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Connaught Houst 604
 Office hours: T, 10-12
 (schedule on LSE for You)

DV435 African Political Economy, MT 2016

Lecture: Tues, 5:00 to 7:00, CLM 5.02 (concurrent with GV335)
 Films (optional), Tues, 7:20 to 9:00 CLM 6.02 (see p. 2)

Seminars 1 and 2:
 Led by CB, Wed. 9:30-11 and 11 to 12:30 in TW1.3.02.

Seminars 3 and 4:
 Led by Naomi Pendle on Th., 1:00 to 2:30 and 2:30 to 4:00 in TW1.1.02
 Naomi's office hrs: Tues. 2:30-4:30 or by appt.

I. Aims of the course

This class is an introduction to the study of contemporary African political economy, with a focus on sub-Saharan Africa. DV435 plus DV418 constitute the core course for the MSc in African Development. Enrolment is not restricted to MSc in African Development students.

The goal of DV435 to set major questions of state, national economy, development in historical, geographic, and international context. Course readings and lectures stress marked unevenness in national and subnational trajectories and in the political-economic character of different African countries, drawing attention to causes of similarity and difference across and within countries. Students completing DV435 will come away with a better understanding of the economic and social underpinnings of order and conflict in African states.

There is a research-driven component to DV435: each student will leverage the secondary literature, grey literature, and other sources to develop particular knowledge of two countries. These will be used as "case studies" in assessed coursework to evaluate general arguments concerning the political economy of Africa, and to compare/contrast the trajectories of different African states. The design of this course component matches the learning aims of the course: to understand the political-economic causes and effects diversity and commonalities over space, time, and institutional scale in African counties.

The course provides an analytical and empirical base for DV418, African Development. DV418, centers on understanding debates that shape economic development strategies and policies. DV418 takes up questions of taxation; savings and investment policy; sectoral issues and debates focused on industry, agriculture, finance, and social policy regimes; and international trade and aid regimes.

II. DV435 Requirements

Assessed Essay. 40% of your final grade is based upon one 2,000 word assessed essay (about 8 double-spaced pages), due at the start of Lent Term. Questions for the assessed essay will be posted on Moodle in week 8 of the course. Written feedback will be provided on the assessed essay -- it will help you prepare for the course exam.

Exam. 60% of the final grade is based upon for one unseen examination (2 hours, 2 questions), taken in the summer term.

Optional formative essay. You are encouraged to write a 1,500 (6 double-spaced pages) formative essay, but this is not a course requirement. The essay should respond to one of the formative essay topics that will be posted on Moodle in week 4 of the course (Oct. 18). The formative essay is due on Friday, Nov. 4. Pls. submit your essay via the course Moodle page. Feedback on this essay will be valuable in preparing for the assessed coursework.

To score above "58" on the assessed essay and exam, students must (a.) show good knowledge of, and cite, a broad cross-section of **required course readings** and (b.) apply general concepts and theories to the analysis of political economic problems in one or two particular countries. (See sample essays and exam questions posted on the course Moodle site.)

Attending weekly lectures and class (seminar) attendance and participation are course requirements. Be sure to participate in class (seminar) each week -- by contributing to discussion, asking a question, or contributing actively in break-out groups (groups of 3-5 students). To prepare for class discussion, prepare answers to questions that appear as weekly assignments on this course syllabus.

Begin by selecting two African countries (from 2 different regions of the continent) that will be the focus of the case study work you will do over the course of the term.

III. Readings

This syllabus outlines required readings by week. These are available via the LSE library as electronic journal articles or e-books, OR in the LSE library course book collection. The syllabus also lists recommended readings which you can draw upon according to your interests.

Books available in the course book collection of LSE library. The first three titles could be worth purchasing (eg. via a seller of used books).

Fred Cooper, *Africa Since 1940* (Cambridge U. Press, 2002)

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa* (Princeton 2000).

Sara Berry, *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Africa* (U. of Wisconsin Press), 1993

Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Africa and the Legacy of late Colonialism* (Princeton 1996).

Boone, Catherine. *Property and Political Order in Africa: Land Rights and the Structure of Politics* (Cambridge University Press), 2014.

Cherry Leonardi, *Dealing with Government in South Sudan: Histories of Chiefship, Community and State* (James Currey, 2013)

Keith Hart, *The Political Economy of West African Agriculture* (Cambridge, 1983).

IV. DV435 Moodle Page.

The course Moodle Page contains electronic copies of this syllabus, other handouts, other resources (such as copies of formative essay, assessed essay, and exam questions from last year), links to lecture recordings (when/if available), and links readings that are available via the LSE library on-line catalogue. A few readings that we are not able to provide via the LSE library may be posted in PDF format on the Moodle page.

V. Films (optional)

All shown on Tuesdays at 7:20 in CLM 6.02.

Oct. 4 *Good Fortune*, by Landon van Soest, 2009)

Oct. 18 *End of Empire: Gold Coast* (BBC, c. 1975)

Oct. 25 *Lumumba*, by Raoul Peck (2000)

Nov. 1 *The Africans: In Search of Stability* (Ali Mazuri, WNET Boston, c. 1989)

Nov. 8 *An African Election* (by Jarreth Merz, 2011)
 Nov. 29 TBA

VI. Two Blogs

An Africanist Perspective. <https://kenopalo.com>
 The Week in Africa. thisweekinafrica.tumblr.com

Week 1. Tues., Sept. 27

History, Geography, and Institutions in the Political Economy of Africa

This lecture critiques some generalizations about African countries that we will break down and evaluate in this course, and introduces alternative political economy arguments that we will develop in DV435. Understanding the causes and effects of patterns of uneven development over time, across countries, and within African countries will be a central theme of the course. Week 1 begins by considering some features of uneven development over time and across countries.

Assignment for class discussion: Some African countries, such as Ghana, are considered to have successful, fast-growing economies, while others, such as Democratic Republic of Congo and Chad, are not. There are also striking contrasts in the political character of African countries, as Cooper argues in Ch. 1 of *Africa Since 1940*. Drawing from this week's readings, identify factors that could explain stark differences in the political and economic trajectories of African countries. How can social science make sense of different, possibly competing arguments about the determinants of these cross-national differences?

