

PL2023 Politics and Power in Africa

[View Online](#)

This module provides a detailed exploration of the internal politics and international relations of contemporary Africa. Africa is no longer the 'hopeless continent' to use the infamous description of The Economist in May 2000. The last fifteen years have seen an improvement in the continent's fortunes – particularly in terms of economic growth – with academics, policy makers and non-governmental organisations on the ground now placing a much greater emphasis upon an 'Africa rising' discourse with discussion focused upon what can be done in conjunction with Africa rather than for Africa. This entails strategic partnerships to help facilitate economic development, conflict resolution, and the creation of a new continent wide peace and security architecture. That said, Africa continues to suffer from myriad problems. Its progress towards meeting the UN's millennium development goals is uneven, most of the UN's peacekeeping activities are concentrated in Africa and the continent continues to suffer from fragile statehood, insurgencies of various kinds, high levels of authoritarianism and state corruption, and conflicts over resources. Africa also continues to be viewed as an important setting for counter-terrorist initiatives and the campaign against Islamist radicalism in Nigeria, Mali, and Somalia is considered to provide an important dimension to the 'war on terror'. This growing security problem for the continent, coupled with the demand for the continent's resources, has inevitably increased the levels of engagement of external powers with the United States, France, the UK, China, India and Brazil all active on the continent. As Africa stands at the centre of so many of the contemporary debates in international politics on intervention, development, peacekeeping, democracy, sovereignty, and refugee movements, the developed world cannot expect to remain unaffected by events in Africa.

1.

Cheeseman, N., Anderson, D., Scheibler, A.: Routledge handbook of African politics. Routledge, London (2013).

2.

Thomson, A.: An introduction to African politics. Routledge, London (2009).

3.

Young, T., International African Institute: Readings in African politics. James Currey, Oxford (2002).

4.

Grinker, R.R., Lubkemann, S.C., Steiner, C.B.: Perspectives on Africa: a reader in culture, history, and representation. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, West Sussex (2010).

5.

Paul-Henri Bischoff, Kwesi Aning, Amitav Acharya eds: Africa in Global International Relations: Emerging approaches to theory and practice (Routledge Studies in African Politics and International Relations). Routledge (2015).

6.

Crowder, M., Oliver, R., Fage, J.D.: The Cambridge History of Africa: Vol. 8: From C. 1940 to C. 1975. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (1984).

7.

Kinzer, S.: A Thousand Hills: Rwandas Re-Birth and the Man who Dreamed it. Wiley (2008).

8.

Somerville, K.: Africa's long road since independence: the many histories of a continent. Hurst & Company, London (2015).

9.

Thomson, A.: An introduction to African politics. Routledge, London (2009).

10.

Grinker, R.R., Lubkemann, S.C., Steiner, C.B.: Perspectives on Africa: a reader in culture, history, and representation. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, West Sussex (2010).

11.

Grinker, R.R., Lubkemann, S.C., Steiner, C.B.: Perspectives on Africa: a reader in culture, history, and representation. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, West Sussex (2010).

12.

Birmingham, D.: Empire in Africa: Angola and Its Neighbors. Ohio University Press, Athens, OH (2006).

13.

Castle, G.: Postcolonial discourses: an anthology. Blackwell, Oxford (2001).

14.

Penvenne, J.: Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present (review). Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History. 4, (2003). <https://doi.org/10.1353/cch.2004.0015>.

15.

Cooper, F.: Africa in the world: capitalism, empire, nation-state. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts (2014).

16.

Frederick Cooper: Citizenship between Empire and Nation: Remaking France and French Africa, 1945-1960. Princeton University Press (2014).

17.

Hargreaves, J.D.: Decolonization in Africa. Longman, London (1996).

18.

Martin, P.M., O'Meara, P.: Africa. Indiana University Press (1995).

19.

Thomson, A.: An introduction to African politics. Routledge, London (2009).

20.

Limb, P.: The Empire Writes Back: African Challenges to the British (South African) Empire in the Early 20th Century. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 41, 599–616 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2015.1028001>.

21.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J.: Fiftieth Anniversary of Decolonisation in Africa: a moment of celebration or critical reflection? *Third World Quarterly*. 33, 71–89 (2012).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2012.627236>.

22.

Talton, B.: The Challenge of Decolonization in Africa,
<http://exhibitions.nypl.org/africanaage/essay-challenge-of-decolonization-africa.html>.

23.

Olender, M.: Integrating Africa: Decolonization's Legacies, Sovereignty and the African Union. *Politikon*. 41, 163–165 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2014.885687>.

24.

REID, R.: Horror, hubris and humanity: the international engagement with Africa, 1914-2014. *International Affairs*. 90, 143–166 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12100>.

25.

Omeje, K.: Markets or Oligopolies of Violence? The Case of Sudan. *African Security*. 3, 168–189 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2010.503856>.

26.

Nhema, A., Zeleza, P.T.: *Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs*. Ohio University Press, Athens (2008).

27.

The Algerian Question in Nkrumah's Ghana, 1958–1960: Debating 'Violence' and 'Nonviolence' in African Decolonization. *Africa Today*. 57, 67–84.

28.

Rodney, W.: *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Pambazuka Press, Cape Town (2012).

29.

Gilley, B.: Chinua Achebe on the positive legacies of colonialism. *African Affairs*. 115, 646–663 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adw030>.

30.

Bayart, J.: Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion. *African Affairs*. 99, (2000),.

31.

Pheko, M.: Effects of colonialism on Africa's past and present, <http://www.pambazuka.org/global-south/effects-colonialism-africas-past-and-present>.

32.

Beresford, A.: Africa rising? *Review of African Political Economy*. 43, 1–7 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2016.1149369>.

33.

Taylor, I.: Dependency redux: why Africa is not rising. *Review of African Political Economy*. 43, 8–25 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2015.1084911>.

34.

Cheeseman, N., Anderson, D., Scheibler, A.: *Routledge handbook of African politics*. Routledge, London (2013).

35.

Thomson, A.: *An introduction to African politics*. Routledge, London (2009).

36.

Grinker, R.R., Lubkemann, S.C., Steiner, C.B.: *Perspectives on Africa: a reader in culture, history, and representation*. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, West Sussex (2010).

37.

Cheeseman, N.: *Democracy in Africa: successes, failures, and the struggle for political reform*. Cambridge University Press, New York, NY, USA (2015).

38.

Cowen, M.P., Laasko, L.: *Multi-party elections in Africa*. James Currey, Oxford (2001).

39.

Young, T., *International African Institute: Readings in African politics*. James Currey, Oxford (2002).

40.

Mohan, G., Zack-Williams, T., *Review of African political economy: The politics of transition*

in Africa: state, democracy & economic development in Africa. James Currey, Oxford (2002).

41.

Abrahamsen, R.: African democracy - still disciplined after all these years? *International Relations*. 27, 241–246 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117813489655c>.

42.

Adrienne Lebas: *From Protest to Parties: Party-Building And Democratization In Africa*. Oxford University Press, Usa; Reprint edition (2013).

43.

Anchoring the 'D-Word' in Africa. *Journal of Democracy*. 21, 106–113 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2010.0006>.

44.

Abrahamsen, R.: The power of partnerships in global governance. *Third World Quarterly*. 25, 1453–1467 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1080/0143659042000308465>.

45.

Abbay, A.: Diversity and democracy in Ethiopia. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 3, 175–201 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17531050902972428>.

46.

Degila, D.E.: Neopatrimonialism in Africa and Beyond. *African Affairs*. 113, 623–625 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adu052>.

47.

Burnet, J.E.: Gender Balance and the Meanings of Women in Governance in Post-Genocide Rwanda. *African Affairs*. 107, 361–386 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adn024>.

48.

Anne Pitcher, Mary H. Moran and Michael Johnston: Rethinking Patrimonialism and Neopatrimonialism in Africa. *African Studies Review*. 52, 125–156 (2009).

49.

Daniel Bach: *Neopatrimonialism in africa and beyond* (Routledge Studies on African Politics and International Relations). Routledge (2012).

50.

Parisot, J.: American Power, East Asian Regionalism and Emerging Powers: or empire? *Third World Quarterly*. 34, 1159–1174 (2013).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2013.824655>.

51.

Bøås, M., Torheim, L.E.: The Trouble in Mali—corruption, collusion, resistance. *Third World Quarterly*. 34, 1279–1292 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2013.824647>.

52.

Booyesen, S.: 'Choice Between Malaria and Cholera' or 'Democratic Façade': The 2006 Elections in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *Politikon*. 34, 1–18 (2007).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340701336179>.

53.

Collier, P.: *The bottom billion: why the poorest countries are failing and what can be done about it*. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2007).

54.

A Du Pisani: *New Sites of Governance*. In: *Theory, Change and the Future for Southern Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan (2000).

55.

Deegan, H.: Politics South Africa. Pearson Longman, Harlow (2011).

56.

Ozor, F.U.: Electoral Process, Democracy and Governance in Africa: Search for an Alternative Democratic Model. *Politikon*. 36, 315–336 (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340903240302>.

57.

de Jager, N.: Liberation Movements in Power: Party & State in Southern Africa. *Politikon*. 41, 162–163 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2014.885685>.

58.

Grove, A.: The International Politics of Survival: The Case of Mugabe's Staying Power. *Politikon*. 38, 275–294 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2011.580127>.

59.

Hamill, J.: A (Qualified) Reaffirmation of ANC Hegemony: Assessing South Africa's 2009 Election. *Politikon*. 37, 3–23 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2010.492147>.

60.

FISHER, J., ANDERSON, D.M.: Authoritarianism and the securitization of development in Africa. *International Affairs*. 91, 131–151 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12190>.

61.

Gaynor, N.: Between Citizenship and Clientship: The Politics of Participatory Governance in Malawi. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 36, 801–816 (2010).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2010.527637>.

62.

Hamill, J., Hoffman, J.: 'Quiet Diplomacy' or Appeasement? South African Policy towards Zimbabwe. *The Round Table*. 98, 373–384 (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00358530902895584>.

63.

Joseph Hanlon, Teresa Smart: Do Bicycles Equal Development in Mozambique? James Currey; Reissue edition (2010).

64.

Klein, N.: *The shock doctrine: the rise of disaster capitalism*. Metropolitan Books, New York (2007).

65.

MEREDITH, T.C.: The Challenge for Africa: A New Vision by Wangari Maathai. *Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe canadien*. 55, 391–392 (2011).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0064.2011.00369.x>.

66.

Maathai, W.: *The challenge for Africa*. Arrow, London (2010).

67.

Macdonald, G.: Racial Politics and Campaign Strategy in South Africa's 2009 Election. *Politikon*. 42, 155–176 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2015.1005792>.

68.

Melber, H.: Post-liberation Democratic Authoritarianism: The Case of Namibia. *Politikon*. 42, 45–66 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2015.1005790>.

