

# PO2D1-30 Politics in Eastern Africa

**23/24**

**Department**

Politics & International Studies

**Level**

Undergraduate Level 2

**Module leader**

Gabrielle Lynch

**Credit value**

30

**Assessment**

100% coursework

**Study location**

University of Warwick main campus, Coventry

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## Description

### Introductory description

The module would offer historical, theoretical and comparative perspectives on the politics of eastern Africa (and in particular Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda). The course will seek to address some of the 'big questions' regarding the nature of the post-colonial state in the region, the relationship between state and society, the political and socio-economic impact of international aid/interventions, the causes and level of democratisation, and political economy of crises such as famine and AIDS. Students should acquire an overview of key themes, but also be able to analyse debates with respect to individual country case studies.

NB: A number of important topics – such as the Rwandan genocide, civil war etc – are not covered to minimise overlap with PO390: Violence and Reconciliation in Eastern Africa.

### Module aims

The module aims to offer students theoretical, empirical and comparative perspectives on politics in Eastern Africa.

### Outline syllabus

This is an indicative module outline only to give an indication of the sort of topics that may be covered. Actual sessions held may differ.

1. Introduction

2. Nature of the colonial state
3. Colonialism and the invention of tribe
4. One-party states
5. Military coups and regimes
6. Reading week
7. Neo-patrimonialism and personal rule
8. Donors and development
9. Democratisation
10. Liberation movements and their legacies
11. Multi-party politics & the “menu of manipulation”
12. Turnout and voting patterns: Elections as an ethnic census?
13. Corruption
14. Civil society
15. Religion and neo-Pentecostalism
16. Reading week
17. Women in parliament
18. The politics of famine
19. China in East Africa
20. The war on terror

## **Learning outcomes**

By the end of the module, students should be able to:

- Understand and apply different theories to the East African context.
- Develop your reading comprehension through an engagement with core texts
- Develop an argument using a range of sources, including secondary literature, newspaper articles, and government and non-government reports
- Develop your academic writing skills through the preparation of summative assessments
- Develop an ability to write analytically for a non-academic audience through the writing of an opinion piece or blog
- Develop your group working skills through seminar discussions

## **Indicative reading list**

## 1. Illustrative Bibliography

NB: This is a NOT a comprehensive reading list and the final reading list will include more East African voices. This will include academic books and journal articles (including some of those listed below) as well as newspaper articles, blogs, songs and poems.

### 1. Introduction

- Allen, C. (1995) Understanding African politics. *Review of African Political Economy* 65: 301-320
- Mamdani, M. (1997) *Citizen and subject: Decentralized despotism and the legacy of late colonialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Mbembe, A. (2001) *On the postcolony*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- wa Thiong'o, N. (1982) *Devil on the Cross*

### 2. Nature of the colonial state

- Berman, B. (1990) *Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya: The Dialectic of Domination*. Oxford: James Currey. (Particularly the Introduction)
- Branch, D. & N. Cheeseman (2006) *The Politics of Control in Kenya: Understanding the Bureaucratic-Executive State*. *Review of African Political Economy* 33 (107): 11-31
- Fanon, F. (1965) *The wretched of the earth*
- Lonsdale, J. & B. Berman (1979) *Coping with the contradictions: the development of the colonial state in Kenya*. *Journal of African History* 20 (4): 487-505
- Mamdani, M. (1997) *Citizen and subject: Decentralized despotism and the legacy of late colonialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (chapters 2 & 3)
- Samatar, A. I. 1992. *Destruction of state and society in Somalia: Beyond the tribal convention*. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 30(4): 625-641.

### 3. Colonialism and the invention of "tribe"

- Africa Action, *Talking about "Tribe" - Moving from Stereotypes to Analysis*
- Ake, C. 1993. "What is the Problem of Ethnicity in Africa." *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*. 22: 1-14
- Berman, B. (1998) *Politics of Uncivil Nationalism: Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State*. *African Affairs* 97: 305-341
- Ekeh, P. (1975) *Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement*. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17: 91-112
- Ekeh, P.P. 1990. "Social Anthropology and Two Contrasting Uses of Tribalism in Africa." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32(04): 660-700.
- Ilfie, J. (1979) *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 10)
- Lonsdale, J. (1994) *Moral Ethnicity and Political Tribalism*. In P. Kaarsholm and J. Huttin (eds) *Inventions and Boundaries*. Roskilde: Roskilde University
- Lynch, G. (2006) *Negotiating Ethnicity: Identity Politics in Contemporary Kenya*. *Review of African Political Economy* 33 (107): 49-65
- Lynch, G. (2011) *I say to you: Ethnic politics and the Kalenjin in Kenya*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (Introduction)
- Mafeje, A. (1971) *The Ideology of 'Tribalism*. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 9 (2): 253-261
- Mamdani, M. (1996) *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late*

