DEPARTEMENT OF MIDDLE EASTERN, SOUTH ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES
Institute of African Studies

Course title: THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY IN AFRICA - MDES W3911

Instructor: Etienne Smith
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                        Knox Hall, 201A

Term: Spring 2011
Course type: Seminar
Day and time: Tuesday 4:10-6pm
                        Hamilton 406

Office hours: Knox Hall, 201A, Wednesday, 3-5pm.

Course description

Bulletin description

This seminar examines the politics of identity and accommodation of diversity in selected countries of contemporary Africa in a historical, anthropological and political theory perspective. It eschews a narrowly institutional or short-term conflict-solving approach to favour instead a careful analysis of interwoven political, social and cultural dynamics, emphasizing the articulation rather than the dichotomization of the "above" and the "below", the past and the present, the global and the local.

Full description

Throughout the different case studies, the seminar will focus on the following cross-cutting issues :

-   the *political thought* of some key African leaders (Senghor, Nyerere, Kaunda, Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Sankara...) and their political language for national and local audiences, grounded in cultural contexts; the importance of choices made by the leadership weighed against the micro-logics of identification, accommodation practices and *political imaginations at the grassroots level*, as well as the long-term historical processes and social make-up both constraining and enabling the official "policies of identity".
-   the *political uses of the past in the reimagination of the present* by competing narratives, the resizing (aggrandizement and shrinking) of imagined communities, the work of retrospective imagination of "traditions", all intellectual and political agencies replaced in their wider historical and globalized context.
-   the *global arena of ideas,* in which racial fantasies, historiographies, political models, media stereotypes circulate and merge with *local spheres of understanding* reprocessing the global flows; the articulation between increasingly intense diasporic mobilities and localized politics of autochtony and exclusion.

Course requirements

Attendance, reading and participation: 20%

      Students must attend all classes, are responsible for completing the assigned readings *before* each class, and are expected to participate frequently in class in a scholarly exchange.

Midterm paper: 30%

      Midterm papers are due in class 7. They should not exceed 5 pages. The paper must demonstrate the student's ability to define and answer a central question of his/her own, identify an adequate range of sources, and present the argument in a logical and organized analytical framework.

Final research paper: 50%

      Final papers are due in class 14. Students are expected to write a 20-25 page paper in length on a topic of their choice, but with prior approval by the professor no later than class 10. The paper should be comparative in scope and based on a variety of sources, engaging with theoretical issues and discussing critically the existing literature, demonstrating the student's ability to make an original argument of his/her own.

Texts

All assigned reading materials will be posted on Courseworks.

Music, film and literature

Music and short film material will be either posted on Courseworks or shown in class. Suggestions of longer films are provided for each class, most of them available at Butler Library. Some of these films will be screened on campus during the semester.

For a list of video resources on Africa at Columbia, see the compilation by Dr Yuusuf Caruso:
http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/videos.html

A list of novels and comic books will be provided for relevant classes.

Academic Integrity

Plagiarism - or the presentation of someone else's ideas, arguments, or evidence without attribution or acknowledgment – of materials from inside and outside of class is strictly prohibited and will be punished appropriately in accordance with the rules set by Columbia University.

COURSE SYLLABUS

Class 1 (January 18): Introduction

HISTORY AND THEORY: AFRICA'S TRAJECTORIES

Class 2 (January 25): Locating Africa in the literature on nationalism and multiculturalism

Required reading:
- Peter Ekeh, "Social Anthropology and Two Constrasting Uses of Tribalism in Africa", *Comparative Studies in History and Society*, 32 (4), 1990, 660-700.
- Carola Lentz, " 'Tribalism' and ethnicity in Africa: a review of four decades of Anglophone research", *Cahiers des Sciences Humaines*, 31, 1995, 303-328.
- Archie Mafeje, "The Ideology of Tribalism", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 9 (2), 1971, 253-261.
- Aidan Southall, "The Ethnic Heart of Anthropology", *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, 1985, 100 : 567-572.