69.

Prevost, G.: The evolution of the African National Congress in power: From revolutionaries to social democrats? *Politikon*. 33, 163–181 (2006).

<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340600884584>.

70.

Reyntjens, F.: Constructing the truth, dealing with dissent, domesticating the world: Governance in post-genocide Rwanda. *African Affairs*. 110, 1–34 (2011).
<https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adq075>.

71.

Mehler, A.: Rebels and parties: the impact of armed insurgency on representation in the Central African Republic. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 49, 115–139 (2011).
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X10000674>.

72.

Southall, R.: The black middle class and democracy in South Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 52, 647–670 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X14000445>.

73.

Steans, J.: *Gender and international relations: theory, practice, policy*. Polity, Cambridge (2013).

74.

De Jager, N., Du Toit, P. van der P.: *Friend or foe?: dominant party systems in Southern Africa : insights from the developing world*. United Nations University Press, Tokyo (2013).

75.

Suttner, R.: Party Dominance 'Theory': Of What Value? *Politikon*. 33, 277–297 (2006).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340601122901>.

76.

Reyntjens, F.: Rwanda: Progress or Powder Keg? *Journal of Democracy*. 26, 19–33 (2015).

<https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2015.0043>.

77.

Lewis, P., Kew, D.: Nigeria's Hopeful Election. *Journal of Democracy*. 26, 94–109 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2015.0039>.

78.

Azevedo-Harman, E.: Patching Things Up in Mozambique. *Journal of Democracy*. 26, 139–150 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2015.0036>.

79.

Joseph, R.: Growth, Security, and Democracy in Africa. *Journal of Democracy*. 25, 61–75 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2014.0060>.

80.

Opalo, K.O.: African Elections: Two Divergent Trends. *Journal of Democracy*. 23, 80–93 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2012.0039>.

81.

Gyimah-Boadi, E., Prempeh, H.K.: Oil, Politics, and Ghana's Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*. 23, 94–108 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2012.0042>.

82.

Dizolele, M.P., Kambale, P.K.: The DRC's Crumbling Legitimacy. *Journal of Democracy*. 23, 109–120 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2012.0045>.

83.

Constraining Government Power in Africa. *Journal of Democracy*. 22, 96–106.

84.

The Mirage of Democracy in the DRC. *Journal of Democracy*. 21, 143–157 (2010).
<https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.0.0189>.

85.

Mozambique's Slide into One-Party Rule. *Journal of Democracy*. 21, 151–165 (2010).
<https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.0.0165>.

86.

Imperial Presidency and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria. *Africa Today*. 59, 43–68.

87.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo? Corruption, Patronage, and Competitive Authoritarianism in the DRC. *Africa Today*. 56, 42–61.

88.

Fallon, Kathleen M.: *Democracy and the Rise of Women's Movements in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Johns Hopkins University Press (2010).

89.

Ahluwalia, D.P.S.: *Politics and post-colonial theory: African inflections*. Routledge, London (2001).

90.

Bauer, G., Taylor, S.D.: *Politics in southern Africa: state and society in transition*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colo (2005).

91.

Ainslie, A., Kepe, T.: Understanding the Resurgence of Traditional Authorities in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 42, 19–33 (2016).

<https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2016.1121714>.

92.

Lancaster, C.: Democratisation in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Survival*. 35, 38–50 (1993).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00396339308442698>.

93.

Abrahamsen, R., Bareebe, G.: Uganda's 2016 elections: Not even faking it anymore. *African Affairs*. 115, 751–765 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adw056>.

94.

Meger, S.: The failure of democracy in the Republic of Congo. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 29, 235–237 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2011.562006>.

95.

Porter, Elisabeth J.: *Researching Conflict in Africa : Insights and Experiences*. United Nations University Press (2005).

96.

Furley, O.: *Conflict in Africa*. Tauris Academic Studies, London (1995).

97.

Mlambo, Norman: *Violent Conflicts, Fragile Peace : Perspectives on Africa's Security Problems*. Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd (2008).

98.

Thomson, A.: *An introduction to African politics*. Routledge, London (2009).

99.

Mohan, G., Zack-Williams, T., Review of African political economy: The politics of transition in Africa: state, democracy & economic development in Africa. James Currey, Oxford (2002).

100.

Grinker, R.R., Lubkemann, S.C., Steiner, C.B.: Perspectives on Africa: a reader in culture, history, and representation. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, West Sussex (2010).

101.

Major, L., Fontein, J.: Corporealities of violence in southern and eastern Africa. *Critical African Studies*. 7, 89–98 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/21681392.2015.1055549>.

102.

Peltier, J.-P.N.: Rethinking Africa's Military. *American Foreign Policy Interests*. 32, 219–228 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10803920.2010.501208>.

103.

Weiss, T.G., International Peace Academy: Humanitarian emergencies and military help in Africa. Macmillan in association with International Peace Academy, Basingstoke (1990).

104.

Gutteridge, W., Spence, J.E.: Violence in Southern Africa. Frank Cass, London (1997).

105.

Kaldor, M.: New and old wars. Polity Press, Cambridge (2012).

106.

Karlsrud, J.: The UN at war: examining the consequences of peace-enforcement mandates for the UN peacekeeping operations in the CAR, the DRC and Mali. *Third World Quarterly*. 36, 40–54 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.976016>.

107.

Mendes, C.: Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-Industrial Media-Entertainment Network. *Politikon*. 38, 469–470 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2011.548853>.

108.

Obiyo, R.: One Report of the Joint Investigating Team on the Strategic Defence Procurement Packages, Too Many! *Politikon*. 33, 361–385 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340601127660>.

109.

Seegers, A., Taylor, S.: Transformation in the South African Military: A Study of the Gender-Representivity Component in the South African Navy. *Politikon*. 35, 357–378 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340903020670>.

110.

Williams, P.D.: Reflections on the Evolving African Peace and Security Architecture. *African Security*. 7, 147–162 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.939886>.

111.

Brosig, M.: Introduction: The African Security Regime Complex—Exploring Converging Actors and Policies. *African Security*. 6, 171–190 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2013.854088>.

112.

Barron, T.: The Soldier and the State in the Congo Crisis: The Unprofessional Legacy of the National Congolese Army. *African Security*. 6, 97–132 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2013.788407>.

113.

Bachmann, J., Gelot, L.: Between Protection and Stabilization? Addressing the Tensions in Contemporary Western Interventions in Africa: An Introduction. *African Security*. 5, 129–141 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2012.732883>.

114.

Andersen, L.R.: Something's Gotta Give: Security Sector Reform and United Nations Peace Operations. *African Security*. 5, 217–235 (2012).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2012.732894>.

115.

Peltier, J.-P.N.: Rethinking Africa's Military. *American Foreign Policy Interests*. 32, 219–228 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10803920.2010.501208>.

116.

ECOWAS and Regional Peacekeeping Integration in West Africa: Lessons for the Future. *Africa Today*. 57, 3–24.

117.

Ojo, E.O.: The Military and the Challenge of Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria: Positive Scepticism and Negative Optimism. *Insight on Africa*. 6, 57–79 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0975087814532585>.

118.

Ozkan, M.: When a Giant became a 'Reluctant Peacekeeper': South Africa and Peacekeeping Operations between 1994-2003. *Insight on Africa*. 5, 129–138 (2013).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0975087813515980>.

119.

Firsing, S.: Thinking through the role of Africa's militaries in peacekeeping: the cases of Nigeria, Ethiopia and Rwanda. *South African Journal of International Affairs*. 21, 45–67 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2014.894685>.

120.

Powell, J., Lasley, T., Schiel, R.: Combating Coups d'état in Africa, 1950–2014. *Studies in Comparative International Development*. (2016).

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s12116-015-9210-6>.

121.

Cheeseman, N., Anderson, D., Scheibler, A.: Routledge handbook of African politics. Routledge, London (2013).

122.

Thomson, A.: An introduction to African politics. Routledge, London (2009).

123.

Grinker, R.R., Lubkemann, S.C., Steiner, C.B.: Perspectives on Africa: a reader in culture, history, and representation. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, West Sussex (2010).

124.

Castle, G.: Postcolonial discourses: an anthology. Blackwell, Oxford (2001).

125.

Young, T., International African Institute: Readings in African politics. James Currey, Oxford (2002).

126.

Mhlanga, B.: Ethnicity or tribalism? The discursive construction of Zimbabwean national identity. *African Identities*. 11, 47–60 (2013).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2013.775840>.

127.

Kinzer, S.: A Thousand Hills: Rwandas Re-Birth and the Man who Dreamed it. Wiley (2008).

128.

Rothchild, D.S.: Managing ethnic conflict in Africa: pressures and incentives for cooperation. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, D.C. (1997).

129.

Southern, N.: The Government of National Unity and the Demise of the National Party in Post-settlement South Africa. *Politikon*. 42, 235–254 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2015.1041672>.

130.

Horowitz, D.L.: Ethnic groups in conflict. University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif (2000).

131.

Medani, K.M.: Strife and Secession in Sudan. *Journal of Democracy*. 22, 135–149 (2011).
<https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2011.0053>.

132.

Cameron, H.: The French Connection: Complicity in the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda. *African Security*. 8, 96–119 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2015.1036669>.

133.

Christian, P.J.: Darfur—Ground Zero for Africa's Crises of Identity: A Psychohistoriography of Tribes in Conflict. *African Security*. 6, 1–37 (2013).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2013.759457>.

134.

Totten, S., Parsons, W.S.: Centuries of genocide: essays and eyewitness accounts. Routledge, New York, N.Y. (2013).

135.

Gruffydd Jones, B.: From rupture to revolution: race, culture and the practice of anti-colonial thought. *African Identities*. 13, 4–17 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2015.1048064>.

136.

Nhema, A., Zeleza, P.T.: *Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs*. Ohio University Press, Athens (2008).

137.

Dallaire, R., Beardsley, B.: *Shake hands with the devil: the failure of humanity in Rwanda*. Arrow, London (2004).

138.

Barnett, Michael: *Eyewitness to a Genocide : The United Nations and Rwanda*. Cornell University Press (2002).

139.

Chari, T.: Representation or misrepresentation? The 's framing of the 1994 Rwanda genocide. *African Identities*. 8, 333–349 (2010).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2010.513242>.

140.

Côte d'Ivoire: Ethnic Turmoil and Foreign Intervention. *Africa Today*. 61, 40–55.

141.

Dallaire, R.: The Lessons of Rwanda. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*. 23, 19–27 (2004).
<https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/23.4.19>.

142.

Mwakikagile, G.: *Identity politics and ethnic conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi: a comparative study*. New Africa Press, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (2012).

143.

Gourevitch, P.: We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families: stories from Rwanda. Picador, London (1999).

144.