Colonialism. London: James Currey. (Conclusions)

Mahmood, M. 2001. "Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43(4): 651–64

Ranger, T. (1983; 1992) *The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa*. In E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds) *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Ranger, T. (1993) *The Invention of Tradition Revisited*. In T. Ranger & O. Vaughan (eds) *Legitimacy and the State in Twentieth Century Africa*. Basingstoke: Macmillan

Southall, A. (1970) *The Illusion of Tribe*. In P. Gutkind (ed.) *The Passing of Tribal Man in Africa*. Leiden: Brill

Spear, Thomas. "Neo-traditionalism and the limits of invention in British colonial Africa." *The Journal of African History* 44.01 (2003): 3-27

#### 4. One-party states

Case studies - Kenya:

Anyang' Nyong'o, P. (1989) *State and Society in Kenya: The Disintegration of the Nationalist Coalitions and the Rise of Presidential Authoritarianism, 1963-78*. *African Affairs* 88 (351): 229-251

Atieno-Odhiambo, E. S. (1987) *The ideology of order*. In Michael Schatzberg (ed) *The Political Economy of Kenya*. New York, NY: Praeger Publishers.

Barkan, J. & J. Okumu (1978) 'Semi-competitive' Elections, Clientelism, and Political Recruitment in a No-party State: The Kenyan Experience. In G. Hermet, R. Rose & A. Rouquie (eds) *Elections without Choice*. London: Macmillan Press

Barkan, J.D. & J. Okumu (1978) 'Semi-competitive elections', clientelism, and political recruitment in a no-party state: the Kenyan experience. In *Elections without choice*, edited by G. Hermet, R. Rose and A. Rouqui e. London: Macmillan

Hyden, G. and C. Leys (1972) *Elections and Politics in Single-Party states: the case of Kenya and Tanzania*. *British Journal of Political Science* 1(2): 389-420

Mboya, T., 1970. *The challenge of nationhood: a collection of speeches and writings*

Mueller, S. (1984) *Government and Opposition in Kenya, 1966-9*. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 22 (3): 399-427

Muigai, G. (2003) *Jomo Kenyatta and the Rise of the Ethno-Nationalist State in Kenya*. In B. Berman, D. Eyoh & W. Kymlicka (eds) *Ethnicity and democracy in Africa*. Oxford: James Currey

Odinga, O. (1967) *Not Yet Uhuru: The Autobiography of Oginga Odinga*.

Tamarkin, M. (1978) *The Roots of Political Stability in Kenya*. *African Affairs* 77 (308): 297-320

Throup, D. (1987) *The Construction and Destruction of the Kenyatta State*. In M. Schatzberg (ed.) *The Political Economy of Kenya*. London: Praeger

Widner, J. (1992) *Rise of a Party-State in Kenya: From Harambee! To Nyayo!* California: University of California Press

Tanzania:

Baregu, Mwesiga. "The rise and fall of the one-party state in Tanzania." *Economic change and political liberalization in sub-saharan Africa* (1994): 158-81

Barkan, J. (ed.) (1994) *Beyond Capitalism vs. Socialism in Kenya and Tanzania*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers

Bienen, H. (1967) *The ruling party in the African one-party state: TANU in Tanzania*. *Journal of*

Commonwealth Political Studies 5 (3): 214-230

Cliffe, L. (1967) One party democracy: the 1965 Tanzania general elections. Nairobi: East African Publishing House

Hayward, F. M. (1987) Elections in independent Africa. Boulder: Westview Press. (Chapter on Tanzania)

Hyden, G. & C. Leys (1972) Elections and Politics in single-party states: the case of Kenya and Tanzania. *British Journal of Political Science* 2 (4): 389-420.