Further reading:
- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities. Reflections on the origin and spead of nationalism*, London, Verso, 1991.
- Fredrick Barth, *Ethnic groups and boundaries: the social organization of culture difference*, Waveland Press 1998, (Introduction).
- Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh & Will Kymlicka, *Ethnicity & Democracy in Africa*, James Currey, 2004.
- Bruce Berman, "Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism", *African Affairs*, 97, 1998, 305-341.
- Rogers Brubaker & Frederick Cooper, "Beyond Identity", *Theory and Society*, 29 (1), 2000, 1-47.
- Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without groups*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2004.
- John & Jean Comaroff, *Ethnicity, Inc*., Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Sterling, VA, Pluto Press, 2002.
- Harri Englund & Francis Nyamnjoh (eds.), *Rights and the politics of recognition in Africa*, London, Zed Books, 2004 (Harri Englund, "Introduction: recognizing identities, imagining alternatives", 1-29, and Richard Werbner, "Epilogue: the new dialogue with post-liberalism" 261-274).
- Dickson Eyoh, "Community, citizenship, and the politics of ethnicity in post-colonial Africa", in Ezekiel Kalipeni & Paul Tiyambe Zeleza (eds.), *Sacred spaces and public quarrels: African cultural and economic landscapes*, Trenton NJ & Asmara, Africa World Press, 1999: 371-300.
- Joshua Forrest, *Subnationalism in Africa : ethnicity, alliances, and politics*, Boulder CO, Lynee Rienner, 2004.
- Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism : Five Roads to Modernity*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Sudipta Kaviraj, *The Imaginary Institution of India*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2010.
- Will Kymlicka, "Nation-Building and Minority Rights: Comparing Africa and the West", in Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh & Will Kymlicka, *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*, Ohio University Press, 2004.
- David Laitin, *Language Repertoires and State Construction in Africa*, Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Arend Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies: a comparative exploration*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Claudio Lomnitz, *Deep Mexico, Silent Mexico. An Anthropology of Nationalism*, Mineapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

- John Lonsdale, "Moral Ethnicity and Political Tribalism," in Preben Kaarsholm & Jan Hultin (eds.) *Inventions and Boundaries: Historical and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism,*: Institute for Development Studies, Roskilde University, 1994, 131-150.
- Valentin Yves Mudimbe, *The Idea of Africa*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa" in Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition,* Cambridge, 1983. (See also by the same author "The invention of tradition revisited: the case of colonial Africa", in Kaarlshom & Hultin (eds.) 1994; and "Concluding comments" in Paris Yeros (ed.) 1999).
- Edward Saïd, *Orientalism*, Harmondworth, Penguin, 1985.
- Paris Yeros (ed.), *Ethnicity and Nationalism in Africa: constructivists reflections and contemporary politic*s, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Charles Taylor & Amy Gutmann, *Multiculturalism: examining the politics of recognition*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Crawford Young, "Case studies in Cultural Diversity and Public Policy: Comparative Reflections" in Crawford Young (ed.), *The accommodation of cultural diversity. Case studies*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 1999, 1-18.
- Ngugi Wa Thiongo, "The myth of *tribe* in African politics", *Transition*, 101, 2009: 16-23.

Class 3 (February 1): Africa's pluralism in the "longue durée"

Required reading:
- Igor Kopytoff (ed.), *The African Frontier. The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1987 (Introduction).
- Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior of Africa Performed in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797*, Wordsworth, 2002.

Futher reading:
- Jean-Loup Amselle, *Mestizo logics: anthropology of identity in Africa and elsewhere*, Stanford CA, Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Jean-Pierre Chrétien, *The Great Lakes of Africa: two tousand years of history*, New York, Zone Books, 2003.
- John Iliffe, *Honour in African history*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- John Iliffe, *Africans: History of a Continent*, Cambridge University Press, 1995 (chap. 1 to 8).
- Toyin Falola, « From Hospitality to Hostility: Ibadan and Strangers, 1830–1904", *The Journal of African History,* 26, 1985: 51-68.
- Martin Klein, "Ethnic Pluralism and Homogeneity in the Western Sudan: Saalum, Segu, Wasulu", *Mande Studies*, 1, 1999.
- Archie Mafeje, *The theory and ethnography of African social formations. The case of the interlacustrine kingdoms*, Dakar, CODESRIA, 1991.
- Mary Perinbam, *Family Identity & the State in the Bamako Kafu, c.1800-c.1900*, Boulder, Westview Press, 1997.
- Patrick Royer & Mahir Saul, *West African Challenge to Empire. Culture and History in the Volta-Bani Anticolonial War*, Athens, Ohio University Press, 2001 (chapter 1).
- David Robinson, *Muslim Societies in African History*, Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Lamin Sanneh, *The Jakhanke Muslim Clerics: A Religious & Historical Study of Islam in Senegambia (c.1250-1905)*, 1990.
- Michael Smith, "Pluralism in Precolonial African Societies', in Michael Smith and Leo Kuper (eds.), *Pluralism in Africa*, University of California Press, 1971, 91–151.
- Thomas Spear, "Early Swahili History Reconsidered",*International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 33, 2000: 256-288.
- Jan Vansina, *How Societies Are Born: Governance in West Central Africa before 1600*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004.