Required Readings:

Steven Radelet, "Emerging Africa: How 17 Countries are Leading the Way," Center for Global Development Brief, Sept. 2010 (5 pages).

Morten Jerven, "Africa's Accidental Advancement: How New Statistics Are Boosting the Continent's GDP," *Foreign Affairs* (26 May 2013), 1 page.

Fred Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge 2002), Ch. 1.

United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), *Africa: Atlas of our Changing Environment* (UNEP, 2008), pp. 1-27. (distributed by Earthprint.com, <http://www.earthprint.com>). (Browse)

Recommended Readings:

Colin Leys, "African Economic Development in Theory and Practice," *Daedalus*, vol. 111, n. 2 (Spring), 1982: 99-124.

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson and James A. Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: an Empirical Investigation," *American Economic Review*, vol. 91, n°5, December, pp. 1369-1401.

Crawford Young, *The Postcolonial State in Africa: Fifty Years of Independence* (U. of Wisconsin Press, 2012).

Ian Taylor (2014), *Africa Rising? BRICS – Diversifying Dependency*. Oxford: James Currey.

Niels Fold and Marianne Nylandsted Larsen, eds., *Globalization and Restructuring of African Commodity Flows*, 2008

Morten Jerven, *Poor Numbers: How we are misled by African development statistics and what we can do about it* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell U. Press, 2011).

Week 2, Tues., Oct. 4
The African Growth Debate

Film: *Good Fortune* (Landon van Soest, 2009)

Major lines of debate about the determinants of structure and change in African economies, and analytic tensions in the social sciences, are visible in the "African growth debate." This lecture and set of readings presents some main lines of debate. You will see that this debate revolves around rival descriptions and rival explanations of Africa's economic growth trajectory(ies).

In debates over the causes of growth and economic development, the concept of "institutions" plays a prominent if sometimes amorphous role. We will disentangle some of these meanings in lecture, consider the concept of institutional scale, and see where "policy" and "politics" fits in.

Assignment for class discussion

Some analysts describe "poor economic performance" as episodic (see Mkandawire, see also Ndulu 2008), while others define it as chronic (Bloom, Sachs, et al). What is the source of the difference between these two descriptions of African economic trajectories? What arguments do this week's readings contain about the sources of change over time and cross-national variation in African political economies?

Select two countries from different regions of Africa as the "country case studies" you will develop over the course of the term. Begin to apply the arguments presented this week to these two countries. What can you learn about how geography may shape national development trajectories in these two countries from the UNEP *Africa: Atlas of Our Changing Continent* (2008)? What information about these two countries can be gleaned from the other readings for this week?

Required readings

pp. 207-251 of David E. Bloom, Jeffrey D. Sachs, Paul Collier, Christopher Udry, "Geography, Demography, and Economic Growth in Africa," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, vol. 1988, n. 2 (1998): 207-295. (You may be interested in the comments/debates at the end of the article.)

Morten Jerven, "African Growth Recurring: An Economic History Perspective on African Growth Episodes," *Econ. History of Developing Regions*, 25/2 (2010): 127-154.

Thandika Mkandawire, "Thinking about Developmental States in Africa," *Cambridge J. of Economics*, 25 (2001), pp. 289-313.

Recommended

Benno J. Ndulu, "The Evolution of Global Development Paradigms and their Influence on African Growth [through policy]," in Benno J. Ndulu et al, *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa: 1960-2000*, 2008, pp. 315-345.

Fouad Makki, "Postcolonial Africa and the World Economy: The Long Waves of Uneven Development," *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 21/1 (2014): 124-146.

Celestin Monga and Justin Yifu Lin, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics*, Vol. 2, Policies and Practices (OUP 2015).

Young, Crawford (1994) *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* (Yale U. Press).

Bade Onimode, "Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria," and A. Adu Boahen, "The Colonial Impact," all in Robert O. Collins et al., eds., *Historical Problems of Imperial Africa* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1994, pp. 294-315).

Lovejoy, Paul E. (1989) "The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature." *Journal of African History* 30, 365-394.

Akyüz, Yilmaz and Charles Gore. 2001. "African Economic Development in a Comparative Perspective," *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, vol. 25, n°3, May, pp. 265-288.

Morten Jerven, Yemi Kale, Magnus Ebo Duncan and Moffat Nyoni. 2015. "GDP Revisions and Updating Statistical Systems in Sub-Saharan Africa: Reports from the Statistical Offices in Nigeria, Liberia and Zimbabwe," *J. of Development Studies*, 51/2: 194-207.

Abiodun Alao, *Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa: The Tragedy of Endowment* (University of Rochester Press, 2007).

Week 3. Oct. 11

no film

Colonialism and Colonial States in Africa: Rule and Revenue

Lectures and readings in Week 3 and 4 focus on colonial state formation processes and colonial economies. We study the creation of contemporary African states through the colonial partition of Africa, establishment of colonial states, and the development of internal structures of rule and revenue generation. These processes built upon but profoundly modified pre-existing economic and political structures.

The colonial states and economies proved to be unstable and unsustainable. Why? What institutional, economic, and political legacies did they leave behind?

Assignment for class.

You have already selected two countries from different regions of the continent as your county case studies. How are these countries discussed in this week's readings (if at all), and do your two countries appear typical or atypical of African colonies as they are depicted by this week's authors? What were the main sources of state revenue in your countries in the post-WWII era? Was indirect rule implemented as a governing strategy (if so, where)? Were colonial subjects granted citizenship rights in the metropole?

Required Readings:

Fred Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge 2002), Chs. 2, 3

Leigh Gardner, *Taxing Colonial Africa: The Political Economy of British Imperialism* (Oxford U. Press, 2012), Ch. 1, "An Introduction to the Problem of Colonial Taxation," pp. 1-13.

Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton 1996), Ch 2.

Recommended:

Iliffe, J. (1995), *Africans: A History of the Continent*, Cambridge University Press.

Bade Onimode, "Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria," and A. Adu Boahen, "The Colonial Impact," all in Robert O. Collins et al., eds., *Historical Problems in the Study of Africa* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 1994, pp. 294-315).

Kristin Mann and Richard Roberts, eds., *Law in Colonial Africa* (Heinemann and James Currey, 1991), pp. 3-60.