Iliffe, J. (1979) A Modern History of Tanganyika. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 16)

Mc Auslan, J. & Y. Ghai (1966) Constitutional Innovation and Political Stability in Tanzania: a preliminary assessment. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 4 (4): 479-515

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

Nyerere, J. K. (1967) Democracy and the Party System. In J. K. Nyerere (ed) *Freedom and unity = Uhuru na umoja : a selection from writings and speeches, 1952-65*. London: Oxford University Press

### 1. Military coups and regimes

Beckman, B. (1987) The Military as Revolutionary Vanguard. *Review of African Political Economy* 37: 50-62

Bienen, H. (1985) Populist Military Regimes in Africa. *Armed Forces and Society* 11(3): 357-377

Brett, E. (1995) Neutralising the use of force in Uganda: role of the military in politics. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 33(1): 129-152

Clark, J. F. (2007) The decline of the military coup. *Journal of Democracy* 18 (3): 141-155

Crocker, Chester A. "Military dependence: The colonial legacy in Africa." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 12.02 (1974): 265-286

Decalo, S. (1973) Military coups and military regimes in Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 11: 105-127

Jackman, R. (1986) Explaining African Coups d'Etat. *American Political Science Review* 80 (1)

Jenkins, J. C. (1990) Explaining military coups d'etat: Black Africa, 1957-1984. *American Sociological Review* 55 (6)

Jenkins, J. C. and Kposowa, A. (1992) The political origins of African military coups: ethnic competition, military centrality and the struggle over the post-colonial state. *International Studies Quarterly* 36 (3)

Johnson, T., Slater, R. and McGowan, P. (1984) Explaining African Military Coups d'Etat. *American Political Science Review* 78: 622-640.

Luckham, R. (1994) The military, militarization, and democratization in Africa: A survey of literature and issues. *African Studies Quarterly* 37 (2): 13-75

McGowan, P. & T. H. Johnson (1984) African military coups d'etat and underdevelopment: A quantitative historical analysis. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 22: 633-66

McGowan, P. (2003) African military coups d'etat, 1956-2001: frequency, trends and distribution. *Journal of Modern African Studies*

Mwenda, A. and R. Tangri. 2003. "Military Corruption & Ugandan Politics since the late 1990s" in *Review of African Political Economy*, 30:98, pp. 539-552

### 2. Reading week

### 3. Neo-patrimonialism

- Bach, D. (2011) Patrimonialism & neopatrimonialism: comparative trajectories and readings, *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 49(3), 275-294
- Bayart, J-F. (1993) *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*. London: Longman (Chapter 9)
- Berman, B. (1998) Ethnicity, patronage, and the African state. *African Affairs* 97: 305-341
- Booth, D. & F. Golooba-Mutebi (2012) Developmental Patrimonialism? The Case of Rwanda. *African Affairs* 111:444, 379 –403
- Bratton, M. & N. van de Walle (1997) *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 2)
- Ekeh, P. (1975) Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17: 91-112
- Mkandawire, T. (2013) Neopatrimonialism and the political economy of economic performance in Africa: Critical reflections. *World Politics* 67(3): 563-612
- Pitcher, Anne, Mary H. Moran, and Michael Johnston. "Rethinking patrimonialism and neopatrimonialism in Africa." *African Studies Review* 52.1 (2009): 125-156
- Posner, D. & D. Young (2007) The institutionalization of political power in Africa. *Journal of Democracy* 18 (3): 126-140
- Wai, Z. (2012) Neo-patrimonialism and the discourse of state failure in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy* 39 (131): 27-44

### 4. Donors and development

- Arrighi, G. (2002) The African crisis. World systemic and regional aspects. *New Left Review*, 15: 5-36
- Bangura, Y. (1995) Perspectives on the politics of structural adjustment, informalisation and political change in Africa. In T. Mkandawire & A. Olukoshi (eds) *Between Liberalisation and Oppression*. Dakar: Codesria
- Bracking, S. (1999) Structural adjustment: why it wasn't necessary and why it did work. *Review of African Political Economy* 26 (80): 207-26
- Lugalla, J. (1995) The impact of SAPs on women's and children's health in Tanzania. *Review of African Political Economy* 22 (63): 43-53
- Mamdani, M. (1990) Uganda - contradictions of the IMF programme and perspective. *Development and Change* 21 (3): 427-467
- Parfitt, T. (1990) Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics: The World Bank/ECA structural adjustment controversy. *Review of African Political Economy* 47: 128-141
- van de Walle, N. (2001) *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 1, 2 & 7)
- Williams, G. (1994) Why structural adjustment is necessary and why it doesn't work. *Review of African Political Economy* 60: 214-25
- World Bank (1981) *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington: World Bank
- World Bank (1989) *Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth*. Washington: World Bank
- World Bank (1994) *Adjustment in Africa: Reforms, Results and the Road Ahead*. Washington: World Bank

