah. (1994). *Paradise.*

- Elieshi Lema. (2001). *Parched Earth*

- Meja Mwangi, *Going Down River Road* (2017)*; The Cockroach Dance* (2013)

- Kinyanjui Kombani, (2012) *The Last Villains of Molo*

- Majorie Oludhe Macgoye. (1986) *Coming to Birth.*

    - Read alongside: Slaughter, J.R. (2004). Master Plans: Designing (National) Allegories of Urban Space and Metropolitan Subjects for Postcolonial Kenya. *Research in African Literatures*, 35, 30 - 51.

- Peter Kimani. (2020)*. Nairobi Noir.*

## Other useful resources

The Elephant- https://www.theelephant.info/ - includes op-eds, podcasts and other resources on the region.

Wandia Njoya- https://www.wandianjoya.com/blog and youtube channel: Maisha Kazini

Africa is a country- https://africasacountry.com/about

## Supervisions

There will be two supervisions for this module. Supervision questions will be agreed you're your supervisor at the beginning of term, with one linked to lectures 1-3, and one linked to lectures 4-6.

Example questions:

- To what extent do 'colonial legacies' explain the similarities and differences in post-independence state building projects in Kenya and Tanzania?
- To what extent can post-independence political systems in Kenya and Tanzania be traced to the actions and personalities of its political elite/leadership?
- What has been the role of ideology in defining state building processes in Kenya and Tanzania?
- What is the relationship between popular politics and democratisation in Kenya and Tanzania?

- Should contemporary politics in Kenya and Tanzania be characterised as populist? What factors condition/shape the nature of 'populism' in the two countries, if at all?
- What factors best explain the differences in Kenya and Tanzania's global orientations? Discuss with reference to at least one contemporary global issue (e.g. COVID, climate, food security)
- How do political memories shape contemporary politics in Kenya and Tanzania?

## Lectures

There are six lectures for this module. These will be held in weeks 2-4, 6-8.

It is strongly recommended that students attend these lectures. This will serve as guidance for the readings for the supervisions, and provide important context for the supervisions and readings. Students are asked to focus on the core readings provided, and extend into the additional readings where there is an interest or relevance to their supervision essays. Core readings for each of the lectures are marked with a double asterisk **.

## Lecture 1. Core Themes, and confronting African essentialism and exceptionalism

The first lecture starts out by setting the groundwork for approaching comparative politics from states in Africa, including key issues, challenges and tendencies in how politics on the continent has been approached. It situates this comparative module within wider trends and challenges in how the continent has been considered (and not) within Political Studies, and how and from where this has come under critique. It considers what it means to study politics of and from Africa, and how and to what extent this challenges power dynamics and eurocentrism in the study of politics. It addresses some practical considerations for what this might mean for this module, and how we read and study these two countries.

Second, this lecture then sets out the core themes around which we will study and compare the politics of Kenya and Tanzania. These will be woven through the subsequent lectures, and will be helpful in framing scholarly debates and arguments for your supervisions.

**Core Readings**

**Zeleza, P. T. (2019). Africa's persistent struggles for development and democracy in a multipolar world. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue canadienne des études africaines*, 53(1), 155-170.

** Teju, Cole. (2012). The White-Savior Industrial Complex.
https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/03/the-white-savior-industrial-complex/254843/

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

**Mamdani, M. (2019). Decolonising universities. Sharing knowledge transforming societies. Accessed at:
https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/23442/Sharing_Knowledge_Transforming_Societies_web_ss.pdf?sequence=1#page=89

**Additional Readings**

Wainaina, Binyavanga, 'How to write about Africa', Granta, 2006,
http://www.granta.com/extracts/2615 - If scope, I would recommend reading this piece in full (I'll also discuss in lecture)

Mama, A. (2007). Is it ethical to study Africa? Preliminary thoughts on scholarship and freedom. *African Studies Review*, 50(1), 1-26.

Wa Thiong'o, N. (1992). Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature. East African Publishers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Africans Respond to Trump's "Shithole" Comments Global Reporting Centre. https://globalreportingcentre.org/ideas/africans-respond-trumps-shithole-comments/

Mngomezulu, Bheki R. and Hadebe, Sakhile. (2018) What Would the Decolonisation of a Political Science Curriculum Entail? Lessons to be Learnt From the East African Experience at the Federal University of East Africa. *Politikon*, 45:1, 66-80, DOI: 10.1080/02589346.2018.1418205

> A Reply: Southall, R. (2019). The Decolonisation of the Political Science Curriculum in East Africa: A Reply to Mngomezulu and Sakhile Hadebe. *Politikon*, 46(2), 240-251.