Matthew Lange, *Lineages of Despotism and Development: British Colonialism and State Power* (University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Terrence Ranger, "Concluding Comments," in Paris Yeros, ed., *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Africa* (Macmillan Press, 1999): 133-145.

Lovejoy, Paul E. (1989) "The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature." *Journal of African History* 30, 365-394.

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson, "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation" NBER Working Paper 771, June 2000.

David Y. Albouy, "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation: Comment" *American Economic Review* 2012. 102(6): 3059-3076.]

John Tosh, "The economy of Southern Sudan under the British, 1898-1955", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 9/3 (1981): 275-288.

Douglas H. Johnson, "Judicial Regulation and Administrative Control: Customary Law and the Nuer, 1898 – 1954", *The Journal of African History*, 27/1 (1986): 59-78.

A. Adu Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism* (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1987).

Justin Willis, "Hukm: The creolization of authority in Condominium Sudan," *J. of African History*, 46 (2005), 29-50.

Chris Vaughan, "Reinventing the Wheel? Local Government and Neo-Traditional Authority in the Late-Colonial Northern Sudan," *J. of African Historical Studies*, 43/2 (2010): 255-278.

Week 4, Oct. 18.

Film: *End of Empire: Gold Coast*

Colonialism and Colonial Economies: Crises of post-WWII colonialism

This week focuses on structure and variation in the economies of colonial Africa, building upon the typology established by Samir Amin. Hart and Berry provide analyzes of structure and change in agriculture that extend Mamdani's arguments about indirect rule that you encountered in Week 3. We trace post-WWII forms of political and economic instability that emerged in the African colonies, and rulers' attempts to stabilize government and expand economies. This analysis of colonial states lays groundwork for understanding the "successor states" that emerged with the granting of political independence.

Assignment

Can you place your two case study countries in Amin's typology of African economies under colonial rule?

What could be long-term implications of each of these various economic "types"? How could the "type of colonial economy" shape the distribution of political power within newly independent African countries?

Required Readings:

Fred Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge 2002), Ch. 4

Samir Amin, "Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa: Origins and Contemporary Forms," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 10.4 (1972): 503-24.

Keith Hart, *The Political Economy of West African Agriculture* (Cambridge, 1983), Chs. 2, 4

Sara Berry, *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Africa* (U. of Wisconsin Press), ch. 2, "Hegemony on a Shoestring, Indirect Rule and Farmers' Access to Resources," 22-43.

Recommended:

Hopkins, Anthony G. (1973) *An Economic History of West Africa*, New York: Addison Wesley Longman.

Young, Crawford (1994) *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Simon Mollan, "Business, State and Economy: cotton and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1919-1939", *African Economic History* 36 (2008): 95-123.

Terje Tvedt, "Hydrology and Empire: The Nile, Water, Imperialism and the Partition of Africa", *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 39/2 (2011): 173-194.

Catherine Boone, *Property and Political Order in Africa: Land Rights and the Structure of Politics* (CUP 2014).

Keiji Otsuka and Frank Place, "Land Tenure and Ag. Intensification in Sub-Saharan Africa," pp. 289-307 in Celestin Monga and Justin Yifu Lin, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics, Vol. 2, Policies and Practices* (OUP 2015).

Week 5, October 25

Film: Lumumba (Raoul Peck, 2000)

Building States and National Economies in 1960-1980.

Postcolonial rulers sought to promote growth while maintaining and extending control over territory, populations and resource flows. State-led developmentalism -- including the expansion of the civil service, infrastructure, social services, export crop production, and light industry -- supported this kind of state-building. The logic of subnational administration and subnational boundary creation was closely linked to the allocation of subnational entitlements, especially to the allocation/regulation of land access. We shall see that economic liberalization in the late 1980s and 1990s restructured these arrangements and disrupted territorial strategies of rule.

Assignment.

What major developmental initiatives were undertaken in your two case study countries in the 1960-1980 period? What vision or theory of development, if any, informed and justified these undertakings? How were these financed? Do you think these mitigated or exacerbated existing regional disparities (or created new ones)?

Required Readings:

J.F. Ade Ajayi, "Expectations of Independence," *Daedalus*, vol. 111, n. 2 (Spring), 1982: 1-9.

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*, Ch. 1 and 5

Sara Berry, *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Africa* (U. of Wisconsin Press), ch. 3, "Inconclusive Encounters: Farmers and the State in the Era of Planned Development" pp. 43-66.

Fred Cooper, *Africa Since 1940* (Cambridge 2002), Ch. 5.

Recommended

Paul Nugent, "States and Social Contracts in Africa," *New Left Review* 63, May/June 2010: 35-63.

Claude Ake, *A Political Economy of Africa* (Essex: Longman, 1981).

Bates, Robert H. (1981) *Markets and States in Tropical Africa*, Berkeley: U. of California Press.

Benno Ndulu and Stephen A. O'Connell, "Policy Plus: African Growth Performance, 1960-2000," in Ndulu et al., *The PE of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960-2000*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge 2007), pp. 3-75.

Robert H. Bates, "Domestic Interests and Control Regimes," in Benno J. Ndulu et al, *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa: 1960-2000*, pp. 175-201.

Catherine Boone, *Political Topographies of the African State: Territorial Authority and Institutional Choice* (Cambridge 2003).

Bräutigam, D. 2008. "Introduction: Taxation and State-Building in Developing Countries," in D. Bräutigam, O-H Fjeldstad, and M. Moore *Taxation and State-Building in Developing Countries* Cambridge: CUP.

Boratov, Movements of Relative Agricultural Prices in sub-Saharan Africa, *Cambridge J. of Economics*, 25 (2001): 395-416.

Ole Therkildsen, "Working in Neopatrimonial Settings: Public Sector Staff Perceptions in Tanzania and Uganda," in Thomas Bierschenk and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan, eds., *States at Work: Dynamics of African Bureaucracies* (Leiden and Boston, Brill Publishers, 2014: 113-144.

Carola Lentz, "'I take an oath to the state, not the government,' Career Trajectories and Professional Ethics of Ghanaian Public Servants," in Thomas Bierschenk and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan, eds., *States at Work: Dynamics of African Bureaucracies* (Leiden and Boston, Brill Publishers, 2014: 175-204. See photocopy in white 3-ring binder in bedroom at home.