### 5. Democratisation

Ake, C. 2000. *The Feasibility of Democracy in Africa*. African Books Collective

Baylies, C. (1995) Political conditionality and democratisation in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy* 22 (65): 321-357

Bratton, M. & N. van de Walle (1992) Popular protest and political reform in Africa. *Comparative Politics* 24 (4)

Bratton, M. and N. van de Walle (1994) Neo-patrimonial regimes and political transitions in Africa. *World Politics* 46 (4): 453-489

Hyden, G. (1999) Top-down democratization in Tanzania. *Journal of Democracy* 10 (4)

Makara, S., L. Rakner & L. Svåsand (2009) Turnaround: The National Resistance Movement and the reintroduction of a multiparty system in Uganda. *International Political Science Review* 30 (2): 185-204

Ngasongwa, J. (1992) Tanzania introduces a multi-party system. *Review of African Political Economy* 19 (54): 112-116

Olukoshi, A. (ed.) (1998) *The Politics of Opposition in Africa*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet

Throup, D. (2019) The etat c'est Moi. In N. Cheeseman, K. Karuti and G. Lynch (eds) *Oxford Handbook of Kenyan politics*. Oxford: OUP

#### 6. Liberation movements and their legacy

Beresford, A., Berry, M. E., & Mann, L. (2018). Liberation movements and stalled democratic transitions: reproducing power in Rwanda and South Africa through productive liminality. *Democratization*, 1-20.

Dorman, S. R. (2006). Post-liberation politics in Africa: Examining the political legacy of struggle. *Third World Quarterly*, 27(6), 1085-1101.

Matfess, H. (2015). Rwanda and Ethiopia: Developmental authoritarianism and the new politics of African strong men. *African Studies Review*, 58(2), 181-204.

Mohamed Salih, M. A. (2007). African liberation movement governments and democracy. *Democratization*, 14(4), 669-685.

Reyntjens, F. (2006). Post-1994 Politics in Rwanda: problematising 'liberation' and 'democratisation'. *Third World Quarterly*, 27(6), 1103-1117.

Tripp, A. M. (2004). The changing face of authoritarianism in Africa: The case of Uganda. *Africa Today*, 3-26.

#### 7. Multi-party politics and the "menu of manipulation":

Adebanwi, Wale, and Ebenezer Obadare (2011) "The Abrogation of the Electorate: An Emergent African Phenomenon". *Democratization* 18, (2): 275–310.

Barkan, J. D. (2008) Legislatures on the rise? *Journal of Democracy* 19 (2): 124-137

Bratton, M. & N. van de Walle (1997) *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 7)

Brown, S. (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): 725-39.

Cheeseman, Nic (2010) "African elections as vehicles for change." *Journal of Democracy* 21 (4): 139-153

Cheeseman, Nic & Brian Klaas (2018) *How to Rig an Election*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Levitsky, S. & L. Way (2002) The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism. *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2): 51-65

Lindberg, S. (2006) The Surprising Significance of African Elections. *Journal of Democracy* 17 (1): 121.

Lynch, G. G. Crawford (2011) Democratization in Africa 1990-2010 – an assessment. *Democratization* 18 (2): 275-310

Monga, C. (1997) Eight problems with African politics. *Journal of Democracy* 8 (3): 156-170

Murunga, G. 2002. "A Critical Look at Kenya's Non-transition to Democracy." *Journal of Third World Studies*.19(2): 89

Mwenda, A.M. & R. Tangri (2005) Patronage Politics, Donor Reforms, and Regime Consolidation in Uganda. *African Affairs* 104: (416): 449-467

Mwenda, A. (2007) Personalizing power in Uganda. *Journal of Democracy* 18: 23-37

Ndegwa, Stephen N. 2003. "Kenya: Third Time Lucky?." *Journal of Democracy*. 14(3): 145-158.

Osaghae, Eghosa (1999) "Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa: Faltering Prospects, New Hopes". *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 17: 5–28.