# Lecture 2: Pre-colonial and colonial Kenya and Tanzania, and the struggle for independence

This lecture returns to pre-colonial and colonial periods in Kenya and Tanzania's histories. Colonial rule rapidly spread across the African continent in the 19th century, the continent arbitrarily divided up between foreign imperial powers. The extent to which the colonial encounter disrupted political rule and organisation of people is something that has generated much debate in wider African studies. This lecture explores the nature and implications of colonial rule to political trajectories in Kenya and Tanzania. It reflects on the transformations that took place with colonial rule in each country, and what explains its eventual decline and the rise of successful independence struggles. This lecture lays the groundwork to enable us to take an informed position on how colonialism and the struggle for independence shape the challenges and pathways of early postcolonial state building in the two countries.

The reading by Lonsdale (2020) provides insight into issues around race and ethnicity during colonial Kenya. Chachage and Chachage (2004) consider Julius Nyerere in Tanzania under colonialism, but also look at how this shaped postindependence Tanzania, linking into the next lecture. Mamdani and Cooper provide more general backgrounds into colonial experiences in Africa, offering some general themes and debates to shape your essays. Finally, Maina Wa Kĩnyattĩ's piece offers important insight into personal experiences of colonial rule and the independence struggle in Kenya.

## Core readings

**Lonsdale, John, 'Race and ethnicity in colonial Kenya', in Nic Cheeseman, Karuti Kanyinga, and Gabrielle Lynch (eds), The Oxford Handbook of Kenyan Politics, Oxford Handbooks (2020; online edn, Oxford Academic, 2 Apr. 2020), https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198815693.013.7

**Chachage, Chambi Seithy, and Chachage Seithy L Chachage. (2004). Nyerere: Nationalism and Post-Colonial Developmentalism. *African Sociological Review* 8, no. 2: 158-79.

**Mamdani, Mahmood. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History. 2018. **Introduction, Chapters 1-3. –** *this can be a bit dense at first attempt. I will also cover in the lecture.*

**Maina Wa Kĩnyattĩ. (1996). *Kenya: A Prison Notebook*. London; Jamaica, N.Y.: Vita Books, Mau Mau Research Center.

**Cooper, Frederick. (2006). *Africa since 1940: The past of the Present.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Introduction** [for a general overview of regional colonial and postcolonial experiences and trajectories]

## Additional readings

### General

Iliffe, J. (2007). *Africans: The history of a continent*. Second edition.

Berman, B. J. (1998). Ethnicity, patronage and the African state: the politics of uncivil nationalism. *African Affairs* 97, 388: 305–341.

Anderson, D., and Rolandsen, Ø. H. (2014). "Violence as politics in eastern Africa, 1940-1990: legacy, agency, contingency." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8(4).

### Kenya

Branch, D. (2009). Defeating Mau Mau, creating Kenya: counterinsurgency, civil war, and decolonization. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. **Chapter 1.**

Lonsdale, J. (2000). KAU's cultures: imaginations of community and constructions of leadership in Kenya after the Second World War. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, *13*(1), 107–124.

Berman, B., and Lonsdale, J. (Eds.). (1992). *Unhappy valley: conflict in Kenya & Africa.* Oxford: Ohio University Press. See **Chapters 5, 7, 12**: "Crises of Accumulation, Coercion and the Colonial State," pp. 101-126; "Structure and Process in the Bureaucratic States of Colonial Africa," pp. 140-176; and "The Moral Economy of Mau Mau," pp. 315-467.

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

Anderson, David. (2005). 'Yours in Struggle for Majimbo': Nationalism and the Party Politics of Decolonization in Kenya, 1955-64. *Journal of Contemporary History* 40, 3: 547-564.

Elkins, Caroline. (2005). *Britain's Gulag: The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya.* London: Jonathan Cape.

White, Luise. (1990). *The Comforts of Home Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*. ACLS Humanities E-Book. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

**Tanzania**

Maddox, Gregory H. and James L. Giblin (eds). (2004). *In search of a nation: histories of authority and dissidence in Tanzania*. Oxford: James Currey. **Chapter 11: John Iliffe, "Breaking the chain at its weakest link**," pp.168-197.