Patrick J. McGowan, African Military Coups d'Etat, 1956-2001: Frequency, Trends, and Distribution," *JMAS*, 41/3 (Sept) 2003.

M. Pressa, D. Elands, and A. Lecours.. 2011. "Nationalism, development, and social policy: The politics of nation-building in sub-Saharan Africa. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 34 (12). p. 2115-2133.

Salman M. A. Salman, "The new state of South Sudan and the hydro-politics of the Nile Basin", *Water International* 36/2 (2011): 154-166, from p.162, "The Jonglei Canal Project".

Douglas Johnson, *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars* (2003). Ch. 4, "The Addis Ababa Agreement and the Regional Governments 1972-83" from p.43, "Economic confrontations with Khartoum".

Georgette Gagnon and John Ryle, *Report on an Investigation into Oil Development, Conflict and Displacement in Western Upper Nile, Sudan* (2001)

Nzongola-Ntalaja, G. 2007. "The Politics of Citizenship in the Democratic Republic of Congo," in Sara Rich Dorman et al, eds., *Making Nations, Creating Strangers: States and Citizenship in Africa*, Brill Publishers, pp. 69-80.

Week 6, Nov. 1

Film: The Africans: In Search of Stability (Ali Mazuri)

The Changing International and Policy Context of Development: Economic Liberalization

What went wrong in the late 1970s and 1980s, and what was the IFI cure? What assumptions about African economies and economic growth underpinned the Structural Adjustment Programs, how did these differ from those of the preceding era? In Africa, how and why did the experience with the SAPs vary across countries? What were the economic and political effects of the SAPs, and why do these questions remain the subject of live debate 25 years on?

Assignment.

Structural Adjustment Programs were based on assumptions about what ailed African economies, and about what would cause economic growth. What were they? How did these differ from the assumptions of the preceding era?

When and how did "Structural Adjustment" come to your two case study countries, and how did it differ in the two contexts?

Required Readings:

Thomas J. Biersteker, "The 'triumph' of liberal economic ideas in the developing world," in B. Stallings, ed., *Global Change, Regional Response: The New International Context of Development* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 174-196.

G. Arrighi, "The African Crisis: World Systemic and Regional Aspects," *New Left Review* 15 (May-June), 2002: 5-36.

Howard Stein, "From Structural Adjustment to 'Poverty Reduction,' Adjustment to the Crisis and the Crisis of Adjustment," Ch. 2 in Howard Stein, *Beyond the World Bank Agenda* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 2008).

John Loxley, "Structural Adjustment in Africa: Reflections on Ghana and Zambia," *Review of African Political Economy*, n. 47 (Spring, 1990), pp. 8-27

Recommended

Howard Stein, "Rethinking African Development," in Ha-Joon Chang, ed., *Rethinking Development Economics* (London: Anthem Press, 2003[2004, 2006]), pp. 153-178

Trevor W. Parfitt, "Lies, Damned Lies and Statistics: The World Bank/ ECA Structural Adjustment Controversy," *Review of African Political Economy*, n. 47 (1990): 128-141.

Michael Barratt Brown, "'Fair Trade' with Africa," *Review of African Political Economy*, 34/112 (June 2007), pp. 267-77.

Easterly, William. 2001. The Lost Decades: Developing Countries' Stagnation in Spite of Policy Reform, 1980-1998, *Journal of Economic Growth*, vol. 6, n°2, June, pp. 135-157.

Akyüz, Yilmaz and Charles Gore. 2001. "African Economic Development in a Comparative Perspective," *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, vol. 25, n°3, May, pp. 265-288.

Barbara Stallings, ed., *Global Change, Regional Response: The New International Context of Development* (Cambridge, 1995).

P. Mosley, "Policy Making without Facts: A note on the assessment of Structural Adjustment Policies in Nigeria, 1985-1990," *African Affairs* 91 (1992): 227-40.

Nicolas van de Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999* (Cambridge 2000).

Thankdika Mkandawire and Charles C. Soludo, *Our Continent, Our Future: African Perspectives on Structural Adjustment* (Dakar: CODESRIA Books, 1999.)

Ndikumana, Leonce and James K. Boyce. 2011. Capital Flight from Sub-Saharan Africa: Linkages with External Borrowing and Policy Options, *International Review of Applied Economics*, vol. 25, n°2, March, pp. 149-170.

Ndikumana, Leonce and James K. Boyce. 2011. *Africa's Odious Debts: How Foreign Loans and Capital Flight Bled a Continent*, London: Zed Books.

James Ferguson 1999 *Expectations of Modernity: Myth and meanings of urban life in the Zambian Copperbelt*. U California Press, Berkeley.

Benno Ndulu and Stephen A. O'Connell, "Policy Plus: African Growth Performance, 1960-2000," in Ndulu et al., *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960-2000*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge 2007), pp. 3-75.

Week 7, Nov. 8

FILM: *An African Election* (by Jarreth Merz, 2011)

The Dual Liberalisations: Economic and Political Liberalization Combined

In the 1990s many Africa countries moved from from various kinds of closed regimes, semi-authoritarian or authoritarian, to more open regime types. This has been understood as a process of liberalization or even democratization. Simultaneously, most moved away from from statist and interventionist economic policy regimes to more liberal or neoliberal economic policy regimes. To what extent have the dual liberalizations proven to be the "magic bullets" that some reform proponents, especially external actors, were hoping for? How does decentralization fit in?

Class discussion assignment.

Who were the proponents of political and economic liberalization in Africa in the late 1980s and 1990s, and what did they hope to achieve through political liberalization and economic liberalization? What is the presumed link between political liberalization ("democratization") and economic liberalization?

What is the experience with economic and political liberalization in your two case study countries? (Were SAPs implemented? Was there a return to multiparty elections? Does each country seem to have become more democratic and more economically developed over the last 25 years?)

Required readings

Gabrielle Lynch and Gordon Crawford, "Democratization in Africa, 1990-2010: An Assessment," *Democratization* 18/2 (2011), 275-310.