Posner, D. & D. Young (2007) The Institutionalization of Political Power in Africa. *Journal of Democracy* 18 (3): 126-140

Prempeh, H. K. 2008. "Presidents Untamed." *Journal of Democracy*.19(2):109-123

Schedler, A. (2002) Elections without Democracy: The Menu of Manipulation. *Journal of Democracy* 13: (2): 36-50.

Schedler, Andreas. "The nested game of democratization by elections." *International Political Science Review* 23.1 (2002): 103-122

Ugochukwu Nwosu B. 2012. 'Tracks of the Third Wave: Democracy Theory, Democratisation and the Dilemma of Political Succession in Africa'. *Review of African Political Economy*. 39(131): 11-25

Van Ham, C. and Steffan I. Lindberg (2018) "Elections: The Power of Elections in Multiparty Africa", in Nic Cheeseman (ed.) *Institutions and Democracy in Africa: How the rules of the game shape political developments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Zakaria, F. (1997) The Rise of Illiberal Democracy. *Foreign Affairs* 76 (6): 22-44

#### 8. Voting patterns: Elections as an ethnic census?

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

Barkan, J. (1976) Comment: Further Reassessment of "Conventional Wisdom": Political Knowledge and Voting Behaviour in Rural Kenya. *American Political Science Review* 70 (2): 452-455

Bratton, M (ed) *Voting and Democratic Citizenship in Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner (esp. Chapter 1 available at: <https://www.riener.com/uploads/50ec61134634c.pdf>)

Conroy-Kratz, Jeffrey & Carolyn Logan (2012) Museveni and the 2011 Ugandan election: Did the money matter? *Journal of Modern African Studies* 50 (4): 625-655

Koter, D. (2019) *Ethnic Politics*. In G. Lynch & P. Von Doepp (eds) *Democratization in Africa*. Abingdon: Routledge

Long, J. (2019) *Voting Behaviour*. In G. Lynch & P. Von Doepp (eds) *Democratization in Africa*. Abingdon: Routledge

Lynch, G. (2008) Courting the Kalenjin: The Failure of Dynasticism and the Strength of the ODM Wave in Kenya's Rift Valley Province. *African Affairs* 107 (429): 541-568

Lynch, G. (2011) *I say to you: Ethnic politics and the Kalenjin in Kenya*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (Introduction)



Lynch, G. (2014) Electing the “Alliance of the Accused”: The success of the Jubilee Alliance in Kenya’s Rift Valley Province. *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8 (1): 93-114

Melson, R. & H. Wolpe (1970) Modernization and the Politics of Communalism: A Theoretical Perspective. *American Political Science Review*, 64: 4

Oloo, A. (2000) “From FORD-K to NDP: Political Mobilization in Luoland.” *L’Afrique Orientale*: 351–94.

Oloo, A. (2001) “Patronising the Incumbent: Kalenjin Unity in the 1997 Kenya General Elections.” In *Out for the Count: The 1997 General Elections and Prospects for Democracy in Kenya*, edited by M. Rutten, A. Mazrui, and F. Grignon. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

Posner, D. (2005) *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## 9. Corruption

Bachelard, J. (2010) The Anglo-Leasing Corruption Scandal in Kenya: The Politics of International and Domestic Pressures and Counter-Pressures. *Review of African Political Economy* 37 (124): 187-200

Bayart, J-F., S. Ellis & B. Hibou (1999) *The Criminalisation of the State in Africa*. London: James Currey

Chabal, P. & J-P Daloz (1999) *Africa Works: Disorder as a political instrument*. London: James Currey

D’Arcy, M. & A. Cornell (2016) Devolution and corruption in Kenya: Everyone’s turn to eat? *African Affairs* 115 (459): 246-273

De Sardan, J. (1999) A Moral Economy of Corruption in Africa? *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37 (1): 25-52

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

Githongo, J. (2019) Corruption. In N. Cheeseman, G. Lynch & K. Kanyinga (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Kenyan Politics*. Oxford: OUP

Gray, H. (2015) The political economy of grand corruption in Tanzania. *African Affairs* 114 (456): 382-403

Harrington, J. & A. Manji (2012) Satire and the Politics of Corruption in Africa. *Socio & Legal Studies*: 1-21

Mwenda, A. & R. Tangri (2001) Corruption and cronyism in Uganda’s privatization in the 1990s. *African Affairs* 100: 117-33

Mwenda, A. & R. Tangri (2005) Patronage politics, donor reforms, and regime consolidation in Uganda. *African Affairs* 104 (416): 449-467