Burton, Andrew. (2005). African Underclass: Urbanisation, Crime & Colonial Order in Dar Es Salaam. London: Eastern African Studies.

Iliffe, John. (1979). *A Modern history of Tanganyika*. **Chapter 16:** The nationalist victory, 1955-61, pp. 521-576.

Aminzade, Ronald. (2000). The Politics of Race and Nation: Citizenship and Africanization in Tanganyika. *Political Power and Social Theory*, 14: 53–90.

Brennan, James. (2012). *Taifa: Making Nation and Race in Urban Tanzania.* Athens: Ohio University Press.

Schneider, Leander. (2006). Colonial Legacies and Postcolonial Authoritarianism in Tanzania. *African Studies Review*, 49: 93–118.

Sheriff, Abdul. (2001). Race and Class in the Politics of Zanzibar. *Africa Spectrum*, 36, no. 3: 301-318.

Shivji, Issa G. (2008). *Pan-Africanism or Pragmatism? Lessons of the Tanganyika-Zanzibar Union*. Dar es Salaam.

Maddox, Gregory H. and James L. Giblin (eds). (2004). *In search of a nation: histories of authority and dissidence in Tanzania*. Oxford: James Currey. **Chapter 5**: Thomas Spear, "Indirect Rule, the Politics of Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in Tanzania," pp. 70-85.

## Lecture 3. Post-colonial state building

This lecture considers statebuilding, past and present. It begins with the early years after independence, and looks at how forms of rule were consolidated overtime. What external and internal factors shape the nature of trajectories of state building in these two countries? To what extent is the colonial period a defining feature and reference point for the post-independence state, and why?

The previous lecture presented two distinct pictures of independence in Kenya and Tanzania. In Tanzania we arrived at the rise of the independent state led by Julius Nyerere and a vision of African

socialism. Independent Kenya, led by Jomo Kenyatta, materialised from concerns about how to secure a peaceful transition to an independent state after the Mau Mau struggle. This second lecture explores each country's distinct pathway from independence to increasingly centralised, one party states in the 1970s and early 1980s. It examines how very different visions of an independent country in Tanzania and Kenya took shape in the decade after independence, and the extent they were able to successfully deal with challenges of postcolonial state building: establishing legitimacy, broadcasting authority and maintaining economic and social development. Reflecting back on the colonial state and independence struggle in each country it weighs how early decisions at independence contributed to the political trajectories in each country

The readings for this lecture include primary texts by the early leaders of independent Kenya and Tanzania, challenging students to pick out differences in the conceptualisations of the problem of colonialism, and ideas and visions for independent states. Branch and Cheeseman's (2006) article then provides some context for the Kenyatta reading, on state development in early independent Kenya. Schneider provides some context and background to the nature and effects of policies implemented under Nyerere's government intended to create an African socialist state.

## Core readings

\*\* Jomo Kenyatta (1963). Speeches: Constitutional Conference and Independence Day, in *Suffering Without Bitterness*, pp. 209-217.

\*\* Jomo Kenyatta (1967). Kenyatta Day speech, in *Suffering Without Bitterness*, pp. 340-348.

\*\*Branch, Daniel, and Nicholas Cheeseman. (2006). "The politics of control in Kenya:  Understanding the bureaucratic-executive state, 1952–78." *Review of African Political Economy* 33, 107: 11-31.

\*\*Nyerere, Julius. (1967). Arusha Declaration. Online.

\*\*Schneider, Leander. (2004). "Freedom and Unfreedom in Rural Development: Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa Vijijini, and Villagization." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 38, 2: 344-392.

## Additional readings

### Kenya

\*Primary source: Odinga, O., and K. Nkrumah. (1967). *Not Yet Uhuru: The Autobiography of Oginga Odinga.*

\*Primary source: Moi, Daniel arap. (1986). *Nyayo.*

Anyang' Nyong'o, P. (2989). State and Society in Kenya: The Disintegration of the Nationalist Coalitions and the Rise of Presidential Authoritarianism, 1963-78. *African Affairs* 88: 229-51.

Throup, David W. (2020). Jomo Kenyatta and the creation of the Kenyan state (1963–1978). In Nic Cheeseman, Karuti Kanyinga, and Gabrielle Lynch (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Kenyan Politics.* https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198815693.013.3

Berman, Bruce, Dickson Eyoh, and Will Kymlicka, eds. (2004). *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004. See Chapter by Githu Muigai, "Jomo Kenyatta and the rise of the Ethno-Nationalist State in Kenya," pp. 200-217.