February 8: No class

Class 4 (February 15): The colonial moment

Required reading:
- Mamadou Diouf, "The French Colonial Policy of Assimilation and the Civility of the Originaires of the Four Communes (Senegal): A Nineteenth Century Globalization Project", *Development and Change*, 29, 1998: 671-696.
- Philip Zachernuk, "The invented and the inventive", in *Colonial Subjects: An African Intelligentsia and Atlantic Ideas*, Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 2000, 1-18.
- Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism,* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1996 (Introduction, chapter 1, 2, 3).

Further reading:
- Cheikh Anta Babou, *Fighting the greater jihad, Amadu Bamba and the founding of the Murridiya of Senegal*, *1853-1913*, Athens OH, Ohio University Press, 2007.
- Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World : A Derivative Discourse*, University of Minnesota Press, 1986.
- Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present*, Cambridge, Cambridge Univeristy Press, 2002.
- Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History," *American Historical Review,* 99, 1994: 1516-45.
- Nicholas Dirks, *Castes of Mind. Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Peter Ekeh, "Colonialism and the two publics in Africa: a theoretical statement", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 17 (1), 1975: 91–112.
- John Hargreaves, "From Strangers to Minorities in West Africa", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 31, 1981: 95-113.
- John Iliffe, *Africans: History of a Continent*, Cambridge University Press, 1995 (chap. 9 & 10).
- Karuna Mantena, *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2010.
- John Peel, "The cultural work of Yoruba ethnogenesis", in Elizabeth Tonkin et al. (ed.) *History and Ethnicity,* Routledge, 1989.
- David Robinson, *Paths of accomodation. Muslim Societies and French Colonial Authorities in Senegal and Mauritania 1880-1920*, Athens OH, Ohio University Press, 2000.
- Terence Ranger, « Tradition and travesty : chiefs and administration in Makoni district, Zimbabwe, 1960-1980 », *Africa,* 52, 1982.
- Thomas Spear, "Neo-traditionalism and the limits of invention in British Colonial Africa", *The Journal of African History*, 44, 2003: 3-27.
- Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in Cooper and Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, Berkeley, 1997.
- Leroy Vail, *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, University of California Press, 1991.
- Olufemi Vaughan, « Chieftaincy politics and communal identity in Western Nigeria, 1893-1951 », *Journal of African History*, 44, 2003.
- Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State. Negritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars,* Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2005.
- Philip Zachernuk, "African History and Imperial Culture in Colonial Nigerian Schools", *Africa,* 68, 1998: 484-505.

THE FABRIC(S) OF THE NATION REVISITED: AFRICA'S 'SUCCESS STORIES'?

Class 5 (February 22): The politics of cosmopolitism and vernacularization: Sénégal

Required reading:
- Léopold Sédar Senghor, *Nationhood and the African road to Socialism*, Paris, Présence Africaine, 1962.
- Donal B. Cruise O'Brien, "The shadow politics of wolofisation", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36(1), 1998: 25-46.

Further reading:
- Janet Vaillant, *Black, French and African. A life of Léopold Sédar Senghor*, Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Jacques-Louis Hymans, *Léopold Sédar Senghor. An Intellectual Biography*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1971.
- Momar-Coumba Diop (ed.), *Senegal: Essays in Statecraft*, Dakar, CODESRIA, 1993.
- Mamadou Diouf, "The Senegalese Murid Trade Diaspora and the Making of a Vernacular Cosmopolitanism," *Public Culture* 12, no. 3 (2000): 679–702.
- Mamadou Diouf & Mara Leichtman (eds.), *New Perspectives on Islam in Senegal: conversion , migration, wealth, power and feminity*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Vincent Foucher, « Church and nation: the Catholic contribution to war and peace in Casamance (Senegal) », *Le Fait Missionnaire. Missions et Sciences Sociales*, 13, 2003, 7-40.
- Michael Lambert, "Violence and the war of words: ethnicity v. nationalism in the Casamance", *Africa* 68 (4), 585-602.
- Leigh Swigart, « Cultural Creolisation and Language Use in post-colonial Africa : the case of Senegal », *Africa*, Vol. 64, No. 2, 1994, 175-189.
- Leonardo Villalon, *Islamic Society and State Power in Senegal, Disciples and Citizens in Fatick*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Films
- *Ceddo*, by Ousmane Sembène (Butler, cataloguing in process)
- *Xala*, by Ousmane Sembène
- *Karmen Gei*, by Joe Gai Ramaka (Butler DVD3577)