Szetel, M. (1998) Misunderstanding African politics: corruption and the governance agenda. *Review of African Political Economy* 25 (76): 221-40

Szeftel, M. (2000) Between governance and underdevelopment: accumulation and Africa’s ‘catastrophic’ corruption. *Review of African Political Economy* 27 (84): 287-306

Tangri, R. & A. Mwenda (2003) Military corruption and Ugandan politics since the late 1990s. *Review of African Political Economy* 30 (98): 539-552

Tangri, R., and A. M. Mwenda. 2006. Politics, Donors and the Ineffectiveness of Anti-corruption Institutions in Uganda. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 44(01): 101-124

## 10. Civil society

Bayart, J. F. (2000) Africa in the world: a history of extraversion. *African Affairs* 99(395): 217-

- Beckman, B. (1993) The liberation of civil society: neo-liberal ideology and political theory. *Review of African Political Economy* 58: 20-33
- Bratton, Michael. "Beyond the state: Civil society and associational life in Africa." *World Politics* 41.03 (1989): 407-430
- Bratton, M. & N. van de Walle (1992) Popular protest and political reform in Africa. *Comparative Politics* 24 (4): 419-442
- Fatton, R. (1992) *Predatory rule: state and civil society in Africa*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner
- Fatton, R. (1995) Africa in the age of democratization: The civil limitations of civil society. *African Studies Review* 38(2): 67-100
- Fatton, R. (1999) Civil society revisited: Africa in the new millennium. *West Africa Review* 1 (1): 1-18
- Gyimah-Boadi. E. 1996. 'Civil Society in Africa'. *Journal of Democracy*. 7(2): 118-32.
- Hearn, J. (2001) The 'uses and abuses' of civil society in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy* 28 (87): 43-53
- Hearn, J. (2007) African NGOs: The New Compradors? *Development and Change* 38: 1095 – 110.
- Lemarchand, R. (1992) *Uncivil States and Civil Societies: How Illusion Became Reality*. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 30 (2): 177-191
- Mamdani, M. (1995) *A Critique of the State and Civil Society Paradigm in Africanist Studies*. In Mamdani, M. & E. Wamba-dia-Wamba (eds) *African Studies in Social Movements and Democracy*. Dakar: CODESRIA
- Mercer, C. (2002). NGOs, civil society and democratization: a critical review of the literature. *Progress in development studies*, 2(1), 5-22.
- Murunga, G.R. 2000. "Civil Society and the Democratic Experience in Kenya." *African Sociological Review/Revue Africaine de Sociologie*.4(1): 97-118
- Oloka-Onyango, J., and J.J. Barya. 1997. *Civil Society and the Political Economy of Foreign Aid in Uganda*. *Democratization*. 4(2):113-138
- Orvis, S. (2003) *Kenyan Civil Society: Bridging the Urban-Rural Divide?* *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 41 (2): 247-268

#### 11. Religion and neo-Pentecostalism

- Deacon, G., & Lynch, G. (2013). Allowing Satan in? Moving toward a political economy of neo-Pentecostalism in Kenya. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 43(2), 108-130.
- Deacon, G. (2015). Driving the devil out: Kenya's born-again election. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 45(2), 200-220.
- Gusman, A. (2009). HIV/AIDS, Pentecostal churches, and the "Joseph generation" in Uganda. *Africa Today*, 56(1), 66-86.
- Bompani, B. (2016). 'For god and for my country': Pentecostal-Charismatic churches and the framing of a new political discourse in Uganda. In *Public Religion and the Politics of Homosexuality in Africa* (pp. 31-46). Routledge.
- Nyairo, Joyce (2015) *The circus comes to town: Performance, religion and exchange in political party campaigns*. In K. Njogu & P. W. Wekesa (eds) *Kenya's 2013 Election: Stakes, Practices and Outcomes*. Nairobi: Twaweza Communications Ltd.
- Parikh, S. A. (2007). The political economy of marriage and HIV: the ABC approach, "safe" infidelity, and managing moral risk in Uganda. *American journal of public health*, 97(7), 1198-

1208.

Oliver, M. (2013). Transnational sex politics, conservative Christianity, and antigay activism in Uganda. *Studies in Social Justice*, 7(1), 83-105.