Clark, P.: Ethnicity, Leadership and Conflict Mediation in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo: The Case of the. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 2, 1–17 (2008).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17531050701846682>.

145.

Introduction: Postliberation Eritrea. *Africa Today*. 60, v–xix.

146.

Ethnicity and Electoral Politics in Ghana's Fourth Republic. *Africa Today*. 56, 45–73.

147.

Amone, C.: Constructivism, instrumentalism and the rise of Acholi ethnic identity in northern Uganda. *African Identities*. 13, 129–143 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2015.1023255>.

148.

Ingelaere, B.: Peasants, power and ethnicity: A bottom-up perspective on Rwanda's political transition. *African Affairs*. 109, 273–292 (2010).
<https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adp090>.

149.

Hydň, G.: African politics in comparative perspective. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2013).

150.

Lemarchand, R.: Consociationalism and Power Sharing in Africa: Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. *African Affairs*. 106, 1–20 (2006).
<https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adl041>.

151.

Médard, H.: Building and transgressing borders in the Great Lakes region of East Africa. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 3, 275–283 (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17531050902972709>.

152.

Pugh, S.A.: Advocacy in the Time of Xenophobia: Civil Society, the State, and the Politics of Migration in South Africa. *Politikon*. 41, 227–247 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2014.905255>.

153.

Ravi Bhavnani and David Backer: Localized Ethnic Conflict and Genocide: Accounting for Differences in Rwanda and Burundi. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 44, 283–306 (2000).

154.

Southern, N.: The Political Future of Afrikaans: The Viewpoints of an Ethnic Party. *Politikon*. 39, 353–369 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2012.746185>.

155.

Krueger, R., Krueger, K.T.: From bloodshed to hope in Burundi : our embassy years during genocide. University of Texas Press, [Place of publication not identified] (2007).

156.

Wa-Mungai, M.: Tusker Project Fame: Ethnic States, Popular Flows. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 1, 338–358 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17531050701625771>.

157.

Russell, A.: OBEDIENCE AND SELECTIVE GENOCIDE IN BURUNDI. *Africa*. 85, 437–456 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0001972015000273>.

158.

Tonge, J.: *Comparative peace processes*. Polity, Cambridge (2014).

159.

Ahluwalia, D.P.S.: *Politics and post-colonial theory: African inflections*. Routledge, London (2001).

160.

Bauer, G., Taylor, S.D.: *Politics in southern Africa: state and society in transition*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colo (2005).

161.

Bouilly, E., Rillon, O., Cross, H.: African women's struggles in a gender perspective. *Review of African Political Economy*. 43, 338–349 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2016.1216671>.

162.

Cheeseman, N., Anderson, D., Scheibler, A.: *Routledge handbook of African politics*. Routledge, London (2013).

163.

Hydň, G.: *African politics in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2013).

164.

Grinker, R.R., Lubkemann, S.C., Steiner, C.B.: *Perspectives on Africa: a reader in culture*,

history, and representation. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, West Sussex (2010).

165.

Young, T., International African Institute: Readings in African politics. James Currey, Oxford (2002).

166.

Welcome | UN Women in Africa, <http://africa.unwomen.org/en>.

167.

Arnfred, S., Nordiska Afrikainstitutet: Re-thinking sexualities in Africa. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala (2006).

168.

Burnet, J.E.: Gender Balance and the Meanings of Women in Governance in Post-Genocide Rwanda. *African Affairs*. 107, 361–386 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adn024>.

169.

Tripp, A.M.: Legislating Gender-based Violence in Post-conflict Africa. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*. 5, 7–20 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/15423166.2010.981435347428>.

170.

Coulter, Chris: *Bush Wives and Girl Soldiers : Women's Lives Through War and Peace in Sierra Leone*. Cornell University Press (2009).

171.

Althaus, F.: Female Circumcision: Rite of Passage Or Violation of Rights?, <https://www.guttmacher.org/pubs/journals/2313097.html>.

172.

Zalewski, M., Runyan, A.S.: "Unthinking" sexual violence in a neoliberal era of spectacular terror. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 1–17 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2015.1094253>.

173.

Love and Sex in Islamic Africa: Introduction. *Africa Today*. 61, 1–10.

174.

Castle, G.: *Postcolonial discourses: an anthology*. Blackwell, Oxford (2001).

175.

Suttner, R.: Nelson Mandela's masculinities. *African Identities*. 12, 342–356 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2015.1009623>.

176.

She Lives Dangerously: Intimate Ethics, Grammatical Personhood, and HIV/AIDS in Islamic Northern Nigeria. *Africa Today*. 61, 84–103.

177.

Partnership, Policy Making, and Conditionality in the Gender Field: The Case of Tanzania. *Africa Today*. 60, 67–84.

178.

The Lies We Have Been Told: On (Homo) Sexuality in Africa. *Africa Today*. 58, 54–77.

179.

Addressing the Impact of HIV/AIDS on Women and Children in Sub-Saharan Africa: PEPFAR, the U.S. Strategy. *Africa Today*. 57, 65–76.

180.

Gqola, P.D.: How the 'cult of femininity' and violent masculinities support endemic gender based violence in contemporary South Africa. *African Identities*. 5, 111–124 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725840701253894>.

181.

Moffett, H.: 'These Women, They Force Us to Rape Them': Rape as Narrative of Social Control in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 32, 129–144 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070500493845>.

182.

Mkhwanazi, N.: Twenty years of democracy and the politics of reproduction in South Africa. *African Identities*. 12, 326–341 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2015.1009618>.

183.

Hassim, S.: Violent Modernity: Gender, Race and Bodies in Contemporary South African Politics. *Politikon*. 41, 167–182 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2013.865824>.

184.

Daley, E., Englert, B.: Securing land rights for women. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 4, 91–113 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17531050903556675>.

185.

McAuslan, P.: Personal reflections on drafting laws to improve women's access to land: is there a magic wand? *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 4, 114–130 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17531050903556683>.

186.

Fallon, Kathleen M.: *Democracy and the Rise of Women's Movements in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Johns Hopkins University Press (2010).

187.

Gouws, A., Kotzé, H.: Women in Leadership Positions in South Africa: The Role of Values. *Politikon*. 34, 165–185 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340701715273>.

188.

Hassim, S.: Violent Modernity: Gender, Race and Bodies in Contemporary South African Politics. *Politikon*. 41, 167–182 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2013.865824>.

189.

Hooper, C.: Manly states: masculinities, international relations, and gender politics. Columbia University Press, New York, N.Y. (2001).

190.

Ingiriis, M.H., Hoehne, M.V.: The impact of civil war and state collapse on the roles of Somali women: a blessing in disguise. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 7, 314–333 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2013.776281>.

191.

Laher, Y.: Pageant Politics: Framing Gendered Images of Women in Leadership. *Politikon*. 41, 103–120 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2014.885680>.

192.

Mosoetsa, S.: Eating from one pot: the dynamics of survival in poor South African households. Wits University Press, Johannesburg (2011).

193.

Nannyonga-Tamusuza, S.: Female-men, male-women, and others: constructing and negotiating gender among the Baganda of Uganda. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 3, 367–380 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17531050902973004>.

194.

Erlank, N.: ANC positions on gender, 1994–2004. *Politikon*. 32, 195–215 (2005).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340500353458>.

195.

Mathis, S.M.: Disobedient Daughters? Changing Women's Roles in Rural Households in KwaZulu-Natal. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 37, 831–848 (2011).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2011.617930>.

196.

Niehaus, I.: Maternal Incest as Moral Panic: Envisioning Futures without Fathers in the South African Lowveld. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 36, 833–849 (2010).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2010.527640>.

197.

Rao, R.: Re-membering Mwanga: same-sex intimacy, memory and belonging in postcolonial Uganda. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 9, 1–19 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2014.970600>.

198.

Freedman, J., SpringerLink (Online service): Engaging Men in the Fight against Gender Violence: Case Studies from Africa. Palgrave Macmillan US, New York (2012).

199.

World Bank Document: Improving Gender Equality in Africa,
<http://www.worldbank.org/en/region/afr/brief/improving-gender-equality-in-africa>.

200.

Morrell, R.: Of boys and men: masculinity and gender in Southern African studies. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 24, 605–630 (1998).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03057079808708593>.

201.

Rockefeller, M.M., Johnson-Freese, J.: Dancing for Democracy: Understanding Malawi's First Female President. *Orbis*. 57, 268–281 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2013.02.004>.

202.

Women, Peace and Security. United Nations Peacekeeping, <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/issues/women/wps.shtml>.

203.

Laville, S.: UN troops 'abused at least eight women and girls' in Central African Republic | World news | The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/04/un-troops-abused-least-eight-females-central-african-republic>.

204.

Bowcott, O.: UN accused of 'gross failure' over alleged sexual abuse by French troops | World news | The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/17/un-gross-failure-sexual-abuse-french-troops-central-african-republic>.

205.

UN finds more cases of child abuse by European troops in CAR | World news | The Guardian, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/29/un-finds-more-cases-of-child-abuse-by-european-troops-in-car>.

206.

Carter, C.: The Brutality of Corrective Rape - NYTimes.com, <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2013/07/26/opinion/26corrective-rape.html>.

207.

Vibert, E.: Gender, resilience and resistance: South Africa's Hleketani Community Garden.

Journal of Contemporary African Studies. 34, 252–267 (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2016.1202508>.

208.

Narayanaswamy, L.: Whose feminism counts? Gender(ed) knowledge and professionalisation in development. *Third World Quarterly*. 37, 2156–2175 (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2016.1173511>.

209.

Gouws, A.: Women's activism around gender-based violence in South Africa: recognition, redistribution and representation. *Review of African Political Economy*. 43, 400–415 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2016.1217838>.

210.

Porter, F.: Gender and the political economy of conflict in Africa: the persistence of violence. *Review of African Political Economy*. 43, 530–532 (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2016.1214402>.

211.

Hill, Geoff, 1956–: The battle for Zimbabwe: the final countdown. Zebra Press, Cape Town (2003).

212.

Harrison, G.: Neoliberal Africa: The Impact of Global Social Engineering, Harrison,
<http://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/distributed/N/bo20850944.html>.

213.

Abbas, H., Niyiragira, Y.: Aid to Africa: Redeemer or Coloniser? Pambazuka Press, Chicago (2009).

214.

Cheeseman, N., Anderson, D., Scheibler, A.: Routledge handbook of African politics. Routledge, London (2013).

215.

Grinker, R.R., Lubkemann, S.C., Steiner, C.B.: Perspectives on Africa: a reader in culture, history, and representation. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, West Sussex (2010).

216.

Thomson, A.: An introduction to African politics. Routledge, London (2009).

217.

Hubbard, R.G., Duggan, W.R.: The aid trap: hard truths about ending poverty. Columbia Business School Pub, New York (2009).