Widner, Jennifer A. (1992). *The rise of a party-state in Kenya: From" Harambee!" to" Nyayo!"*. University of California Press.

Throup, D., & Hornsby, C. (1998). *Multi-party politics in Kenya: The Kenyatta & Moi States & the triumph of the system in the 1992 election*. Oxford, UK: James Currey Ltd.

**Tanzania**

*Primary source: Nyerere, Julius. "One Party Government". *Transition* 2 (1961), pp. 9-11.

**Shivji, Yahya-Othman, Kamata, Yahya-Othman, Saida, and Kamata, Ng'wanza. (2020). *Development as Rebellion: A Biography of Julius Nyerere*. – Worth looking into if interested in Nyerere's political thought

Saul, J. S. (2012). Tanzania fifty years on (1961–2011): rethinking Ujamaa, Nyerere and socialism in Africa. Review of African Political Economy, 39(131), 117-125.

Green, E. (2013). The political economy of nation formation in modern Tanzania: explaining stability in the face of diversity. *Nationalism and Conflict Management,* 77-98.

Lal, Priya. (2012). "Self-reliance and the state: the multiple meanings of development in early post-colonial Tanzania." *Africa* 82, 2: 212–34.

Becker, Felicitas. (2013). "Remembering Nyerere: Political Rhetoric and Dissent in Contemporary Tanzania." *African Affairs* 112:238–261.

Brennan, James. (2014) "Julius Rex: Nyerere through the eyes of his critics, 1953-2013." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, 3: 459-477.

Aminzade, Ronald. (2013). *Race, Nation and Citizenship in Post-colonial Tanzania.* Cambridge University Press.

Hyden, Goran. (1980). *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Under development and an Uncaptured Peasantry.* Berkeley.

Hyden, Goran. (1968). *Tanu Yajenga Nchi: Political Development in Rural Tanzania.* Lund.

Boone, C., and Nyeme, L. (2015). Land institutions and political ethnicity in Africa: evidence from Tanzania. *Comparative Politics*, 48, 1: 67-86.

Campbell, H., Stein, H., and Samoff, J. (2019). Tanzania and the IMF: the dynamics of liberalization. Routledge.

**General**

Bayart, Jean-François. (2009). *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity.

# Lecture 4. What constitutes democracy? Unpacking political settlements and democracy in Kenya and Tanzania

What does democracy look like? To what extent do approaches to democracy, authoritarianism and populism seen elsewhere globally help to make sense of the nature of rule, political competition and citizen-state relations in Kenya and Tanzania? What new insights into these concepts might come from a look at the empirical trajectories of politics in these two countries?

By the 1980s, both Kenya and Tanzania were affected by a global economic recession, with increasing oil prices, declining prices of the price of primary goods, and increasing difficulty in meeting the costs of maintaining public services and patronage-based political relations. Both relied on international loans to mitigate these challenges. With this, the interests and guidance of donors had to be contended with in subsequent decisions. This lecture traces how international pressures intersected with domestic politics in both countries in the 1980s and 1990s, leading to similar shifts back to multi-party electoral politics. It questions the nature and effects of international engagement in both countries, and asks students to consider the extent to which particularities from independence continue to be reflected in the shifts to multi-party elections. To what extent does this shift towards 'democratisation' constitute a moment of change in the nature of governance in both countries?

This lecture considers different ways that scholars approach the nature and challenges of democracy and authoritarianism in African politics, questioning the usefulness of western ideas, indicators and experiences of democracy in understanding the nature of politics on the continent. It looks at democratic structures and how they have evolved, and how elite competition, relations and political settlements help to make sense of forms of populism, democracy and authoritarianism unfolding in the two countries over time.

Stephen Ndegwa's article interrogates the return to multi-party elections in Kenya, considering how ethnic forms of belonging shaped this transition. Mueller's article also reflects on the nature of multi-party elections held in Kenya in the 1990s, painting a critical picture of the extent they represent stable and democratic political competition, while Brechenmacher and Sambuli consider the most recent elections in Kenya. Cheeseman et al (2021) looks at the roots of democracy and repression in Tanzania.