## 12. Reading week

## 13. Women in parliament

Burnet, J. E. (2008) Gender balance and the meanings of women in governance in post-genocide Rwanda. *African Affairs* 107 (428): 361-386

Burnet, J. E. (2011) Women Have Found Respect: Gender Quotas, Symbolic Representation, and Female Empowerment in Rwanda. *Politics & Gender* 7(3)

Mitullah, Winnie (2019) Gender mainstreaming and the campaign for equality. In N. Cheeseman, K. Kanyinga & G. Lynch (eds) *Oxford Handbook of Kenyan Politics*. Oxford: OUP

Muriaas, R. L. & V. Wang (2012) Executive dominance and the politics of quota representation in Uganda. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 50 (1): 75-102

Refki, D. et al (2017) Erosion and transformation in the ecology of gender: Women's political representation and gender relations in the Ugandan parliament. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 55 (1): 55-78

Tamale, S. (1999) *When hens begin to crow: gender and parliamentary politics in Uganda*. Boulder: Westview Press

Tripp, Aili Mari. "Expanding 'civil society': Women and political space in contemporary Uganda." *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 36.2 (1998): 84-107.

Tripp, Aili. "Women's Movements and Challenges to Neopatrimonial Rule: Preliminary Observations from Africa". *Development and Change* 32,1 (2001), pp. 33-54.

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Tripp, Aili Mari, and Alice Kang. "The global impact of quotas on the fast track to increased female legislative representation." *Comparative Political Studies* 41.3 (2008): 338-361

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## 14. The politics of famine

De Waal, A. (1997). *Famine crimes: politics & the disaster relief industry in Africa*. Indiana University Press.

De Waal, A. (2008). The humanitarian carnival: a celebrity vogue. *World Affairs*, 171(2), 43-55.

Dreze, J., Sen, A., & Hussain, A. (1995). *The political economy of hunger: selected essays*. Oxford University Press.

Keller, E. J. (1992). Drought, war, and the politics of famine in Ethiopia and Eritrea. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 30(4), 609-624.

Müller, T. R. (2013). The Long Shadow of Band Aid Humanitarianism: revisiting the dynamics between famine and celebrity. *Third World Quarterly*, 34(3), 470-484.

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Sen, A. (1976). Famines as failures of exchange entitlements. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1273-1280.  
Sen, A. (1980). Famines. *World Development*, 8(9), 613-621.  
Sen, A. (1981). Ingredients of famine analysis: availability and entitlements. *The quarterly journal of economics*, 96(3), 433-464.

#### 15. China in East Africa

Alden, C. (2007) *China in Africa*. London: Taylor and Francis  
Alden, C., D. Large, R.S. de Oliveira eds. (2008) *China returns to Africa : a rising power and a continent embrace*  
Campbell, H. (2008) China in Africa: Challenging US global hegemony. *Third world quarterly* 29(1): 89-105  
Carmody, P. and Owusu, F.Y. (2007) Competing hegemony? Chinese versus American geo-economic strategies in Africa. *Political geography* 26(5)  
French, H. (2007) Commentary: China and Africa. *African affairs* 106 (422): 127-132  
Large, D. (2008) Beyond 'Dragon in the Bush': The Study of China–Africa Relations. *African affairs* 107(426)  
Mohan G. & G. Lampert (2012) Negotiating China: Reinserting African Agency into China-Africa Relations. *African affairs* 112(446): 92-110  
Mohan, Giles, and Marcus Power. "New African choices? The politics of Chinese engagement." *Review of African Political Economy* 35.115 (2008): 23-42.  
Taylor, I. (2006) China's Oil Diplomacy in Africa. *International affairs* 82(5): 937-959  
Taylor, I. (2007) Governance in Africa and Sino- African Relations: Contradictions or Confluence? *Politics* 27(3): 139-146  
Taylor, I. (2008) Sino-African Relations and the Problem of Human Rights. *African Affairs* 107(426): 63-87

#### 16. The war on terror

Abrahamsen, R. (2005). Blair's Africa: the politics of securitization and fear. *Alternatives* 30(1) 55-80.  
Abrahamsen, R. (2004). A breeding ground for terrorists? Africa & Britain's 'war on terrorism'. *Review of African Political Economy*, 31(102), 677-684.  
Fisher, Jonathan. "Managing donor perceptions: Contextualizing Uganda's 2007 intervention in Somalia." *African Affairs* 111.444 (2012): 404-423  
Fisher, J., & Anderson, D. M. (2015). Authoritarianism and the securitization of development in Africa. *International Affairs*, 91(1), 131-151.  
Mamdani, M. (2010). *Saviors and survivors: Darfur, politics, and the war on terror*. Three Rivers Press.  
Schmidt, E. (2013). *Foreign intervention in Africa: From the cold war to the war on terror (Vol. 7)*. Cambridge University Press.  
Sharp, J. (2011). A subaltern critical geopolitics of the war on terror: Postcolonial security in Tanzania. *Geoforum*, 42(3), 297-305.