218.

Mohan, G., Zack-Williams, T., Review of African political economy: The politics of transition in Africa: state, democracy & economic development in Africa. James Currey, Oxford (2002).

219.

TAYLOR, IAN1: Is Africa Rising? Brown Journal of World Affairs. 21, 143–161 (2014).

220.

Calderisi, R.: The trouble with Africa: why foreign aid isn't working. Yale University Press, New Haven, [Conn.] (2007).

221.

Stiglitz, J.E.: Globalization and its discontents. Allen Lane, London (2002).

222.

Stiglitz, J.E.: The price of inequality. Penguin, London (2013).

223.

Sachs, J.: The end of poverty: how we can make it happen in our lifetime. Penguin, London (2005).

224.

Stiglitz, J.E.: Stability with growth: macroeconomics, liberalization and development. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2006).

225.

PATRICK BOND: LOOTING AFRICA: THE ECONOMICS OF EXPLOITATION. ZED BOOKS, LONDON.

226.

Collier, P.: The bottom billion: why the poorest countries are failing and what can be done about it. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2007).

227.

Andrews, N., Bawa, S.: A Post-development Hoax? (Re)-examining the Past, Present and Future of Development Studies. Third World Quarterly. 35, 922–938 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2014.907704>.

228.

Jones, S., Page, J., Shimeles, A., Tarp, F.: Aid, Growth and Employment in Africa. African Development Review. 27, 1–4 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8268.12134>.

229.

Page, J., Shimeles, A.: Aid, Employment and Poverty Reduction in Africa. African

Development Review. 27, 17–30 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8268.12136>.

230.

Margaret McMillan, Karen Horn Welch, Dani Rodrik, Ibrahim Elbadawi and Stephen O'Connell: When Economic Reform Goes Wrong: Cashew in Mozambique [with Comments and Discussion]. Brookings Trade Forum. 97–165 (2003).

231.

Brown, W.: Reconsidering the Aid Relationship: International Relations and Social Development. The Round Table. 98, 285–299 (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00358530902895386>.

232.

Jones, S., Tarp, F.: Priorities for Boosting Employment in Sub-Saharan Africa: Evidence for Mozambique. African Development Review. 27, 56–70 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8268.12139>.

233.

Samy, Y.: China's Aid Policies in Africa: Opportunities and Challenges. The Round Table. 99, 75–90 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00358530903513756>.

234.

Jerven, M.: Africa: why economists get it wrong. Zed Books, London (2015).

235.

Radelet, S.: The Rise of the World's Poorest Countries. Journal of Democracy. 26, 5–19 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2015.0061>.

236.

Heath-Kelly, C., Baker-Beall, C., Jarvis, L.: Editors' introduction: neoliberalism and/as terror. Critical Studies on Terrorism. 8, 1–14 (2015).

<https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2015.1009761>.

237.

The Colonial Gesture of Development: The Interpersonal as a Promising Site for Rethinking Aid to Africa. *Africa Today*. 59, 2–28.

238.

Gisselquist, R.M.: Varieties of fragility: implications for aid. *Third World Quarterly*. 36, 1269–1280 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1041104>.

239.

Abegaz, B.: Aid, accountability and institution building in Ethiopia: the self-limiting nature of technocratic aid. *Third World Quarterly*. 36, 1382–1403 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1047447>.

240.

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development: Economic development in Africa: doubling aid. UNCTAD, New York (2006).

241.

Richey, L.A., Ponte, S.: New actors and alliances in development. *Third World Quarterly*. 35, 1–21 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2014.868979>.

242.

Banks, N., Hulme, D.: New development alternatives or business as usual with a new face? The transformative potential of new actors and alliances in development. *Third World Quarterly*. 35, 181–195 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2014.868997>.

243.

Fforde, A.: Understanding development economics: its challenge to development studies. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London (2013).

244.

Corbridge, S.: Development studies: a reader. Edward Arnold, London (1995).

245.

Engel, S.: The not-so-great aid debate. *Third World Quarterly*. 35, 1374–1389 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2014.946251>.

246.

Desai, V., Potter, R.B.: The companion to development studies. Arnold, London (2008).

247.

De Medeiros Carvalho, P.M.A.R.: Japan's Foreign Aid Policy to Angola and Mozambique. *Politikon*. 38, 315–342 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2011.580131>.

248.

Strongman, L.: Postcolonialism and international development studies: a dialectical exchange? *Third World Quarterly*. 35, 1343–1354 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2014.946248>.

249.

Gary A. Haugen: The Locust Effect: Why the End of Poverty Requires the End of Violence. Oxford University Press; Reprint edition (2015).

250.

Hout, W.: The Anti-Politics of Development: donor agencies and the political economy of governance. *Third World Quarterly*. 33, 405–422 (2012).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2012.657474>.

251.

Lie, J.H.S.: Developmentality: indirect governance in the World Bank-Uganda partnership. *Third World Quarterly*. 36, 723–740 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1024435>.

252.

HARMAN, S., WILLIAMS, D.: International development in transition. *International Affairs*. 90, 925–941 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12148>.

253.

Moyo, D.: *Dead aid: why aid is not working and how there is another way for Africa*. Allen Lane, London (2008).

254.

Hilary, J.: Africa: Dead Aid and the return of neoliberalism. *Race & Class*. 52, 79–84 (2010).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396810377010>.

255.

Michael Wallace Nest: *Coltan*. Polity Press, Cambridge, UK (2011).

256.

NAIR, S.: Governance, Representation and International Aid. *Third World Quarterly*. 34, 630–652 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2013.786287>.

257.

Sharp, J., Campbell, P., Laurie, E.: The Violence of Aid? Giving, power and active subjects in One World Conservatism. *Third World Quarterly*. 31, 1125–1143 (2010).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2010.518789>.

258.

Swiss, L., Brown, S.: The aid orphan myth. *Third World Quarterly*. 36, 240–256 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1013319>.

259.

Sultana, F.: Doing development as a critical development scholar. *Third World Quarterly*. 35, 516–519 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2014.893494>.

260.

Richey, L.A., Ponte, S.: New actors and alliances in development. *Third World Quarterly*. 35, 1–21 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2014.868979>.

261.

Sumner, A.: Poverty, Politics and Aid: is a reframing of global poverty approaching? *Third World Quarterly*. 34, 357–377 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2013.784593>.

262.

Kapoor, I.: *The postcolonial politics of development*. Routledge, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon (2008).

263.

Joseph, R.A., Gillies, A.: *Smart aid for African development*. Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colo (2008).

264.

Gore, C.: The Rise and Fall of the Washington Consensus as a Paradigm for Developing Countries. *World Development*. 28, 789–804 (2000). [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X\(99\)00160-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X(99)00160-6).

265.

Simon, D.: *Fifty key thinkers on development*. Routledge, London (2006).

266.

Graham Harrison: Neoliberal Africa. Zed Books (2010).

267.

Freistein, K., Mahlert, B.: The potential for tackling inequality in the Sustainable Development Goals. *Third World Quarterly*. 37, 2139–2155 (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2016.1166945>.

268.

Fredrik Söderbaum and Ian Taylor: Transmission Belt for Transnational Capital or Facilitator for Development? Problematising the Role of the State in the Maputo Development Corridor. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 39, 675–695 (2001).

269.

Perkmann, M., Sum, N.-L.: Chapter 11: The Construction of Cross Border Regions in Southern Africa: The Maputo Development Corridor. In: *Globalization, regionalization, and cross-border regions*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2002).

270.

African Development Bank: African development report: 2010: Ports, logistics, and trade in Africa. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK (2010).

271.

Map 1: Spatial development initiatives in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*. 15, 5–5 (1998). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03768359808440044>.

272.

Jourdan, P.: Spatial development initiatives (SDIs) - the official view. *Development Southern Africa*. 15, 717–725 (1998). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03768359808440046>.

273.

Mitchell, J.: The Maputo Development Corridor: A case study of the SDI process in

Mpumalanga. Development Southern Africa. 15, 757–769 (1998).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03768359808440048>.

274.

PEBERDY, S., CRUSH, J.: INVISIBLE TRADE, INVISIBLE TRAVELLERS: THE MAPUTO CORRIDOR SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE AND INFORMAL CROSS-BORDER TRADING. South African Geographical Journal. 83, 115–123 (2001).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03736245.2001.9713727>.

275.

Kleynhans, E.P., Naude', W.A., van der Merwe, S.J.: Spatial economic development in South Africa: an overview and evaluation of the platinum spatial development initiative. Development Southern Africa. 20, 617–631 (2003).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835032000149261>.

276.

Brand, A., Geyer, H.S., Geyer, H.S.: Corridor development in Gauteng, South Africa. GeoJournal. (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-015-9683-x>.

277.

Tate, R.: BISA Conferenced Paper: Can Development Corridors Now Produce Sustainable Outcomes in Mozambique?,
<http://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/bisa-africa/files/bisa-2011-tate.pdf>, (2011).

278.

Bond, P.: Elite transition: from Apartheid to neoliberalism in South Africa. Pluto Press, London, [England] (2014).

279.

Manji, A.: Bulldozers, homes and highways: Nairobi and the right to the city. Review of African Political Economy. 42, 206–224 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2014.988698>.

280.

Maputo Development Corridor is a success story,
<http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/2015/06/05/maputo-development-corridor-is-a-success-story/>.

281.

Miller, D.: Spatial Development Initiatives and Regional Integration in Post-Apartheid Southern Africa,
http://www.rosalux.co.za/wp-content/files_mf/sdisinsouthernafrika2_2011sd.pdf.

282.

Chinese companies take part in modernisation of water supply system in Maputo, Matola and Boane in Mozambique | Macauhub English,
<http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/2010/04/13/8898/>.

283.

' Chinese Company To Build Housing Complex In Matola, Mozambique | Macauhub English,
<http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/?s=%27+Chinese+company+to+build+housing+complex+in+Matola%2C+Mozambique>.

284.

Investments In Maputo Corridor, Mozambique, Exceed US\$5 Billion, | Macauhub English,
[http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/?s=Investments+in+Maputo+Corridor%2C+Mozambique%2C+exceed+US\\$5+billion%2C](http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/?s=Investments+in+Maputo+Corridor%2C+Mozambique%2C+exceed+US$5+billion%2C).

285.

Maputo Development Corridor Is A Success Story | Macauhub English,
<http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/?s=Maputo+Development+corridor+is+a+success+story>.

286.

Maputo Development Corridor Refinances Debt | Macauhub English,
<http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/?s=maputo+development+corridor+refinances+debt>.

287.

Byiers, B., Vanheukelom, J.: What Drives Regional Economic Integration: Lessons from the Maputo Development Corridor and North-South Corridor, http://www.mcli.co.za/mcli-web/downloads/docs/DP157_PERISA_Corridors.pdf, (2014).