Andrew M. Mwenda. (2007) Personalizing Power in Uganda, *Journal of Democracy*, 18(3) pp. 23-37

Opalo, Kennedy (2012) 'African Elections: Two Divergent Trends' *J. of Democracy*, 23(3): 80-93.

Thandika Mkandawire, "Crisis Management and the Making of "Choiceless Democracies," in Richard Joseph, ed., *State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa* (Lynne Rienner, 1999), pp. 119-136.

Recommended:

Colin Poulton, "Democratisation and the Political Incentives for Agricultural Policy in Africa," *Development Policy Review*, 32, S2 (2014): s101-s122.2014.

- Robert Bates and Steven A. Block, "Revisiting African Agriculture, Institutional Change and Productivity Growth," *Journal of Politics* 75/2 (April) 2013: 372-384.
- Mohammed Awal and Jeffrey Paller, Who Really Governs Urban Ghana? Africa Research Institute Counterpoints, January 2016.
- Michael Bratton and Nicholas van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Shin'ichi Takeuchi, "Political Changes in Post Cold War Africa," *The Developing Economies*, 45-2 (June) 2007: 172-93.
- Willie Mutunga, *Constitution-Making from the Middle: Civil Society and Transition Politics in Kenya, 1992-1997* (Nairobi: SAREAT/MWENGO, 1999).
- Migai Akech, (2011) 'Constraining Government Power in Africa' *J. of Democracy*, 22 (1): 96-106
- Crawford Young, "End of the Postcolonial State in Africa," *African Affairs* 103 (410): 2003: 23-49.
- Chacage, C.S.L, "Forms of Accumulation, Agriculture, and Structural Adjustment in Tanzania," in Peter Gibbon, eds., *Social Change and Economic Reform in Africa* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1993), pp. 215-243.
- Thomas Bierschenk and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan, eds., *States at Work: Dynamics of African Bureaucracies* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
- Tripp, Aili 'Museveni's Uganda in Comparative Context' Chapter 1 in Aili Tripp, *Museveni's Uganda: paradoxes of power in a hybrid regime*, OUP 2010.
- Onimode, Bade et al., *African Development and Governance Strategies in the 21st Century* (Ijebu-Ode, Nigeria, and London, UK: African Centre for Development and Strategic Studies and Zed Books, 2004.
- Walter O. Oyugi, E.S. Atieno Odhiambo, Michael Chege, and Afrifa K. Gitonga, *Democratic Theory and Practice in Africa* (Portsmouth and London: Heinemann and James Currey, 1988).
- Van de Walle, Nicolas (2013) 'The Democratization of Clientelism in Sub-Saharan Africa', in Diego Abente-Brun and Larry Diamond (eds.), *Political Clientelism, Social Policy and the Quality of Democracy*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014, pp. _____.
- Elliott Green, 2011. Decentralization and Political Opposition in Contemporary Africa: Evidence from Sudan and Ethiopia," *Democratization*, 18/5 (2011): 1087-1105
- LeBas, Adrienne, 'Party building and the prospects for democracy', in Adrienne LeBas, *From protest to parties: Party building and democratisation in Africa* (Oxford, 2011), Conclusions, 245-63.
- Johan Brosché and Kristine Höglund. 2016. Crisis of Governance in South Sudan: Electoral Politics and Violence in the World's Newest Nation," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 54(1): 67-90.
- Collier, P., & Vicente, P. C. (2012). "Violence, Bribery, And Fraud: The Political Economy Of Elections In Sub-Saharan Africa." *Public Choice*, 53(1-2), 117-147.
- Weghorst, Keith and Michael Bernhard. 2014. "From formless to Structure? The Institutionalization of Competitive Party Systems in Africa," *Comparative Political Studies* 47/12 (October): _____.
- Hassan Ndzovu. 2014. *Muslims in Kenyan Politics: Involvement, Marginalization, and Minority Status* (Northwestern U. Press).

Week 8, Nov. 15
The PE of Inequality

no film

Economic inequality has long been a stark reality in African countries. Since the dual liberalizations of the 1990s, inequality (and especially regional inequality) seems to be increasing in many African countries. How is this linked to patterns of uneven development that were visible in earlier periods? What are the political and economic consequences of growing regional (subnational) inequalities?

Territorial and political inequality arises in part from hierarchies that govern resources and populations, including land. These often serve as templates for local resource conflicts, electoral conflict, and civil war. We discuss the territorial dimensions of civil conflict, land-related conflict, in civil wars of the 1990s and 2000s.

Class Assignment: TBA

Required readings

Fred Cooper, *Africa Since 1940*, Ch. 7, "The Recurrent Crises of the Gatekeeper State."

F. Stewart, Crisis Prevention: Tacking Horizontal Inequalities: *Oxford Dev. Studies* 28/3 (2000): 245-262.

C. Boone, "Africa's New Territorial Politics: Regionalism and the Open Economy in Côte d'Ivoire," *African Studies Review* 50/1 (April 2007): 59-81.

J.-P. Azam, "The Redistributive State and Conflicts in Africa," *J. of Peace Research* 38/4 (2001): 429-444.

G. Ostby, R. Nordas and J.K. Rod. 2009. Regional Inequalities and Civil Conflict in SSA, *International Studies Quarterly*, 53/2: 2009: 301-3245.

Recommended:

Floribert Ngaruko and Janvier D. Nkurunziza. 2000. "An economic interpretation of conflict in Burundi," *J. of African Economies* 9(3): 370-409.

Peters, Pauline. 2004. "Inequality and Social Conflict over Land in Africa." *J. of Agrarian Change* 4 (3): 269-3

Peters, Pauline. 2013. Conflicts over land and threats to customary tenure in Africa today, *African Affairs*, 112 (449), 543-562.

Sara Berry, *No Condition is Permanent* (U. of Wisconsin Press, 1993), Ch. 4, "Commercialization, Cultivation, and Capital Formation: Agrarian Change in Four Localities, pp. 67-101.

C. Boone, "Property and Constitutional Order: Land Tenure Reform and the Future of the African State," *African Affairs* 106 (Oct. 2007): 557-86.

William Reno, "Patronage Politics and the Behavior of Armed Groups," *Civil Wars* 9/4 (Dec.) 2007: 324-42.