Class 6 (March 1): The politics of neo-traditionalism: Mali

Required reading:
- Baz Lecocq & Gregory Mann, "Introduction. Writing histories of an African post-colony: Modibo Keita's Mali, 1960-1968, *Mande Studies* 5, 2003: 1-8.
- Dorothea Schulz, "From a Glorious Past to the Lands of Origin: Media Consumption and Changing Narrative of Cultural Belongings in Mali", in Ferdinand De Jong & Michael Rowlands (eds.), *Reclaiming Heritage: Alternative Imaginaries of Memory in West Africa*, Walnut Creek, CA, Left Coast Press, 2007: 185-214.
- "The Charter of Kurukan Fuga" (1998): http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/56/56/38874847.pdf

Further reading:
- Ralph Austen (ed.), *In search of Sunjata: the Mande oral epic as history*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Mary Jo Arnoldi, "Youth Festivals and Museums: The Cultural Politics of Public Memory in Postcolonial Mali", *Africa Today* 52 (4), 2006: 55-76.

- David Conrad, "Reconstructing Oral Tradition: Souleymane Kanté's approach to Writing Mande History", *Mande Studies* 3, 2001: 147-200.
- David Conrad & Barbara Franck (eds.), *Status and Identity in West Africa. Nyamakalaw of Mande*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press.
- Rosa De Jorio, "Narratives of the Nation and Democracy in Mali", *Cahiers d'études africaines* 172, 2003 : 827-855.
- Dianne White Oyler, "The Era of Mande Enlightenment", *Mande Studies* 3, 2001: 75-94 and *The History of the N'ko Alphabet and its Role in Mande*, Cherry Hill NJ, African Homestead Legacy Publishes, 2005, chapter 7 ("Cultural nationalism in the Mande diaspora –N'Ko's international dimension", 117-137).
- Mohamed Saidou N'daou, "Djibril Tamsir Niane and David Conrad: Collaborative Re-Imagining of the Mande Past Across the Atlantic", in Stephen Belcher, Jan Jansen & Mohamed N'Daou (eds.), *Mande Mansa: Essays in Honor of David Conrad*, Berlin, LIT Verlag, 2008: 144-173.
- Manthia Diawara, *In Search of Africa,* Cambridge-London, Harvard University Press, 1998.

Films
- *Bamako Sigi Kan*, by Manthia Diawara (Butler DVD 10797)
- *Guimba, un tyran, une époque,* Cheick Oumar Cissoko (Butler DVD 3373)

Class 7 (March 8): Leadership matters: Tanzania & Zambia

Required reading:
- Aili Mari Tripp, "The Political Mediation of Ethnic and Religious Diversity in Tanzania", in Crawford Young (ed.), *The accommodation of cultural diversity. Case studies*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 1999, 37-71.
- Julius Nyerere, *Fredom and Unity, Uhuru na Umoja: a selection from writings and speeches*, 1952-1965, Dar es Salaam, Oxford University Press, 1967.
- James Ferguson, "The Country and the City on the Copperbelt", in Akhil Gupta & James Ferguson (eds.), *Culture, power, place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2001 [1997]: 137-154.