288.

Bowland, C., Otto, L.: Implementing Development Corridors: Lessons from the MDC, <http://www.mcli.co.za/mcli-web/downloads/docs/PB54-MaputoCorridor.pdf>.

289.

MCLI - Library, <http://www.mcli.co.za/mcli-web/downloads/downloads.htm>.

290.

Stiglitz, J.E.: Globalization and its discontents. Allen Lane, London (2002).

291.

Stiglitz, J.E.: Stability with growth: macroeconomics, liberalization and development. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2006).

292.

Joseph Hanlon, Teresa Smart: Do Bicycles Equal Development in Mozambique? James Currey; Reissue edition (2010).

293.

China's Xi pledges \$60bn for development in Africa, <http://www.polity.org.za/article/chinas-xi-pledges-60bn-for-development-in-africa-2015-12-04>.

294.

Radden Keefe, P.: Buried Secrets - The New Yorker,
<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/07/08/buried-secrets>.

295.

Cheeseman, N., Anderson, D., Scheibler, A.: Routledge handbook of African politics.
Routledge, London (2013).

296.

Thomson, A.: An introduction to African politics. Routledge, London (2009).

297.

Grinker, R.R., Lubkemann, S.C., Steiner, C.B.: Perspectives on Africa: a reader in culture, history, and representation. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, West Sussex (2010).

298.

Slayton, C.: Underselling Islamist extremism in Sub-Saharan Africa. Defense & Security Analysis. 31, 123-136 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14751798.2015.1056933>.

299.

Mlambo, Norman: Violent Conflicts, Fragile Peace : Perspectives on Africa's Security Problems. Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd (2008).

300.

Mohan, G., Zack-Williams, T., Review of African political economy: The politics of transition in Africa: state, democracy & economic development in Africa. James Currey, Oxford (2002).

301.

Kaldor, M.: New and old wars. Polity Press, Cambridge (2012).

302.

Ratsimbaharison, A.M.: Greed and Civil War in Post-Cold War Africa: Revisiting the Greed Theory of Civil War. *African Security*. 4, 269–282 (2011).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2011.629552>.

303.

Porter, Elisabeth J.: *Researching Conflict in Africa : Insights and Experiences*. United Nations University Press (2005).

304.

Keenan, J.H.: Africa unsecured? The role of the Global War on Terror (GWOT) in securing US imperial interests in Africa. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 3, 27–47 (2010).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17539151003594186>.

305.

Vondracek, H.: A Single Raised Hand: Prospects for Peace in the Sudanese Rivalry. *African Security*. 7, 251–276 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.977171>.

306.

Dembinski, M., Schott, B.: Converging Around Global Norms? Protection of Civilians in African Union and European Union Peacekeeping in Africa. *African Security*. 6, 276–296 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2013.854085>.

307.

Clark, J.F.: A Constructivist Account of the Congo Wars. *African Security*. 4, 147–170 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2011.599262>.

308.

Valeriano, B.: Power Politics and Interstate War in Africa. *African Security*. 4, 195–221 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2011.599270>.

309.

Watts, M.J., Ibaba, I.S.: Turbulent Oil: Conflict and Insecurity in the Niger Delta. *African Security*. 4, 1–19 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2011.563181>.

310.

Piombo, J.: Peacemaking in Burundi: Conflict Resolution versus Conflict Management Strategies. *African Security*. 3, 239–272 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2010.533579>.

311.

Daley, P.: The Burundi Peace Negotiations: An African Experience of Peace-making. *Review of African Political Economy*. 34, 333–352 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056240701449729>.

312.

Oarhe, O., Aghedo, I.: The Open Sore of a Nation: Corruption Complex and Internal Security in Nigeria. *African Security*. 3, 127–147 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2010.503854>.

313.

Hultin, N.: Repositioning the Front Lines? Reflections on the Ethnography of African Securityscapes. *African Security*. 3, 104–125 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2010.485856>.

314.

Edmonds, M., Mills, G., McNamee, T.: Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration and Local Ownership in the Great Lakes: The Experience of Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. *African Security*. 2, 29–58 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19362200902766383>.

315.

Olsen, G.R.: Fighting terrorism in Africa by proxy: the USA and the European Union in Somalia and Mali. *European Security*. 23, 290–306 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2014.884074>.

316.

Abu Bakarr Bah, Mark Davidheiser, Niklas Hultin and Tricia Redeker Hepner: Introduction to ACPR: African Conflict in Global Perspective. *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*. 1, 1–7 (2011).

317.

Coleman, K.P.: Innovations in 'African solutions to African problems': the evolving practice of regional peacekeeping in sub-Saharan Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 49, 517–545 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X11000462>.

318.

Eaton, D.: The Business of Peace: Raiding and Peace Work along the Kenya-Uganda Border (Part II). *African Affairs*. 107, 243–259 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adm086>.

319.

Debos, M.: Fluid Loyalties in a Regional Crisis: Chadian 'Ex-Liberators' in the Central African Republic. *African Affairs*. 107, 225–241 (2008).
<https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adn004>.

320.

FISHER, J., ANDERSON, D.M.: Authoritarianism and the securitization of development in Africa. *International Affairs*. 91, 131–151 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12190>.

321.

Fuamba, D., Yonekawa, M., Seegers, A.: Managing Spoilers in a Hybrid War: The Democratic Republic of Congo (1996–2010). *Politikon*. 40, 319–338 (2013).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2012.746187>.

322.

Giroux, J., Lanz, D., Sguaitamatti, D.: The tormented triangle: the regionalisation of conflict in Sudan, Chad, and the Central African Republic.

323.

Jarstad, A.K., Höglund, K.: Local violence and politics in KwaZulu-Natal: perceptions of agency in a post-conflict society. *Third World Quarterly*. 36, 967–984 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1030385>.

324.

Hyden, G.: Rethinking justice and institutions in African peacebuilding. *Third World Quarterly*. 36, 1007–1022 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1025739>.

325.

Médard, H.: Building and transgressing borders in the Great Lakes region of East Africa. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 3, 275–283 (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17531050902972709>.

326.

Pillay, S.: Crime, Community and the Governance of Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Politikon*. 35, 141–158 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340802366943>.

327.

Rolandsen, Ø.H.: Another civil war in South Sudan: the failure of Guerrilla Government? *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 9, 163–174 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2014.993210>.

328.

White, L., Larmer, M.: Introduction: Mobile Soldiers and the Un-National Liberation of Southern Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 40, 1271–1274 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2014.967487>.

329.

Gelot, L.: Legitimacy, peace operations and global-regional security: the African Union-United Nations partnership in Darfur. Routledge, London (2012).

330.

Booth, K.: Critical security studies and world politics. Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colo (2005).

331.

Nhema, A., Zeleza, P.T.: Resolution of African Conflicts: The Management of Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. Ohio University Press, Athens (2008).

332.

Besada, H.: Crafting an African security architecture: addressing regional peace and conflict in the 21st century. Ashgate, Burlington, VT (2010).

333.

Omeje, K.C., Redeker Hepner, T.M.: Conflict and peacebuilding in the African Great Lakes Region. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Ind (2013).

334.

Nhema, A., Zeleza, P.T.: Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs. Ohio University Press, Athens (2008).

335.

Huckabey, J.M.: Al Qaeda in Mali: The Defection Connections. Orbis. 57, 467–484 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2013.05.008>.

336.

Collier, P., Hoefler, A.: Greed and grievance in civil war. Oxford Economic Papers. 56,

563–595 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1093/oep/gpf064>.

337.

Neumann, P.R.: Old and new terrorism: late modernity, globalization and the transformation of political violence. Polity, Cambridge (2009).

338.

MacLeod, Lucy S. □Thomson, Olivia C.: New Terrorism Issues : Cur000000. Nova (2009).

339.

OTENYO, E.E.: NEW TERRORISM. African Security Review. 13, 75–84 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2004.9627306>.

340.

Berman, Eli: Radical, Religious, and Violent : The New Economics of Terrorism. MIT Press (2009).

341.

Kagwanja, P.: Counter-terrorism in the Horn of Africa: New security frontiers, old Strategies. African Security Review. 15, 72–86 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2006.9627608>.

342.

Smith, M.: Securing Africa: post-9/11 discourses on terrorism. Ashgate, Farnham (2009).

343.

Matthew LeRiche: South Sudan: From Revolution to Independence. C Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd (27) AD.

344.

Mangala, J., Mangala, J., SpringerLink (Online service): New Security Threats and Crises in Africa: Regional and International Perspectives. Palgrave Macmillan, New York (2010).

345.

Totten, S., Grzyb, A. eds: Conflict in the Nuba Mountains: from genocide by attrition to the contemporary crisis. Routledge, New York, New York (2015).

346.

Stig Jarle Hansen: Al-Shabaab in Somalia: The History and Ideology of a Militant Islamist Group, 2005-2012 (Somali Politics and History). C Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd (2013).

347.

Harper, M.: Getting Somalia wrong?: faith, war and hope in a shattered state. Zed Books, London (2012).

348.

Nathan Mugisha: The Way Forward in Somalia,
<http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/doi/pdf/10.1080/03071847.2011.591084>.

349.

H Solomon: Somalia's Al Shabaab: Clans vs Islamist nationalism,
<http://www.tandfonline.com.ezproxy3.lib.le.ac.uk/doi/pdf/10.1080/10220461.2014.967286>.

350.

Agbiboa, D.: Shifting the Battleground: The Transformation of Al-Shabab and the Growing Influence of Al-Qaeda in East Africa and the Horn. Politikon. 42, 177-194 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2015.1005791>.

351.

Lemke, D.: Intra-National IR in Africa. *Review of International Studies*. Volume 37/1 (January),.

352.

Lewis, I.M.: *Understanding Somalia and Somaliland: culture, history, society*. Hurst, London (2008).

353.

Anderson, D.M., McKnight, J.: Kenya at war: Al-Shabaab and its enemies in Eastern Africa. *African Affairs*. 114, 1–27 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adu082>.

354.

Jeffrey Gettleman: The Most Dangerous Place in The World. *Foreign Policy*. 60–69 (2009).

355.

Webersik, C.: Bargaining for the Spoils of War: Somalia's Failing Path from War to Peace. *African Security*. 7, 277–302 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.977173>.

356.

Vidino, L., Pantucci, R., Kohlmann, E.: Bringing Global Jihad to the Horn of Africa: al Shabaab, Western Fighters, and the Sacralization of the Somali Conflict. *African Security*. 3, 216–238 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2010.533071>.

357.

Vidino, L., Pantucci, R., Kohlmann, E.: Bringing Global Jihad to the Horn of Africa: al Shabaab, Western Fighters, and the Sacralization of the Somali Conflict. *African Security*. 3, 216–238 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2010.533071>.

358.