Abiodun Alao, *Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa* (Rochester, 2007), Ch. 1, "Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa: Framework for Understanding a Linkage," pp. 14-40.

Chauveau and Richards, "West African Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective: Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone Compared," *J. of Agrarian Change*, 8/4 (2008):515-52.

Floribert Ngaruko and Janvier D. Nkurunziza. 2000. "An economic interpretation of conflict in Burundi," *J. of African Economies* 9(3): 370-409.

Ikelegbe, Augustine. "The Economic Conflict in the Oil-Rich Niger Delta Region of Nigeria," *African and Asian Studies*, 5/1 (Feb. 2006) 23-50.

- Yvette Monga, "'Au Village!' Space, Culture, and Politics in Cameroon," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 160 (2000): 723-750.
- R.T. Akinyele, (1996) "States Creation in Nigeria: The Willink Report in Retrospect." *African Studies Review*, Vol. 39, No. 2: 71-94.
- Ukoha Ukiwo, (2006) *Creation of Local Government Areas and Ethnic Conflicts in Nigeria: The Case of Warri Delta State*. CRISE Oxford Paper.
- Elliott Green, (2010) "Patronage, District Creation, and Reform in Uganda," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 45, 1 (2010): 83-103.
- Rotimi T. Suberu, "The Struggle for New States in Nigeria, 1976-1996," *African Affairs*, Vol. 90/361 (October) 1991: 499-522.
- Jean Paul Azam, "The Political Geography of Redistribution," in Ndulu et al., *The PE of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960-2000* (CUP, 2008), pp. 225-248
- Dereje Feyissa, "Decentralization as Ethnic Closure, with special reference to a declining negotiated access to natural resources in Western Ethiopia," *Africa Development/Afrique Développement* 31/2 (2006): 243-260.
- Esther Mwangi, *Socioeconomic Change and Land Use in Africa: The Transformation of Property Rights in Maasailand* (Palgrave Macmillian, 2007).
- Francis Nyamjoh, *Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa* (CODESRIA and Zed Books, 2006).
- Catherine Boone, *Property and Political Order in Africa: Land Rights and the Structure of Politics* (CUP 2014).
- Catherine Boone, "Politically-Allocated Land Rights and the Geography of Electoral Violence in Kenya," *Comparative Political Studies*, 44/10 (2011): 1311-1342.
- Phililp Verwimp, "The 1990-2 Massacres in Rwanda: A case of spatial and social engineering," *J. of Agrarian Change* 11/3 (2011): 396-419.
- Ikelegbe, Augustine. "The Economic Conflict in the Oil-Rich Niger Delta Region of Nigeria," *African and Asian Studies*, 5/1 (Feb. 2006) 23-50.
- John Boye Ejobowah, "Who Owns the Oil? The Politics of Ethnicity in the Niger Delta of Nigeria," *Africa Today*, 47/1, Winter 2000, pp. 29-47.
- Sara Pantuliano, ed., *Uncharted Territory: Land, Conflict, and Humanitarian Action* (Practical Action, 2009).
- Wm. Reno, *Warfare in Independent Africa* (CUP 2011)
- John Boye Ejobowah, "Who Owns the Oil? The Politics of Ethnicity in the Niger Delta of Nigeria," *Africa Today*, 47/1, Winter 2000, pp. 29-47.
- Sam Moyo and Paris Yeros, "The Resurgence of Rural Movements under Neoliberalism," in Moyo and Yeros, *Reclaiming the Land: The Resurgences of Rural Movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America* (Zed Books, 2005): 8-67.
- Keen, David (2005) *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone*, Oxford: James Currey.
- Cherry Leonardi and Martina Santschi, *Dividing Communities in South Sudan and Northern Uganda: Boundary disputes and land governance*, (Rift Valley Institute, 2016). Ch. 4, "Land belongs to the people? Hybrid land governance" and Ch. 5, "From inclusion to exclusion? Changing and debating customary land rights".
- Naseem Badiy, "The Strategic Instrumentalization of Land Tenure in 'State Building': The case of Juba, South

Sudan”, *Africa* 83/1 (2013): 57-77.

David Deng, *The New Frontier: a baseline survey of large-scale land-based investment in Southern Sudan* (2011) available at http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/6F0B144DA275260B8525785C0069DB6A-Full_Report.pdf

Sam Moyo and Paris Yeros, "The Resurgence of Rural Movements under Neoliberalism," in Moyo and Yeros, *Reclaiming the Land: The Resurgences of Rural Movements in Africa, Asia, and Latin America* (Zed Books, 2005): 8-67.

Zamchiya, P. 2013. "The Role of Politics and State Practices in Shaping Rural Differentiation: A Study of Resettled Small-Scale Farmers in SE Zimbabwe," *J. of Southern African Studies*, 39(4): 937-953.

Rodrik, Dani. 2015. "Premature Deindustrialization," Cambridge MA, NBER working paper 20935.

Week 9, Tues, Nov. 22

no film

The Political Economy of Aid in Africa (Teddy Brett)

Aid relationships have played a key and heavily contested role in Africa since the colonial period. Aid has been used by donors and recipients to serve many purposes since the colonial period – promote donor exports, support politically sympathetic rulers and state led development, promote neo-liberal policies and, most recently, pro-poor development and the Millennium Development Goals. Aid-relationships sometimes succeed and often fail. We will review this history and evaluate the contending arguments on both sides of the case.

Assignment

Why are aid relationships "contested," and by whom? How might aid flows between international agencies and Western governments, on the one hand, and African governments, on the other hand, be at "cross purposes" ?

"*Aid to Africa does more harm than good.*" Come prepared to argue both sides of the debate.

Required readings

Abuzeid, Farah (2009) 'Foreign Aid and the "Big Push" Theory: Lessons from Sub-Saharan Africa' *Stanford Journal of International Relations*, 16, Fall.
Avail. at https://web.stanford.edu/group/sjir/pdf/Aid_11.1.pdf

Brett, E.A., (forthcoming) 'Managing Pro-Poor Development in Weak States The Politics of Donor-Recipient Relationships,' June 2014.

Hickey, S. (2012) 'Beyond 'Poverty Reduction through Good Governance': The new political economy of development in Africa.' *New Political Economy* 18 (2) 683-90.