### **Subject specific skills**

Develop an understanding of East African history and politics.  
Be able to apply different theories to the East African context.

Be able to compare within and across countries.

Be able to work with peers in seminars.

Be able to develop an argument and to present in academic and non-academic writing.

## Transferable skills

The module provides students with opportunities to acquire or develop the following key skills:

Reading comprehension.

Synthesis of different materials

Critical analysis

Oral presentation

Group working skills

Academic writing

Writing for a non-academic audience

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## Study

### Study time

Type	Required
Lectures	18 sessions of 1 hour (50%)
Seminars	18 sessions of 1 hour (50%)
Total	36 hours

### Private study description

TBC

### Costs

No further costs have been identified for this module.

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## Assessment

You do not need to pass all assessment components to pass the module.

### Assessment group A

	Weighting	Study time
Negotiated essay title. 3000 word essay. Student to negotiate a title that relates to term 1 content.	50%	

	<b>Weighting</b>	<b>Study time</b>
Negotiated essay title. 2500 word essay. Student to negotiate a title that relates to term 2 content.	40%	
Negotiated opinion piece title. A 700 word opinion piece on a contemporary issue for a non-specialist/general audience. Title to be negotiated.	10%	

## **Feedback on assessment**

Students will gain written feedback on their formative essay, and assessed work, and will be able to discuss this with the module leader during advice and feedback hours.

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## **Availability**

### **Courses**

This module is Optional for:

- UPHA-V7ML Undergraduate Philosophy, Politics and Economics
  - Year 2 of V7ML Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Tripartite)
  - Year 2 of V7ML Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Tripartite)
  - Year 2 of V7ML Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Tripartite)
- Year 2 of UPOA-M100 Undergraduate Politics
- UPOA-M16A Undergraduate Politics and International Studies
  - Year 2 of M16A Politics and International Studies
  - Year 2 of M16A Politics and International Studies
  - Year 2 of M16A Politics and International Studies
- UPHA-V7MW Undergraduate Politics, Philosophy and Law
  - Year 2 of V7MW Politics, Philosophy and Law
  - Year 2 of V7MW Politics, Philosophy and Law

This module is Unusual option for:

- UPHA-V7ML Undergraduate Philosophy, Politics and Economics
  - Year 2 of V7MR Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite with Economics Major)
  - Year 2 of V7MP Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite)
  - Year 2 of V7MP Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite)
  - Year 2 of V7ML Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Tripartite)
  - Year 2 of V7ML Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Tripartite)
  - Year 2 of V7ML Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Tripartite)
- UPHA-V7MW Undergraduate Politics, Philosophy and Law
  - Year 2 of V7MW Politics, Philosophy and Law
  - Year 2 of V7MW Politics, Philosophy and Law

This module is Option list A for:

- Year 2 of UPOA-M168 Undergraduate Politics and International Studies with Chinese
- Year 2 of UPOA-ML13 Undergraduate Politics and Sociology
- Year 2 of UPOA-M163 Undergraduate Politics, International Studies and French
- Year 2 of UPOA-M164 Undergraduate Politics, International Studies and German
- Year 2 of UPOA-M166 Undergraduate Politics, International Studies and Hispanic Studies
- Year 2 of UPOA-M165 Undergraduate Politics, International Studies and Italian

This module is Option list B for:

- UPHA-V7ML Undergraduate Philosophy, Politics and Economics
  - Year 2 of V7MP Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite)
  - Year 2 of V7MP Philosophy, Politics and Economics (Bipartite)

This module is Option list D for:

- UHIA-VM11 Undergraduate History and Politics
  - Year 2 of VM11 History and Politics
  - Year 2 of VM11 History and Politics
  - Year 2 of VM11 History and Politics
- Year 2 of UHIA-VM13 Undergraduate History and Politics (with a term in Venice)
- Year 2 of UPHA-V7ML Undergraduate Philosophy, Politics and Economics