Further reading:
- Gregory H. Maddox & James L. Giblin (eds.), *In Search of a Nation: Histories of Authority and Dissidence in Tanzania*, Athens OH, Ohio University Press, 2005 (Introduction, chapters 3, 5, 15, 16).
- Ronald Aminzade, "From race to citizenship: the indigenization debate in post-socialist Tanzania", *Studies in Comparative International Development* 38 (1), 2003 : 43–64.
- Kelly Askew, *Performing the nation: Swahili music and cultural politics in Tanzania*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2002.
- Susan Geiger, *TANU Women. Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism*, Oxford, James Currey, 1997.
- Viktoria Stöger-Eising, " 'Ujamaa' Revisited: Indigenous and European Influences in Nyerere's Social and Political Thought", *Africa*, 70 (1), 2000-118-143.
- John Hatch, *Two African Statesmen: Kaunda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania*, Chicago, Regnery, 1976.
- Julius Nyerere, "The private and public Nyerere: special interview", *Africa Now*, 32, 1983, 97-125.
- George Bond, "Historical fragments and social constructions in Northern Zambia: a personal journey", *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 13 (1), 2000: 76-93.
- Kenneth Kaunda, *Zambia Shall be Free: An Autobiography*, New York, F. A. Praeger, 1962.
- Giacomo Macola, "Imagining the Nation, Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula between Politics and History" in Derek Peterson & Giacomo Macola (eds.), *Recasting the Past: History Writing and Political Work in Modern Africa*, Ohio University Press, 2009, 95-112.
- Edward Miguel, " Tribe or Nation? Nation-building and publics goods in Kenya versus Tanzania", *World Politics*, 56 (3): 327-362.

- Daniel Posner, *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*, Cambridge University Press, 2005
- Wim van Binsbergen, *Tears of Rain: Ethnicity and History in Central Western Zambia*, London, Kegan Paul International, 1992.

March 15: Spring Break

Class 8 (March 22): Chiefs and revolutionnaries imagining the nation: Ghana & Burkina Faso

Required reading:
- Carola Lentz & Paul Nugent (eds.), *Ethnicity in Ghana: The Limits of Invention*, London, Macmillan, 2000 (Introduction, 1-28).
- Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa must unite,* New York, F. A. Praeger, 1963.

Further reading:
- Michael Amoah, *Reconstructing the nation in Africa : the politics of nationalism in Ghana Michael Amoah*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Kwaku Larbi Korang, "Crisis and Accounting: Towards a Spatial History of the African Nation", in Ezekiel Kalipeni & Paul Tiyambe Zeleza (eds.), *Sacred spaces and public quarrels: African cultural and economic landscapes*, Trenton NJ & Asmara, Africa World Press, 1999: 251-270.
- Carola Lentz, *Ethnicity and the making of history in Northern Ghana*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2006. Introduction, chapter 3 ("The discursive creation of ethnicity") and chapter 10 ("The Cultural Work of Ethnicity").
- Richard Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs : Chieftaincy Politics in Ghana 1951-1960*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Enid Schildkrout, *People of the zongo: the transformation of ethnic identities in Ghana*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Sten Hagberg, "The Politics of Joking Relationships in Burkina Faso,"*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 131(2), 2006: 197-214.
- Sten Hagberg, "Ethnic Identification in Voluntary Associations: The Politics of Development and Culture in Burkina Faso," in H. Englund & F.B. Nyamnjoh*, Rights and the Politics of Recognition in Africa* (eds.), London & New York, ZED Books, 2004, 195-218.
- Thomas Sankara*, Thomas Sankara Speaks: The Burkina Faso Revolution, 1983-87*, Pathfinder Press, 1988.

Films
- *Thomas Sankara: the upright man*, by Robin Shuffield (Butler DVD 6289)
- *Cuba: an African Odyssey*, by Jihan el Tahri
- *Amilcar Cabral*, by Ana Ramos Lisboa (Butler DVD 11087)

Class 9 (March 29): The politics of creolization: Mauritius & Cabo Verde

Required reading:
- Thomas Hylland Eriksen, "Creolisation in anthropological theory and in Mauritius", in Charles Stewart (ed.), *Creolization: History, Ethnography, Theory*, Left Coast Press, 2007, 153-177.
- Mai Palmberg, "Expressing Cape Verde: *Morna*, *Funaná* and National Identity", in Mai Palmberg & Annemette Kirkegaard (eds.), *Playing with Identities in Contemporary Music in Africa*, Uppsala, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2002, 117-133.

Further reading:
- Monique Dinan, Vidula Nababsing and Hansraj Mathur, "Mauritius: Cultural Accomodation in a Diverse Island Polity", in Crawford Young (ed.), *The accommodation of cultural diversity. Case studies*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 1999, 72-102.

- Patrick Eisenlohr, chapter 1 ("Creole Island or Little India? The politics of language and diaspora", 22-65) and chapter 4 ("Colonial Education, Ethnolinguistic Identifications, and the Origins of Ancestral Languages", 168-201), in Patrick Eisenlohr, *Little India: Diaspora, Time, and Ethnolinguistic Belonging in Hindu Mauritius*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2006.
- Megan Vaughan, *Creating the Creole Island: Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Mauritius*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005.