Adam, H.M.: Somalia: militarism, warlordism or democracy ? Review of African Political Economy. 19, 11–26 (1992). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056249208703950>.

359.

Barnes, C., Hassan, H.: The Rise and Fall of Mogadishu's Islamic Courts. Journal of Eastern African Studies. 1, 151–160 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17531050701452382>.

360.

FISHER, J., ANDERSON, D.M.: Authoritarianism and the securitization of development in Africa. International Affairs. 91, 131–151 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12190>.

361.

Breen Smyth, M., Gunning, J., Jackson, R., Kassimeris, G., Robinson, P.: Critical Terrorism Studies—an introduction. Critical Studies on Terrorism. 1, 1–4 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539150701868538>.

362.

Ghobadzdeh, N., Akbarzadeh, S.: Sectarianism and the prevalence of 'othering' in Islamic thought. Third World Quarterly. 36, 691–704 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1024433>.

363.

Kurtulus, E.N.: Exploring the Paradoxical Consequences of State Collapse: the cases of Somalia 1991–2006 and Lebanon 1975–82. Third World Quarterly. 33, 1285–1303 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2012.691831>.

364.

Meyer, G., Nicholls, J.: War and faith in Sudan. William B. Eerdmans Publishing, Grand Rapids, Mich (2005).

365.

Roland Marchal: A tentative assessment of the Somali Harakat Al-Shabaab. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 3, 381–404 (2009).

366.

Giorgio Musso: Electoral Politics and Religious Parties in Sudan: An Analysis of the April 2010 Election. *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*. 2, 58–86 (2012).

367.

Shinn, D.: Al Shabaab's Foreign Threat to Somalia. *Orbis*. 55, 203–215 (2011).
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2011.01.003>.

368.

Solomon, H.: Critical Terrorism Studies and Its Implications for Africa. *Politikon*. 42, 219–234 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2015.1041671>.

369.

Harry Verhoeven: The self-fulfilling prophecy of failed states: Somalia, state collapse and the Global War on Terror. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 3, 405–425 (2009).

370.

WILLIAMS, P.D.: After Westgate: opportunities and challenges in the war against Al-Shabaab. *International Affairs*. 90, 907–923 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12147>.

371.

Woodward, P.: *The Horn of Africa: Politics and International Relations*. I.B.Tauris, London (2002).

372.

Frahm, O.: Making borders and identities in South Sudan. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 33, 251–267 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2015.1070461>.

373.

De Waal, A.: *The real politics of the Horn of Africa: money, war and the business of power*. Polity, Cambridge, UK (2015).

374.

Walls, M.: The Emergence of a Somali State: Building Peace from Civil War in Somaliland. *African Affairs*. 108, 371–389 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adp019>.

375.

Rotberg, R.I., World Peace Foundation, Brookings Institution: *Battling terrorism in the Horn of Africa*. World Peace Foundation, Cambridge, Mass (2005).

376.

Medani, K.M.: The Horn of Africa in the shadow of the cold war: understanding the partition of Sudan from a regional perspective. *The Journal of North African Studies*. 17, 275–294 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2011.613188>.

377.

How Somalia's al-Shabab militants hone their image - BBC News, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-27633367>.

378.

Daily chart: Jihadists in Africa: A rising tide | The Economist, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2015/07/daily-chart-jihadists-africa>.

379.

Malalo, H.: Kenya says it has killed al-Shabaab commander | African News | BDlive, <http://www.bdlive.co.za/africa/africannews/2016/02/19/kenya-says-it-has-killed-al-shabaab->

commander.

380.

Obulutsa, G.: Kenya to tackle radicalisation with new prison for 'extremists' | African News | BDlive,
<http://www.bdlive.co.za/africa/africannews/2016/02/17/kenya-to-tackle-radicalisation-with-new-prison-for-extremists>.

381.

Oyewole, S.: Boko Haram and the challenges of Nigeria's war on terror. *Defense & Security Analysis*. 29, 253–262 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14751798.2013.820968>.

382.

Eke, S.J.: How and why Boko Haram blossomed: examining the fatal consequences of treating a purposive terrorist organisation as less so. *Defense & Security Analysis*. 1–11 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14751798.2015.1087102>.

383.

Breen Smyth, M., Gunning, J., Jackson, R., Kassimeris, G., Robinson, P.: Critical Terrorism Studies—an introduction. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 1, 1–4 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539150701868538>.

384.

Yusuf, H.O.: Harvest of violence: the neglect of basic rights and the insurgency in Nigeria. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*. 6, 371–391 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2013.835528>.

385.

Weeraratne, S.: Theorizing the Expansion of the Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 1–25 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2015.1005742>.

386.

Felbab-Brown, V., Forest, J.J.F.: Political Violence and the Illicit Economies of West Africa. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 24, 787–806 (2012).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2011.644098>.

387.

Akinola, O.: Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: Between Islamic Fundamentalism, Politics, and Poverty. *African Security*. 8, 1–29 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2015.998539>.

388.

Chizea, B., Osumah, O.: Two Sides of a Coin: Traditional Rulership and the Mitigation of Nonstate Security Threats in Nigeria. *African Security*. 8, 75–95 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2015.1036668>.

389.

Aghedo, I.: Old Wine in a New Bottle: Ideological and Operational Linkages Between Maitatsine and Boko Haram Revolts in Nigeria. *African Security*. 7, 229–250 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.977169>.

390.

Egiegba Agbiboa, D.: Living in Fear: Religious Identity, Relative Deprivation and the Boko Haram Terrorism. *African Security*. 6, 153–170 (2013).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2013.788410>.

391.

Ebohon, S.I., Ifeadi, E.U.B.: Managing the Problems of Public Order and Internal Security in Nigeria. *African Security*. 5, 1–23 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2012.653304>.

392.

Akinola, A.O.: Niger Delta Crisis: The Nexus between Militants' Insurgency and Security in West Africa. *African Security*. 4, 65–80 (2011).

<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2011.563180>.

393.

Onuoha, F.C.: The Islamist challenge: Nigeria's Boko Haram crisis explained. *African Security Review*. 19, 54–67 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2010.503061>.

394.

Between Democracy and Federalism: Shari'ah in Northern Nigeria and the Paradox of Institutional Impetuses. *Africa Today*. 59, 92–117.

395.

Twittering the Boko Haram Uprising in Nigeria: Investigating Pragmatic Acts in the Social Media. *Africa Today*. 59, 82–102.

396.

'Baptism by Fire': Boko Haram and the Reign of Terror in Nigeria. *Africa Today*. 59, 40–57.

397.

Hisbah and Sharia Law Enforcement in Metropolitan Kano. *Africa Today*. 57, 70–96.

398.

Between Maitatsine and Boko Haram: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Response of the Nigerian State. *Africa Today*. 57, 98–119.

399.

Adegbulu, F.: : the emergence of a terrorist sect in Nigeria 2009–2013. *African Identities*. 11, 260–273 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2013.839118>.

400.

Bakare-Yusuf, B.: Scattered limbs, scattered stories: the silence of Biafra. *African Identities*. 10, 243–248 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2012.715453>.

401.

Ghobadzdeh, N., Akbarzadeh, S.: Sectarianism and the prevalence of 'othering' in Islamic thought. *Third World Quarterly*. 36, 691–704 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1024433>.

402.

Celso, A.N.: The Islamic State and Boko Haram: Fifth Wave Jihadist Terror Groups. *Orbis*. 59, 249–268 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2015.02.010>.

403.

Solomon, H.: Critical Terrorism Studies and Its Implications for Africa. *Politikon*. 42, 219–234 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2015.1041671>.

404.

de Orellana, P.: Struggles over identity in diplomacy: 'Commie terrorists' contra 'imperialists' in Western Sahara. *International Relations*. 29, 477–499 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117815571620>.

405.

Obadare, E.: Sex, citizenship and the state in Nigeria: Islam, Christianity and emergent struggles over intimacy. *Review of African Political Economy*. 42, 62–76 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2014.988699>.

406.

Is President Buhari correct that Boko Haram are not holding any territory in Nigeria?, <http://www.polity.org.za/article/is-president-buhari-correct-that-boko-haram-are-not-holding-any-territory-in-nigeria-2016-02-01>.

407.

Walker, A.: 'Eat the heart of the infidel': the harrowing of Nigeria and the rise of Boko Haram. Hurst & Company, London (2016).

408.

Comolli, V.: Boko Haram: Nigeria's Islamic insurgency. Hurst & Company, London (2015).

409.

Iyekekpolo, W.O.: Boko Haram: understanding the context. Third World Quarterly. 37, 2211-2228 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2016.1177453>.

410.

Cheeseman, N., Anderson, D., Scheibler, A.: Routledge handbook of African politics. Routledge, London (2013).

411.

Tonge, J.: Comparative peace processes. Polity, Cambridge (2014).

412.

Nhema, A., Zeleza, P.T.: Resolution of African Conflicts: The Management of Conflict Resolution and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. Ohio University Press, Athens (2008).

413.

Piombo, J.: Peacemaking in Burundi: Conflict Resolution versus Conflict Management Strategies. African Security. 3, 239-272 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2010.533579>.

414.

Nhema, A., Zeleza, P.T.: Resolution of African Conflicts: The Management of Conflict

Resolution and Post-Conflict Reconstruction. Ohio University Press, Athens (2008).

415.

Kurtulus, E.N.: Exploring the Paradoxical Consequences of State Collapse: the cases of Somalia 1991–2006 and Lebanon 1975–82. *Third World Quarterly*. 33, 1285–1303 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2012.691831>.

416.

Curtis, Devon.; D.: *Peacebuilding, Power, and Politics in Africa*. Ohio University Press, Athens, UNITED STATES (2012).

417.

Totten, S., Grzyb, A. eds: *Conflict in the Nuba Mountains: from genocide by attrition to the contemporary crisis*. Routledge, New York, New York (2015).

418.

Totten, S., Grzyb, A. eds: *Conflict in the Nuba Mountains: from genocide by attrition to the contemporary crisis*. Routledge, New York, New York (2015).

419.

Nhema, A., Zeleza, P.T.: *Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs*. Ohio University Press, Athens (2008).

420.

Mlambo, Norman: *Violent Conflicts, Fragile Peace : Perspectives on Africa's Security Problems*. Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd (2008).

421.

Omeje, K.C., Redeker Hepner, T.M.: *Conflict and peacebuilding in the African Great Lakes Region*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Ind (2013).

422.

Strongman, L.: Postcolonialism and international development studies: a dialectical exchange? *Third World Quarterly*. 35, 1343–1354 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2014.946248>.

423.

Ingelaere, B.: Peasants, power and ethnicity: A bottom-up perspective on Rwanda's political transition. *African Affairs*. 109, 273–292 (2010).
<https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adp090>.

424.

Gelot, L.: Legitimacy, peace operations and global-regional security: the African Union-United Nations partnership in Darfur. Routledge, London (2012).