Recommended

(additional recommended readings in posted under "Week 9" on course Moodle page)

E.A. Brett. (2006) 'State failure and success in Zimbabwe and Uganda: The logic of political decay and reconstruction in Africa,' *Journal of Development Studies*, 44(3) 339-367.

Brett, E.A., (1998) 'Responding to poverty in Uganda: Structures, Policies and prospects', *Jnl. of International Affairs*, 52(1) 1998, 313-27

- Brett, E.A. (2005) 'From corporatism to liberalisation in Zimbabwe: economic policy regimes and political crisis 1980-1997,' *International Political Science Review*, 26(1). pp. 93-106
- Léonce Ndikumana and James K. Boyce. 2011. *Africa's Odious Debts: How foreign loans and capital flight bled a continent* (London: Zed Books).
- Van der Walle, N. (2001) *African economies and the politics of permanent crisis*, Ch. 5 'The Crisis and foreign aid'.
- Whitfield, Lindsay. (). "Trustees of Development from Conditionality to Governance: Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers in Ghana," *JMAS* 43/4.
- Moyo, D. (2009). *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa*. London: Allen Lane.
- Clapham, C. (1996) *Africa and the international system: the politics of state survival*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. Ch 8, 'The externalisation of political accountability;' also read Ch. 7, 'The international politics of economic failure'.
- Ayers, A. (2013) Beyond myths, lies and stereotypes: the political economy of a 'new scramble for Africa', *New Political Economy*, 18 (2) 227-257
- Brautigam, Deborah, (2011) Chinese Development Aid in Africa: What, where, why, and how much? <http://www.american.edu/sis/faculty/upload/brautigam-chinese-aid-in-africa.pdf>
- Brown, W. (2013) 'Sovereignty matters: Africa, donors and the aid relationship', *African Affairs*, 112 (447) 262-82.
- Clarke, George R.G., Robert Cull and Michael Fuchs. 2009. Bank Privatization in Sub-Saharan Africa: the Case of Uganda Commercial Bank, *World Development*, vol. 37, n°9, September, pp. 1506-1521.
- Easterly, William and Tobias Pfitze. 2008. "Where does the money go? Best and worst practices in foreign aid," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 22, n°2, Spring, pp. 29-52.
- Ferguson, J. (1996) *The Anti-politics Machine: 'Development', Depoliticisation and Bureaucratic State Power in Lesotho* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Hickey, S. (2013) "Beyond the poverty agenda? Insights from the new politics of development in Uganda." *World Development* 43, no. March(2013) : 194-206.
- Kragelund, Peter. "'Donors go home': Non-traditional state actors and the creation of development space in Zambia," *Third World Quarterly* 35/1 (2014): 145-62.
- Plank, D. (1993) 'Aid, debt and the end of sovereignty: Mozambique and its donors', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 31(3) 407-30.
- Unsworth, S. (2009) 'What's politics got to do with it? Why donors find it so hard to come to terms with politics and why it matters,' *Journal of International Development* vol 21(6):883-94.
- Whitfield, L. ed. (2008) *The Politics of Aid; African Strategies for Dealing with Donors*, OUP.
- Yanguas, Pablo and David Hulme, "Barriers to Political Analysis in Aid Bureaucracies: From Principle to Practice in DfID and the World Bank," *World Development* 74 (2015): 209-219.
- Sonja Grimm, Nicolas Lemay-Hébert, and Olivier Nay, "'Fragile States': Introducing a Political Concept," *Third World Quarterly*, 35/2 (2014): 197-209. See related articles on the "fragile state" concept in theory in practice in same issue.
- David Keen, *The Benefits of Famine: a Political Economy of Famine Relief in Southwestern Sudan, 1983-1989*. (1994), Ch. 6 provides a summary of the main arguments of the book.

M. Duffield, "From emergency to Social Security in Sudan – Part II: The Donor Response", *Disasters* 14/4 (1990): 322-334.

Wolfram Lacher, *South Sudan: International-State Building and Its Limits* (2012) Available at https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/research_papers/2012_RP04_lac.pdf

Kragelund, Peter. "'Donors go home': Non-traditional state actors and the creation of development space in Zambia," *Third World Quarterly* 35/1 (2014): 145-62.

Legler, T. and T. Kwasi Tiekou. 2010. "What Difference can a Path Make? Regional Democracy Promotion Regimes in the Americas and Africa," *Democratization*, 17(3): 465-491.

Easterly, William. 2009. "How the Millennium Development Goals are Unfair to Africa," *World Development*, vol. 37, n°1, pp. 26–35.

Week 10, T., Nov. 29

film TBA

Varieties of Capitalism in Africa.

Lecture: How can we describe variation across space in national economic and regulatory structure in Africa? Are these differences explained by policy choice? (What about locational and historical factors, or geography, institutional quality, and international economic factors?)

Assignment

How do patterns of national capitalist development in Africa vary across countries? What factors shape the sustainability -- both political and economic -- of different possible development trajectories?

What are the implications of the different "development models" for preexisting subnational inequalities in your two case study countries?

Required Readings

Ian Taylor, *Africa Rising? BRICs -- Diversifying Dependency*. Rochester, NY and London: James Currey, 2014, Ch. 5, "China in Africa," pp. 102-122

Lindsay Whitfield and Lars Buur, "The Politics of Industrial Policy: Ruling Elites and their Alliances," *Third World Quarterly*, 35/1 (2014): 126-44.

Aryeetey, Ernest and Nelipher Moyo. 2012. Industrialisation for Structural Transformation in Africa: Appropriate Roles for the State, *Journal of African Economies*, vol. 21, AERC Supplement 2, pp. ii55–ii85.

Ricardo Soares de Olivera, "Illiberal Peacebuilding in Angola," *J. of Modern African Studies*, 49/ 2 (2011): 287-314.

Booth, D. and F. Golooba-Mutebi (2012) "Developmental Patrimonialism? The Case of Rwanda" *African Affairs* 111 (444): 379-403.

Recommended:

Keith Hart and Vishnu Padayachee. 2013. "The history of South African capitalism in national and global perspective," *Transformation* 81/82: 55-85.