Class 10 (April 5): The politics of multiculturalism: South Africa

Required reading:
- James Ferguson, "Paradoxes of Sovereignty and Independance", in James Ferguson, *Global Shadows. Africa in the Neoliberal World Order,* Durham, Duke University Press, 1996: 50-68.
- Francis Nyamnjoh, « From Bounded to Flexible Citizenship: Lessons from Africa", *Citizenship Studies* 11 (1), 2007: 73-82.
- Simon Bekker & Anne Leildé, "Is Multiculturalism a Workable Policy in South Africa?", *IJMS: International Journal on Multicultural Societies,* 5 (2), 2003, 119-134.

Further reading:
- C. R. D. Halisi, 1999. *Black Political Thought in the Making of South African Democracy*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press
- Francis Nyamnjoh, *Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa*, London, CODESRIA/Zed Books, 2006.
- AbdouMaliq Simone, "African Migration and the Remaking of Inner-City Johannesburg", in A. Morris & A. Bouillon (eds.), *African Immigration to South Africa: Francophone Migration of the 1990s*, Pretoria, Protea & IFAS, 2001, 150-170.
- Shula Marks, 'The Dog that did not Bark or Why Natal did not Take Off: Ethnicity and Democracy in South Africa - the case of Kwazulu Natal" in Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh & Will Kymlicka, *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*, Ohio University Press, 2004.
- Aletta Norval, "Decolonization, demonization and difference: the difficult constitution of a nation", in James Le Sueur (ed.), *The decolonization reader*, New York, Routledge, 2003, 256-268.
- Michael Williams, *Chieftancy, the State and Democracy : Political Legitimacy in Post-Apartheid South-Africa*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2009.

Films
- *Behind the Rainbow*, by Jihan el Tahri (Butler, cataloguing)
- *Zulu Love Letter*, by Ramadan Suleiman (Butler DVD 4958)
- *When the War is Over*, by François Verster (Butler DVD 9084)
- *Children of the Revolution*, by Zola Maseko (Butler DVD 5914)
- *Nothing but the truth*, by John Kani

CONTESTED COMMUNITIES: PROBLEMATIC NATION-STATES?

Class 11 (April 12): The economy in lieu of nationhood? Kenya & Ivory Coast

Required reading:
- Jacqueline Klopp, "Can moral ethnicity trump political tribalism? The struggle for land and nation in Kenya", *African Studies* 61(2), 2002: 268-294.
- Henri-Michel Yéré, "Reconfiguring nationhood in Côte d'Ivoire". In Cyril I. Obi (ed.), *Perspectives on Côte d'Ivoire. Between Political Breakdown and Post-Conflict Peace.* Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute, 50-65.
- Ruth Marshall-Fratani, "The War of 'Who is Who': Autochthony, Nationalism and Citizenship in the Ivorian Crisis," *African Studies Review*, 49 (2), 2006: 9-43.

Further reading:
- John Lonsdale, "KAU's Cultures: Imaginations of Community and Constructions of Leadership in Kenya after the Second World War", *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 13 (1), 2000: 107-124.
- Githu Muigai, "Jomo Kenyatta and the Birth of the Ethnonationalist State in Kenya" in Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh & Will Kymlicka, *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*, Ohio University Press, 2004.
- John Lonsdale, "Moral and political argument in Kenya", in Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh & Will Kymlicka (eds.), *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*, Ohio Univeristy Press, 2004, 73–95.
- Stephen Ndegwa, "Citizenship and Ethnicity: An Examination of Two Transitional Movements in Kenyan Politics," *American Political Science Review* 91 (3), 599-616.
- Peter Mwangi Kagwanja, "Globalizing Ethnicity, Localizing Citizenship: Globalization, Identity Politics and Violence in Kenya's Tana River Region", *Africa Development*, 28(1-2), 2003: 112-152.
- E.S. Atieno Odhiambo, "Hegemonic Enterprises and Instrumentalities of Survival: Ethnicity and Democracy in Kenya", in Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh & Will Kymlicka, *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*, Ohio University Press, 2004.
- Richard Banégas, "Côte d'Ivoire: patriotism, ethnonationlism and other African modes of self-writing", *African Affairs*, 105 (421), 2006: 535-552.
- Thomas Bassett, « Dangerous Pursuits: Hunter Associations (Donzo ton) and National Politics in Côte d'Ivoire », *Africa*, 73 (1), 2003, 1–30
- Joseph Hellweg, « Encompassing the State: Sacrifice and Security in the Hunters' Movement in Côte d'Ivoire", *Africa Today*, 50, 2004, 3-30.
- Anne Schumann, "Popular music and political change in Côte d'Ivoire: the divergent dynamics of *zougglou* and *reggae*", Journal of African Media Studies, 1 (1), 2009.
- Simon Akindès, "Playing it 'loud and straight': reggae, zouglou, mapouka and youth insubordination in Côte d'Ivoire", in Mai Palmberg & Annemette Kirkegaard (eds.), *Playing with Identities in Contemporary Music in Africa*, Uppsala, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2002, 86-103.
- Dwayne Woods "Rent-seeking and ethnic conflict in Ivory Coast", *Journal of Modern African Studies,* 41 (4), 2003: 641–55
- Beth Elise Whitaker, 'Citizens and foreigners: democratization and the politics of exclusion in Africa', *African Studies Review,* 48 (1), 2005: 109–26.
- Peter Geschiere, "Autochtony and Citizenship. New modes in the struggle over belonging and exclusion in Africa", *Quest, An African Journal of Philosophy*, 28, 2005: 9-24.