425.

Debos, M.: Fluid Loyalties in a Regional Crisis: Chadian 'Ex-Liberators' in the Central African Republic. *African Affairs*. 107, 225–241 (2008).
<https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adn004>.

426.

Mehler, A.: Peace and Power Sharing in Africa: A Not So Obvious Relationship. *African Affairs*. 108, 453–473 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adp038>.

427.

Pillay, S.: Crime, Community and the Governance of Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Politikon*. 35, 141–158 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340802366943>.

428.

Constraining Government Power in Africa. *Journal of Democracy*. 22, 96–106.

429.

Jeng, A.: *Peacebuilding in the African Union: law, philosophy and practice*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2012).

430.

Anchoring the 'D-Word' in Africa. *Journal of Democracy*. 21, 106–113 (2010).
<https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2010.0006>.

431.

Hutton, L.: Internal and external dilemmas of peacebuilding in Africa_01_2014_Lauren Hutton CRU.pdf,
http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/Internal%20and%20external%20dilemmas%20of%20peacebuilding%20in%20Africa_01_2014_Lauren%20Hutton%20CRU.pdf, (2014).

432.

Mozambique's Slide into One-Party Rule. *Journal of Democracy*. 21, 151–165 (2010).
<https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.0.0165>.

433.

Rothchild, D.S.: *Managing ethnic conflict in Africa: pressures and incentives for cooperation*. Brookings Institution Press, Washington, D.C. (1997).

434.

Mwakikagile, G.: *Identity politics and ethnic conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi: a comparative study*. New Africa Press, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (2012).

435.

Dallaire, R., Beardsley, B.: *Shake hands with the devil: the failure of humanity in Rwanda*. Arrow, London (2004).

436.

Hultin, N.: Repositioning the Front Lines? Reflections on the Ethnography of African Securityscapes. *African Security*. 3, 104–125 (2010).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2010.485856>.

437.

Williams, P.D.: The African Union's Peace Operations: A Comparative Analysis. *African Security*. 2, 97–118 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19362200903361937>.

438.

Médard, H.: Building and transgressing borders in the Great Lakes region of East Africa. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 3, 275–283 (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17531050902972709>.

439.

Dallaire, R.: The Lessons of Rwanda. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*. 23, 19–27 (2004).
<https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/23.4.19>.

440.

Durable peace. University of Toronto Press, Toronto (2004).

441.

Rolandsen, Øystein H., Daly, M.W.: A history of South Sudan: from slavery to independence. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2016).

442.

Watt, N.: Burundi: the biography of a small African country. Hurst & Company, London (2015).

443.

Wassara, S.S.: South Sudan: state sovereignty challenged at infancy. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. 9, 634–649 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2015.1105439>.

444.

Makinda, S.M., Okumu, F.W.: The African Union: challenges of globalization, security, and governance. Routledge, New York, NY (2007).

445.

Engel, U., Porto, J.G.: Imagining, Implementing, and Integrating the African Peace and Security Architecture: The African Union's Challenges. *African Security*. 7, 135–146 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.945379>.

446.

Khadiagala, G.M.: Road Maps in Resolving African Conflicts: Pathways to Peace or Cul de Sacs? *African Security*. 7, 163–180 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.939891>.

447.

Gomes Porto, J., Ngandu, K.Y.: The African Union, Preventive Diplomacy, Mediation, and the Panel of the Wise: Review and Reflection on the Panel's First Six Years. *African Security*. 7, 181–206 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.952582>.

448.

Engel, U.: The African Union, the African Peace and Security Architecture, and Maritime Security. *African Security*. 7, 207–227 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.939889>.

449.

Gebrewold, B.: The Cynicism of "African Solutions for African Problems". *African Security*. 3, 80–103 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2010.485509>.

450.

Engel, U., Porto, J.G.: The African Union's New Peace and Security Architecture: Toward an Evolving Security Regime? *African Security*. 2, 82–96 (2009).

<https://doi.org/10.1080/19362200903359774>.

451.

Williams, P.D.: The African Union's Peace Operations: A Comparative Analysis. *African Security*. 2, 97–118 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19362200903361937>.

452.

Olender, M.: Integrating Africa: Decolonization's Legacies, Sovereignty and the African Union. *Politikon*. 41, 163–165 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2014.885687>.

453.

Paterson, M., University of Cape Town. Centre for Conflict Resolution, International Colloquium Report: The African Union at ten: problems, progress, and prospects - International Colloquium Report, Berlin, Germany, 30-31 August 2012. Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town (2012).

454.

Muchie, M., Lukhele-Olorunju, P., Akpar, O.: The African Union ten years after: solving African problems with Pan-Africanism and the African renaissance. Africa Institute of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa (2013).

455.

Jeng, A.: Peacebuilding in the African Union: law, philosophy and practice. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (2012).

456.

Gelot, L.: Legitimacy, peace operations and global-regional security: the African Union-United Nations partnership in Darfur. Routledge, London (2012).

457.

Besada, H.: Crafting an African security architecture: addressing regional peace and

conflict in the 21st century. Ashgate, Burlington, VT (2010).

458.

Makinda, S.M., Okumu, F.W.: The African Union: challenges of globalization, security, and governance. Routledge, New York, NY (2007).

459.

Bischoff, P.-H.: Pan-African Multilateralism: Transformative or Disconnected? *Politikon*. 35, 177–195 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340802366968>.

460.

Chafer, T.: The AU: a new arena for Anglo-French cooperation in Africa? *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 49, 55–82 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X10000650>.

461.

Nathan, L.: SADC's Uncommon Approach to Common Security, 1992–2003*. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 32, 605–622 (2006). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070600830755>.

462.

Olender, M.: Integrating Africa: Decolonization's Legacies, Sovereignty and the African Union. *Politikon*. 41, 163–165 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2014.885687>.

463.

Poku, N.: Security and development in Southern Africa. Praeger, Westport, Conn (2001).

464.

WEISS, T.G., WELZ, M.: The UN and the African Union in Mali and beyond: a shotgun wedding? *International Affairs*. 90, 889–905 (2014).

<https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2346.12146>.

465.

Abatan, E., Spies, Y.: African solutions to African problems? The AU, R2P and Côte d'Ivoire. *South African Journal of International Affairs*. 23, 21–38 (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2016.1153516>.

466.

Nganje, F.: Sub-state diplomacy and the foreign policy-development nexus in South Africa. *South African Journal of International Affairs*. 23, 1–20 (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2016.1154889>.

467.

Lalbahadur, A.: Economic statecraft in South Africa's regional diplomacy. *South African Journal of International Affairs*. 23, 135–149 (2016).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2016.1199970>.

468.

Badmus, I.A.: *The African Union's role in peacekeeping: building on lessons learned from security operations*. Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England (2015).

469.

Fetter, J.: *Obama: Into Africa: Foreign Policy in Focus*, <http://fpif.org/obama-africa/>.

470.

Campbell, J.: Is American Policy toward Sub-Saharan Africa Increasingly Militarized? *American Foreign Policy Interests*. 35, 346–351 (2013).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10803920.2013.855547>.

471.

Pham, J.P.: The Development of the United States Africa Command and its Role in America's Africa Policy under George W. Bush and Barack Obama. *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*. 5, 245–275 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/21520844.2014.980192>.

472.

Keller, E.J.: Meeting the Challenges of Strategic and Human Security Interests in US–Africa Relations, or the Orphaning of 'Soft Power'? *Africa Review*. 4, 1–16 (2012).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09744053.2013.764117>.

473.

Okbazghi Yohannes: The United States and Sub-Saharan Africa After the Cold War: Empty Promises and Retreat. *The Black Scholar*. 32, 23–44 (2002).

474.

Solomon, H.: The African state and the failure of US counter-terrorism initiatives in Africa: The cases of Nigeria and Mali. *South African Journal of International Affairs*. 20, 427–445 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2013.841804>.

475.

Olsen, G.R.: Fighting terrorism in Africa by proxy: the USA and the European Union in Somalia and Mali. *European Security*. 23, 290–306 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2014.884074>.

476.

Obama Made in Kenya: Appropriating the American Dream in Kogelo. *Africa Today*. 59, 68–90.

477.

Kenya, the United States, and Counterterrorism. *Africa Today*. 57, 2–27.

478.

The Political Economy of African Responses to the U.S. Africa Command. *Africa Today*. 57, 3–23.

479.

McCaskie, T.C.: The United States, Ghana and Oil: Global and Local Perspectives. *African Affairs*. 107, 313–332 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adn019>.

480.

Hentz, J.J.: National and Human Security in Sub-Sahara Africa. *Orbis*. 54, 630–643 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2010.07.009>.

481.

Griffith, T.B.: *Nigeria: instability, implications, and U.S. policy*. Nova Science Publishers, New York (2014).

482.

Davis, J.: *The Barack Obama presidency: A two year assessment*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke (2011).

483.

Late but not empty-handed; Barack Obama in Africa. *The Economist*. 407, (2013).

484.

OBAMA, BARACK1: AFRICA'S RISE. *Vital Speeches of the Day*. 81, 265–270 (2015).

485.

How different is his policy? Barack Obama and Africa. *The Economist*. 392, (2009).

486.

Neglected; Barack Obama and Africa. *The Economist*. 416, (2015).

487.

Tom Nevin: What will Obama do for Africa? Are Barack Obama's blood ties with Africa cause for hope that he might be more sensitive to the continent's needs than his predecessors? Tom Nevin investigates. *African Business*. 2008, (2008).

488.

Hunt, J.: America and the World. *Conversations on the Future of American Foreign Policy*. *Politikon*. 38, 460–462 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2011.623849>.

489.

Parmar, I., Miller, L.B., Ledwidge, M. eds: *Obama and the world: new directions in US foreign policy*. Routledge, London (2014).

490.

Cox, M., Stokes, D.: *US foreign policy*. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2012).

491.

Van De Walle, N.: *Obamas Unrealized Hopes for Africa*. Sept/Oct 2015,.

492.

Carson, J.: The Obama Administration's Africa Policy: The First Four Years, 2009–2013. *American Foreign Policy Interests*. 35, 317–324 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10803920.2013.855549>.

493.

Varhola, L.R., Sheperd, T.E.: Africa and the United States—A Military Perspective. *American Foreign Policy Interests*. 35, 325–332 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10803920.2013.855546>.

494.

Adebajo, A.: The revolt against the West: intervention and sovereignty. *Third World Quarterly*. 37, 1187–1202 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2016.1154434>.

495.

Tella, O.: A declining or stable image? An assessment of the United States' soft power in Africa. *South African Journal of International Affairs*. 23, 151–166 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2016.1190297>.

496.

Thomson, A.: *An introduction to African politics*. Routledge, London (2009).

497.