## Core readings

**Kanyinga, Karuti and Okello, Duncan. (2010). *Tensions and reversals in democratic transitions.* Society for International Development (SID) and Institute for Development Studies (IDS), University of Nairobi. **Chapter 1.**

**Ndegwa, Stephen N. (1997). Citizenship and ethnicity: an examination of two transition moments in Kenyan politics. *American Political Science Review,* 599–616.

**Brechenmacher, Saskia, and Sambuli, Nanjira. (2022). The Specter of Politics as Usual in Kenya's 2022 Election. Carnegie Endowment.

**Cheeseman, N., Matfess, H., and Amani, A. (2021). Tanzania: the roots of repression. *Journal of Democracy*, 32(2): 77-89.

## Additional readings

**Kenya**

Murunga, Godwin R., and Nasong'o, Shadrack Wanjala. (2007). *Kenya: The Struggle for Democracy*. Dakar and London: Codesria and Zed Books.

Mueller, Susanne D. (2011). Dying to win: Elections, political violence, and institutional decay in Kenya. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, *29*(1): 99-117.

Cheeseman, N., Lynch, G., and Willis, J. (2021). The moral economy of elections in Africa: Democracy, voting and virtue. *Cambridge University Press*.

Oloo, Adams. (202). The weaknesses of political parties. In Nic Cheeseman, Karuti Kanyinga, and Gabrielle Lynch (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Kenyan Politics* https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198815693.013.24

Ajulu, R. (2000). Thinking through the crisis of democratisation in Kenya: a response to Adar and Murunga. *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, 133-157.

Atieno-Odhiambo, Elisha S. (2002). Hegemonic enterprises and instrumentalities of survival: Ethnicity and democracy in Kenya. *African Studies*, *61*(2), 223–249

Throup, David. (1993). Elections and political legitimacy in Kenya. *Africa* 63, 3: 371-396.

Kagwanja, Peter and Southall, Roger. (2009). Introduction – Kenya – A democracy in retreat? *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 27, 3: 259-277.

Branch, Daniel and Cheeseman, Nic. (2009). Democratization, sequencing, and state failure in Africa: Lessons from Kenya. *African Affairs* 108, 430:1-26.

wa Gĩthĩnji, Mwangi, and Holmquist, Frank. (2008). Kenya's hopes and impediments: The anatomy of a crisis of exclusion. *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, 2: 344–358.

Brown, Stephen. (2001). Authoritarian leaders and multiparty elections in Africa: How foreign donors help to keep Kenya's Daniel arap Moi in power. *Third World Quarterly*, *22*(5): 725-739.

**Tanzania**

Kelsall, Tim. (2003). "Governance, democracy and recent political struggles in Mainland Tanzania." *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 41, 2: 55-82.

Roop, S., Tronvoll, K., and Minde, N. (2018). The politics of continuity and collusion in Zanzibar: political reconciliation and the establishment of the Government of National Unity. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 56(2), 245-267.

Collord, M. (2022). Wealth, Power And Institutional Change in Tanzania's Parliament. *African Affairs* 121, 482: 1–28, https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adac008

Paget, D. (2020). Again, making Tanzania great: Magufuli's restorationist developmental nationalism. *Democratization* 27, 7: 1240-1260.

Pedersen, R. H., and Jacob, T. (2019). Political settlement and the politics of legitimation in countries undergoing democratisation: Insights from Tanzania. *ESID Working Paper No 124*. Manchester: Effective States and Inclusive Development Research Centre, The University of Manchester.

Mushi, Samuel S., and Mukandala, Rwekaza S. (1997). *Multiparty Democracy in Transition: Tanzania's 1995 General Elections.* Dar es Salaam.

Kelsall, Tim. (2000). Governance, Local Politics and Districtization in Tanzania: The 1998 Arumeru Tax Revolt. *African Affairs* 99, 397: 533-551.

Rugumamu, Séverine M. (1997). *Lethal Aid: The Illusion of Socialism and Self-Reliance in Tanzania*. Trenton, NJ. See **Chapter 3** for an overview of aid and development within Tanzania's political economy.

Vener, Jessica I. (2000). Prompting democratic transitions from abroad: International donors and multi-partyism in Tanzania. *Democratization* 7, 4: 133-162.

Whitehead, Richard. (2012). Historical legacies, clientelism and the capacity to fight: exploring pathways to regime tenure in Tanzania. *Democratization* 19, 6: 1086-1116.

Hyden, Gorën. (1999). Top-down democratization in Tanzania. *Journal of Democracy* 10, 4: 142-155.