Films
- *Bronx- Barbès*, by Eliane de Latour
- *Les Oiseaux du ciel*, by Eliane de Latour
- *Who's afraid of Ngugi?* by Manthia Diawara (Butler DVD 10795)
- *Mau Mau*, by David Koff
-*Kenyatta*, by David Koff

Class 12 (April 19): Deadly binarities and the politics of genocide: Rwanda & Burundi

Required reading:
- Mahmood Mamdani, *When victims become killers. Colonialim, Nativism and the Genocide in Rwanda*, Princeton University Press, 2002 (chapter 1, "Defining the Crisis of Postcolonial Citizenship: Settler and Native as Political Identities", 19-40; chapter 2 "The Origins of Hutu and Tutsi", 41-75; chapter 3 "The Racialization fo the Hutu/Tutsi Difference under Colonialism", 76-102; chapter 7 "The Civil War and the Genocide", 185-235).
- Lee Ann Fujii*, Killing Neighbors: Webs of Violence in Rwanda,* Cornell University Press 2009 (chapter 2 "Violence and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective",45-75; chapter 4 "The Enigma of Ethnicity", 103-128, and chapter 6 "The Logic of Groups", 154-179).

Further reading:
- Human Rights Watch / FIDH, *Leave no one to tell the story. Genocide in Rwanda*, New York & Paris, 1999.
- Liisa Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania,* University Chicago Press, 1995.
- Max Rettig, "Gacaca: Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation in Postconflict Rwanda?", *African Studies Review*, 51 (3), 2008: 25-50.
- Scott Strauss, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda,* Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Jean-Pierre Chrétien, "The Recurrence of Violence in Burundi: Memories of the 'Catastrophe' of 1972", in Jean-Pierre Chrétien & Richard Banégas (eds.), *The Recurring Great Lakes Crisis: Identity, Violence, and Sovereign States,* London, Hurst Publishers, 2008, 27-52.
- Edith Sanders, "The Hamitic hypothesis: Its origins and junctions in time perspective," *Journal of African History,* 10, 1969: 521-532.
- Michel Foucault, *"Society Must be Defended": Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976*, Picador, New York, 2003.

Films
- *Sometimes in April*, by Raoul Peck (Butler DVD 5010)

Class 13 (April 26): Contested sovereignties in Africa's largest states: Sudan & DRC

Required reading:
- Jeffrey Herbst & Greg Mills, "There is no Congo: why the only way to help Congo is to stop pretending it exists", *Foreign Policy*, March 18, 2009, and "Time to end the Congo charade", *Foreign Policy*, August 14, 2009.
- Timothy Raeymaekers, "Who calls the Congo? A response to Jeffrey Herbst and Greg Mills", http://rubeneberlein.wordpress.com/2009/08/10
- Debate on Darfur in the *London Review of Books*, 2007, from vol.29, n°5 to vol.29, n°10: http://www.lrb.co.uk/v29/n05/mahmood-mamdani/the-politics-of-naming-genocide-civil-war-insurgency