- Andreas Nölke and Simone Claar, "Varieties of capitalism in emerging economies," *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa*, 81/82, 2013. pp. 33-54.
- Ruth Hall, Ian Scoones, and Dzodzi Tsikata, eds. 2015. *Africa's Rural Land Rush: Livelihoods and Agrarian Change*. Woodbridge: James Currey.
- Colin Poulton, "Democratisation and the Political Incentives for Agricultural Policy in Africa," *Development Policy Review*, 32, S2 (2014): s101-s122.
- Daniel Bach, *Regionalism in Africa: Genealogies, Institutions, and Trans-State Networks* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015)
- Whitfield, L. and L. Buur (2014) "The Political Economy of Industrial Policy: Ruling Elites and Their Alliances" *Third World Quarterly* 35(1): 126-144.
- Whitfield, L., Therkildsen, O; Burr, L., Kjaer, Anne Mette. 2015. *The Politics of African Industrial Policy: A Comparative Perspective* (CUP).
- Lee, Ching Kwan. 2014. "The Spectre of Global China" [China in Zambia], *New Left Review* 89 (Sept/October): 29-65.
- Ruth Hall, Ian Scoones, and Dzodzi Tsikata, eds. 2015. *Africa's Rural Land Rush: Livelihoods and Agrarian Change*. Woodbridge: James Currey.
- Keijiro Otsuka and Frank Place, "Land Tenure and Ag. Intensification in Sub-Saharan Africa," pp. 289-307, in Celestin Monga and Justin Yifu Lin, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics*, Vol. 2, Policies and Practices (OUP 2015)
- Lorenzo Cotula, 2012. The international Political economy of the global land rush: A critical appraisal of trends, scale, geography, and drivers. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 39 (3-4): 649-680.
- Lorenzo Cotula, 2011. "Towards a better understanding of global land grabbing," *Journal of Peasant Studies* (No. spécial), 38:2. (Borras S., ed.).
- M. Anne Pitcher, *Party Politics and Economic Reform in Africa's Democracies* (CUP, 2012), "Ch. 2: From Motivational to Imperative Commitment: Variation and Convergence in Private Sector Institutions Across Africa," pp. 30-64.
- Catherine Boone, "State, Capital, and the Politics of Banking Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 37, n. 4 (July 2005): 401-420.
- John Iliffe. 1983. *The Emergence of African Capitalism*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Jesse Salah Ovidia, *The Pedro-Developmental State in Africa: Making Oil Work in Angola, Nigeria, and the Gulf of Guinea*, London: Hurst, 2015.
- Thandika Mkandawire, Neopatrimonialism and the Political Economy of Economic Performance in Africa: Critical Reflections," *World Politics*, May 2015: 1-50.
- deGrassi, Aaron. 2008. "Neopatrimonialism" and Agricultural Development in Africa: Contributions and Limitations of a Contested Concept " *African Studies Review*, 51(3), pp. 107-33.
- Gibbon, P. and S. Ponte (2005) *Trading Down: Africa, Value Chains and the Global Economy* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Carlos Nuno Castel-Branco, "Growth, Capital Accumulation, and Economic Porosity in Mozambique: Social losses, Private Gains," *Review of African Political Economy*, 2014, Vol. 41, S1, pp. S26-S48.
- M. Kpressa and D. Beland, "Mapping social policy development in sub-Saharan Africa," *Policy Studies*. 34/3 (2013), p. 326-341

- M. Kpressa, D. Beland, and A. Lecours, (2011). Nationalism, development, and social policy: The politics of nation-building in sub-Saharan Africa. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 34 (12). p. 2115-2133.
- T. Mkandawire, (2010) On Tax Efforts and Colonial Heritage in Africa. Working Paper/Institute for Futures Studies 2010:10. [Online] Accessed 5th August 2014.
- Brooks, Andrew and David Simon. 2012. Unraveling the Relationships between Used-Clothing Imports and the Decline of African Clothing Industries, *Development and Change*, vol. 43, n°6, November, pp. 1265–1290.
- Clarke, George R.G., Robert Cull and Michael Fuchs. 2009. Bank Privatization in Sub-Saharan Africa: the Case of Uganda Commercial Bank, *World Development*, vol. 37, n°9, September, pp. 1506-1521.
- Emily Jones (2013) *Negotiating Against the Odds: A Guide for Trade Negotiators from Developing Countries*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Martha C. Johnson. 2011. Lobbying for Trade Barriers: A Comparison of Poultry Producers' Success in Cameroon, Senegal, and Ghana. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 49(4): 575-599.
- T.S. Jayne et al, "Land Pressures, the evolution of farming systems, and development strategies in Africa: A synthesis," *Food Policy* 48 (2014): 1-17.
- Tiffen, Mary. 2003. "Transition in Sub-Saharan Africa: Agriculture, Urbanization and Income Growth." *World Development*, 31(8), pp. 1343-66.
- Ellis, Frank. 2006. "Agrarian change and rising vulnerability in rural sub-Saharan Africa." *New Political Economy* 11:387 - 397.
- Mann, L. (2014) "Wasta! The Long Term Implications of Education Expansion and Economic Liberalization on Politics in Sudan" *Review of African Political Economy* 41(142).
- Di Nunzio, M. (2015) "What is the Alternative?: Youth, Entrepreneurship and the Developmental State in Urban Ethiopia" *Development and Change*. 46(5): 1179–1200
- Anne Walraet, "Governance, violence and the struggle for economic regulation in South Sudan: the case of Budi County (Eastern Equatoria), *Afrika Focus* 21/2 (2008):53-70.
- Ferguson, James (2005), "Seeing Like an Oil Company: Space, Security and Global Capital in Neoliberal Africa" *American Anthropology* 107(3).
- Lefort, R. (2012) "Free Market Economy, "Developmental State" and Party-State Hegemony in Ethiopia: the Case of the "Model Farmers"" *Journal of Modern African Studies* 50 (4): 681-706.
- Daniel Large and Luke Patey, *Sudan Looks East : China, India and the Politics of Asian Alternatives* (2013)
- Munive, Jairo, (2014) 'Invisible Labour: The Political Economy of Reintegration in South Sudan', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 8:4, 334-356.