# Lecture 5: Politics beyond the state: participation and protest on and offline

This lecture looks at politics outside of the state in Kenya and Tanzania. In particular it explores issues of political inclusion and exclusion, and agency of the large youth populations in both countries. 75% of Kenya's population is under 35 years, but the share of young people (18-35 years) who have registered to vote is falling. Tanzania has a similarly young population, with approx. 44% under 15 years, and 35% between 15 and 35 years. Issues of young people's exclusion from and apathy towards politics were also raised around Tanzania's latest elections.

At the same time, issues of corruption, rising food prices and unemployment implicate the young and future generations. This lecture explores scholarship that looks at politics from the perspective of everyday life, popular culture and young people. It contrasts elite level and electoral politics and participation in contemporary Kenya and Tanzania, with politics through popular culture and social media.

Recent elections in both countries have been contentious, and marred by allegations of corruption and unrest. In Tanzania, the otherwise peaceful election of John Magufuli with the incumbent CCM party in 2015 was met with opposition and unrest in Zanzibar, playing into a much longer standing regional divide in the country. In Kenya, constant fears of continued ethnic and regional grievances, as well as electoral corruption mar each election, particularly since the 2007-2008 contested results and widespread post-election violence.

Electoral corruption and controversies contrast with vibrant forms of everyday political participation through song, humour and social media. There are rich histories of satire and comedy as sources of political critique. Political debates have extended into popular music, from subversive ideas published through lyrics and song to being actively utilised and sponsored by elites competing for political authority. Now, also, increasingly people are making use of social media and mobile phones

in political debate. Both media have been rapidly growing in access and use since the early 2000s across the continent, notably in Kenya.

This lecture poses the question, are political debates through music, social media, and comedy evidence of an alternative basis of democratic citizen participation outside of elections? How, and to what extent, might we consider either country to be democratising, when we weigh electoral politics with these everyday forms of political engagement and interest?

## Core Readings

**Musila, Grace. (2010). The 'Redykyulass Generation'S' Intellectual Interventions in Kenyan Public Life. *Young* 18, no. 3: 279-99.

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**Tully, Melissa, and Ekdale, Brian. (2014). Sites of playful engagement: Twitter hashtags as spaces of leisure and development in Kenya. *Information Technologies & International Development* 10, 3: 67-82.

** Mshai, Mwangola. (2007). Leaders of tomorrow? The Youth and Democratisation in Kenya. In Murunga, Godwin R. and Nasong'o, Shadrick W. (Eds). *Kenya: The struggle for Democracy*. CODESRIA. **Pages 129-163.**

**Sanga, D. N. (2022). Songs as Tanzanian Youths' Third Space for Political Participation. In *Indigenous African Popular Music*, Volume 2. Palgrave Macmillan. **Pages 311-326.**

## Additional readings

**Kenya**

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Cheeseman, Nic, Lynch, Gabrielle, and Willis, Justin. (2016). Decentralisation in Kenya: the governance of governors. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 54, 1: 1-35.

Nyabola, N. (2018). *Digital democracy, analogue politics: How the Internet era is transforming politics in Kenya*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

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Ogola, George. (2005). Confronting and performing power: Memory, popular imagination and a "popular" Kenyan newspaper serial. *African Studies* 64, 1: 73-85.

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Goldstein, J., & Rotich, J. (2008). Digitally networked technology in Kenya's 2007-2008 post-election crisis (2008-09). Cambridge, MA: Berkman Center for Internet and Society, Harvard University.

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**Tanzania**

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Killian, B. (2008). The state and identity politics in Zanzibar: Challenges to democratic consolidation in Tanzania. *African Identities* 6, 2: 99-125.

Brown, Andrea. (2010). Political Tensions in Zanzibar: Echoes from the Revolution? *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, 30, 3-4: 615-633.

Edmondson, Laura. (2007). *Performance and Politics: The Nation on Stage.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

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Kelsall, Tim. (2002). Shop Windows and Smoke-filled Rooms: Governance and the Re-Politicisation of Tanzania. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 40, 4: 597-619.

Ivaska, A. (2011). *Cultured States: Youth, gender, and modern style in 1960s Dar es Salaam*. Duke University Press.

Burgess, Thomas. (2005). Imagined generations: Constructing youth in revolutionary Zanzibar. In Abbink, J. and van Kessel, I. (Eds). *Vanguard or Vandals Youth, Politics, and Conflict in Africa*. Leiden: Brill.