Further reading:
- Alphone Maindo, "Congo-Kinshasa from One War to Another: Sociopolitical Practices and Political Imaginaire", in Jean-Pierre Chrétien & Richard Banégas (eds.), *The Recurring Great Lakes Crisis: Identity, Violence, and Sovereign States,* London, Hurst Publishers, 2008, 99-135.
- Gérard Prunier, *From genocide to continental war*, London, Hurst, 2009.
- Gérard Prunier, "The 'Ethnic' Conflict in Ituri District: Overlapping of Local and International in Congo-Kinshasa", in Jean-Pierre Chrétien & Richard Banégas (eds.), *The Recurring Great Lakes Crisis: Identity, Violence, and Sovereign States,* London, Hurst Publishers, 2008, 180-204.
- Denis M. Tull, « Troubled state-building in the DR Congo: the challenge from the margins », *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 48, 2010, 643-661.
- Alex de Waal (ed.), *War in Darfur and the search for peace*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Martin W. Daly, *Darfur's Sorrow. A History of destruction and genocide*, Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Films
- *Lumumba*, by Raoul Peck (Butler DVD 12157)
- *Mobutu : King of Zaïre*, by Thierry Michel (Butler DVD 11784)
- *Congo River*, by Thierry Michel
- *Katanga business*, by Thierry Michel
- *L'Afrique en morceaux*, by Jihan el Tahri

Class 14 (tba): The politics of federalism in Africa's most populated states: Ethiopia & Nigeria

Required reading:
- Mengisteab Kidane, "New approaches to state building in Africa: the case of Ethiopia's ethnic-based federalism", *African Studies Review* 40 (3) 1997: 111–32
- Ukoha Ukiwo, "Violence, Identity Mobilisation and the Reimagining of Biafra", *Africa Development*, 34(1), 2009: 9-30.

Further reading:
- E. J. Keller, "Making and remaking state and nation in Ethiopia", in R. R. Laremont (ed.), *Borders, Nationalism and the African State*, Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005, 105–58.
- John Markakis, "The politics of identity: the case of the Gurage in Ethiopia", in M. A. Mohamed Salih & J. Markakis (eds.), *Ethnicity and the State in Eastern Africa*, Uppsala, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1996, 123-146.
- David Turton (ed.), *Ethnic Federalism: the Ethiopian experience in comparative perspective*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006.
- Lahra Smith, "Voting for an ethnic identity: procedural and institutional responses to ethnic conflict in Ethiopia", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 45, 2007: 565-594.
- Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, "African 'Authenticity' and the Biafran Experience", *Transition*, 99, 2008: 42-53.
- Rufus Akinyele (ed.), *Race, Ethnicity and Nation – Building in Africa*, Rex Charles, Ibadan 2003.
- Toyin Falola, "Ethnicity and Nigerian Politics: The Past in the Yoruba Present", in Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh & Will Kymlicka, *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*, Ohio University Press, 2004.
- Mustapha Raufu, "Ethnicity and the Politics of Democratization in Nigeria", in Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh & Will Kymlicka, *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*, Ohio University Press, 2004.
- Brian Larkin, "Indian Films and Nigerian Lovers: Media and the Creation of Parallel Modernities", in Jonathan Xavier Inda & Renato Rosaldo (eds.), *The Anthropology of Globalization. A Reader,* Oxford, Blackwell Books, 2002.
- Kate Meagher, "The Informalization of Belonging: Igbo Informal Enterprise and National Cohesion from Below", *Africa Development*, 34(1), 2009: 31-46.
- Kathryn Nwajiaku-Dahou, "Heroes and Villains: Ijaw Nationalist Narratives of the Nigerian Civil War", *Africa Development*, 34(1), 2009: 47-67.
- Ebenezer Obadare, "The Uses of Ridicule: Humour, 'Infrapolitics' and Civil Society in Nigeria," *African Affairs* 108(431), 2009: 241-261.
- Chukwuma Okoye, "History and Nation Imagination: Igbos and the videos of Nationalism", *Postcolonial Text* 3 (2), 2007: 1-10.
- Olufemi Vaughan, *Nigerian Chiefs : Traditional Power in Modern Politics 1890s-1990s*, Rochester, University of Rochester Press, 2000.

Films
- *An Imperfect Journey*, by Haile Gerima (Butler VIDEORES00518)
- *Teza*, by Haile Gerima
- *Delta force***,** by Glen Ellis (Butler DVD 7809)
- *Fela: Music is the weapon,* by Jean jacques Flori.
- *Nigeria's Oil War*, by Eric Campbell (Butler DVD 4893)
- *Nigeria War Agains Biafra*, BBC documentary film, (available on youtube in 7 parts)