# Lecture 6: Kenya, Tanzania and contemporary global issues

This lecture situates Kenya and Tanzania within global politics, and looks at some key, current global issues from the perspective of these two countries. The previous lectures have built up a picture of the political histories of the two countries, and how they have diverged and converged around questions of state building, democracy/democratisation and popular politics. The role of international institutions and international relations has been woven through their experiences, from the history and legacies of colonialism, to pressures around economic and political liberalisation.

This lecture will start with a reminder and overview of themes around the positioning of Kenya and Tanzania within international institutions and relations. This will help to frame an interrogation of contemporary issues, including: the rise of the BRICS and relations specifically with China and Russia; COVID-19; and Climate crises. It will consider why and how the two countries have diverged in response to these issues, and what light this sheds on the negotiation of political power domestically and its intersection with global relations.

**Questions to guide the lecture and readings:**

- What past dynamics are visible in how the two countries are positioned within contemporary events? What changes have taken place?
- How do global issues look differently from Kenya and Tanzania, and their similarities and differences?
- What insights does a global and contemporary perspective bring to citizen-state relations, and the nature of power and democracy in the two countries?

## Core Readings

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**Makinda, Samuel M. (2020). The rise of China in Kenya's foreign relations. In Nic Cheeseman, Karuti Kanyinga, and Gabrielle Lynch (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Kenyan Politics*. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198815693.013.42

** Smucker, Thomas A., Ben Wisner, et al. (2015). Differentiated Livelihoods, Local Institutions, and the Adaptation Imperative: Assessing Climate Change Adaptation Policy in Tanzania. *Geoforum* 59:39–50. doi: 10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.11.018.

**Oando, S., and Achieng', S. (2021). An indigenous African framework for counterterrorism: decolonising Kenya's approach to countering "Al-Shabaab-ism. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 14, 3: 354-377.

## Additional Readings

### COVID

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Patterson, A. S. (2022). *The Tanzanian state response to COVID-19: Why low capacity, discursive legitimacy, and twilight authority matter* (No. 2022/34). WIDER Working Paper.

**BRICS**

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Procopio, M. (2018). Kenyan agency in Kenya–China relations: Contestation, cooperation and passivity (pp. 173-188). In Alden, C., & Large, D. (Eds.). *New directions in Africa-China studies*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Basu, P. and Janiec, M. (2021). Kenya's regional ambitions or China's Belt-and-Road? News media representations of the Mombasa-Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 42: 45-64. https://doi.org/10.1111/sjtg.12350

Kachur, D. (2021). Russia's Resurgent Interest in Africa: The Cases of Zambia and Tanzania. Special Report. *South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA).* Accessed via AfricaPortal: https://www.africaportal.org/publications/russias-resurgent-interest-africa-cases-zambia-and-tanzania/

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Kimari, Wangui. (2021). 'Under Construction': Everyday Anxieties and the Proliferating Social Meanings of China in Kenya. *Africa* 91, 1: 135-52.

**Climate**

Mbaria, John, and Ogada, Mordecai. (2016). *The Big Conservation Lie: The Untold Story of Wildlife Conservation in Kenya*. Lens & Pens Publishing.

The Elephant. (2019). *Decolonising Conservation: It Is About the Land, Stupid!* Access at: https://www.theelephant.info/culture/2019/06/27/decolonising-conservation-it-is-about-the-land-stupid/

Lind, J., Okenwa, D., and Scoones, I. (Eds.). (2020). *Land, Investment & Politics: Reconfiguring Eastern Africa's Pastoral Drylands*. Boydell & Brewer. **Introduction, pp. 1-32**.

Sheridan, Michael J. (2012). Global warming and global war: Tanzanian farmers' discourse on climate and political disorder. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 6:2, 230-245, DOI: 10.1080/17531055.2012.669572

Bluwstein, Jevgeniy. Decolonising Conservation Science and Practice in Tanzania. *Conservation and Society*, 19, no. 2, Apr.-June 2021, p. 130. (book review - also can look to the full book if interested)

Goldman, M. J., Turner, M. D., Daly, M. (2018). A critical political ecology of human dimensions of climate change: Epistemology, ontology, and ethics. Wires Climate Change 9:e526. https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.526 - *more of a theoretical framing than an empirical piece.*

**International institutions and relations**

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