Cheeseman, N., Anderson, D., Scheibler, A.: *Routledge handbook of African politics*. Routledge, London (2013).

498.

Bräutigam, D., Xiaoyang, T.: African Shenzhen: China's special economic zones in Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 49, 27–54 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X10000649>.

499.

Globalization and Marginalization of Africa: Contextualization of China–Africa Relations. *Africa Today*. 58, 102–124.

500.

Cowaloosur, H.: Land grab in new garb: Chinese special economic zones in Africa. *African Identities*. 12, 94–109 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2013.868674>.

501.

Brautigam, D.: The dragon's gift: the real story of China in Africa. Oxford University Press, Oxford (2011).

502.

Halper, Stefan: Beijing Consensus, The : Legitimizing Authoritarianism in Our Time.

503.

Kennedy, S.: The Myth of the Beijing Consensus. Journal of Contemporary China. 19, 461–477 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670561003666087>.

504.

Taylor, I.: China's new role in Africa. Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colo (2008).

505.

Stephen Chan: The Morality of China in Africa: The Middle Kingdom and the Dark Continent. Zed Books Ltd (2013).

506.

A'Zami, D.: 'China in Africa': From Under-researched to Under-theorised? Millennium - Journal of International Studies. 43, 724–734 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0305829814557555>.

507.

Olivier, N.: Between Contradiction and Co-operation: An Analysis of China's Evolving Engagement with Africa. Insight on Africa. 6, 15–42 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0975087814532584>.

508.

Shaun Breslin: China and the Global Political Economy (International Political Economy

Series). Palgrave Schol, Print UK (2009).

509.

Ayers, A.J.: Beyond Myths, Lies and Stereotypes: The Political Economy of a 'New Scramble for Africa'. *New Political Economy*. 18, 227-257 (2013).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13563467.2012.678821>.

510.

Jennifer L. Parenti: China-Africa relations in the 21st century. *Joint Force Quarterly*. 2009, (2009).

511.

Bräutigam, D., Xiaoyang, T.: African Shenzhen: China's special economic zones in Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 49, 27-54 (2011).
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X10000649>.

512.

Zhao, S.: The China Model: can it replace the Western model of modernization? *Journal of Contemporary China*. 19, 419-436 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670561003666061>.

513.

Gonzales, P.: China/Africa & the 21st century. [CreateSpace Independent Publishing], [Charleston (S.C.)] (2014).

514.

Naughton, B.: China's Distinctive System: can it be a model for others? *Journal of Contemporary China*. 19, 437-460 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670561003666079>.

515.

Howard W. French: *China's Second Continent: How a Million Migrants Are Building a New Empire in Africa*. Vintage; Reprint edition (2015).

516.

Chin, G., Thakur, R.: Will China Change the Rules of Global Order? *The Washington Quarterly*. 33, 119–138 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2010.516145>.

517.

Mohan, G., Lampert, B.: Negotiating China: Reinserting African agency into China-Africa relations. *African Affairs*. 112, 92–110 (2013). <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/ads065>.

518.

Campbell, K.: State capitalism: Is it a rival to market capitalism?, <http://www.miningweekly.com/article/state-capitalism-is-it-a-rival-to-market-capitalism-2012-03-30>.

519.

Taylor, I.: Emerging powers, state capitalism and the oil sector in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 41, 341–357 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2013.864630>.

520.

Large, D.: Beyond 'Dragon in the Bush': The Study of China Africa Relations. *African Affairs*. 107, 45–61 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adm069>.

521.

Taylor, I.: Sino-African Relations and the Problem of Human Rights. *African Affairs*. 107, 63–87 (2007). <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adm056>.

522.

Kennedy, S.: The Myth of the Beijing Consensus. *Journal of Contemporary China*. 19,

461-477 (2010). <https://doi.org/10.1080/10670561003666087>.

523.

Presidents of Angola and China call to strengthen bilateral cooperation | Macauhub English, http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/2015/12/04/presidents-of-angola-and-china-call-to-strengthen-bilateral-cooperation/?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Feed%3AMacauhub+%28Macauhub%29.

524.

Angolan Parliament approves new framework cooperation agreement between Angola and China | Macauhub English, <http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/2009/10/19/7954/>.

525.

Angola: China provides loan of US\$4.5 billion as part of Framework Agreement with Angola | Macauhub English, <http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/2009/03/27/6796/>.

526.

Angola prioritises financing in markets and credit lines from China and Brazil | Macauhub English, <http://www.macauhub.com.mo/en/2015/08/31/angola-prioritises-financing-in-markets-and-credit-lines-from-china-and-brazil/>.

527.

Beware, the 'Beijing Consensus' is a sinister one - Telegraph, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/china/8243751/Beware-the-Beijing-Consensus-is-a-sinister-one.html>.

528.

The Chinese are coming | The Economist, <http://www.economist.com/node/15607496>.

529.

China's Xi pledges \$60bn for development in Africa,
<http://www.polity.org.za/article/chinas-xi-pledges-60bn-for-development-in-africa-2015-12-04>.

530.

Deborah Brautigam: Will Africa Feed China? OUP USA (2016).

531.

Corkin, L.: Uneasy allies: China's evolving relations with Angola. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 29, 169–180 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2011.555192>.

532.

Fijałkowski, Ł.: China's 'soft power' in Africa? *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 29, 223–232 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2011.555197>.

533.

Marton, P., Matura, T.: The 'voracious dragon', the 'scramble' and the 'honey pot': Conceptions of conflict over Africa's natural resources. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 29, 155–167 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2011.555191>.

534.

Zhengyu, W., Taylor, I.: From refusal to engagement: Chinese contributions to peacekeeping in Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 29, 137–154 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2011.555190>.

535.

Kopiński, D., Polus, A., Taylor, I.: Contextualising Chinese engagement in Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 29, 129–136 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2011.555189>.

536.

Alden, C., Wu, Y.-S.: South African foreign policy and China: converging visions, competing interests, contested identities. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*. 54, 203–231 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14662043.2016.1151170>.

537.

Nganje, F.: Brazilian Cities in Mozambique: South–South Development Co-operation or the Projection of Soft Power? *Journal of Southern African Studies*. 42, 659–674 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2016.1189656>.

538.

Abdenur, A.E., De Souza Neto, D.M.: Rising Powers and The Security–Development Nexus: Brazil's Engagement with Guinea-Bissau. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*. 9, 1–16 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/15423166.2014.950118>.

539.

Cammack, P.: The G20, the Crisis, and the Rise of Global Developmental Liberalism. *Third World Quarterly*. 33, 1–16 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2012.628110>.

540.

Robinson, W.I.: The transnational state and the BRICS: a global capitalism perspective. *Third World Quarterly*. 36, 1–21 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.976012>.

541.

Building alternatives BRICS by BRICS - Bretton Woods Project, <http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/2012/04/art-569947/>.

542.

Deych, T.: BRICS as an Important Actor in Africa. *Insight on Africa*. 7, 169–185 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0975087815581459>.

543.

Pereira, A.D.: Brazil-Africa Relations: The Strategic Importance of the South Atlantic. *Insight on Africa*. 6, 1–13 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0975087814532586>.

544.

Taylor, I.: *Africa rising?: BRICS - diversifying dependency*. James Currey, Woodbridge, Suffolk (2014).

545.

TAYLOR, I.: India's rise in Africa. *International Affairs*. 88, 779–798 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2012.01101.x>.

546.

Taylor, I.: 'The South Will Rise Again'? New Alliances and Global Governance: The India–Brazil–South Africa Dialogue Forum. *Politikon*. 36, 45–58 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340903155393>.

547.

Kahn, M.: The fall of the Wall, the rise of the BRICs and the new Scramble for Africa. *Foresight*. 13, 38–49 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1108/14636681111138758>.

548.

Becker, U.: *The BRICs and emerging economies in comparative perspective: political economy, liberalization and institutional change*. Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon (2013).

549.

Hawley, J.C., Hawley, J.C.: *India in Africa, Africa in India : Indian Ocean cosmopolitanisms*. Indiana University Press, [Place of publication not identified] (2008).

550.

Corkin, L., Naidu, S.: China & India in Africa: An Introduction. *Review of African Political Economy*. 35, 115–116 (2008). <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056240802011824>.

551.

de Freitas Barbosa, A., Narciso, T., Biancalana, M.: Brazil in Africa: Another Emerging Power in the Continent? *Politikon*. 36, 59–86 (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340903155401>.

552.

Shaw, T.M., Cooper, A.F., Chin, G.T.: Emerging Powers and Africa: Implications for/from Global Governance? *Politikon*. 36, 27–44 (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340903155385>.

553.

Christina Stolte: Brazil in Africa: seeking international status, not resources. *Harvard International Review*. 34, (2013).

554.

Pereira, A.D.: Brazil-Africa Relations: The Strategic Importance of the South Atlantic. *Insight on Africa*. 6, 1–13 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0975087814532586>.

555.

Yvonne Captain: Brazil's Africa Policy under Lula. *The Global South*. 4, 183–198 (2010).

556.

Catching up; India in Africa. *The Economist*. 399, (2011).

557.

India in Africa. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 44,.

558.

A new Atlantic alliance; Brazil in Africa. *The Economist*. 405, (2012).

559.

India chooses private banker to head Brics bank | Asia-Pacific | BDlive,
<http://www.bdlive.co.za/world/asia/2015/05/11/india-chooses-private-banker-to-head-brics-bank>.

560.

Taylor, I.: *Global governance and transnationalizing capitalist hegemony: the myth of the 'emerging powers'*. Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon (2017).

561.

Black, D.R., Hornsby, D.J.: South Africa's bilateral relationships in the evolving foreign policy of an emerging middle power. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*. 54, 151–160 (2016). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14662043.2016.1151164>.

562.

Kayuni, H., Tambulasi, R.: Big Brother or Big Opportunist? South Africa's Enthusiasm for a Multifaceted Relationship with the Rest of Africa. *Africa Review*. 4, 17–32 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/09744053.2013.764118>.

563.

Van Nieuwkerk, A.: Exporting Cultures of Violence or Peace? Interpreting South Africa's Post-apartheid Role in Africa. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*. 4, 70–84 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/15423166.2009.306113691014>.

564.

Hamill, J., Hoffman, J.: 'Quiet Diplomacy' or Appeasement? South African Policy towards Zimbabwe. *The Round Table*. 98, 373–384 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00358530902895584>.

565.

Lee, D., Taylor, I., Williams, P.D.: The new multilateralism in South African diplomacy. Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke (2006).

566.

Porter, Elisabeth J.: Researching Conflict in Africa : Insights and Experiences. United Nations University Press (2005).

567.

van Nieuwkerk, A.: South Africa and Peacekeeping in Africa. *African Security*. 5, 44–62 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2012.653307>.

568.

Ogunnubi, O.: Recalibrating Africa's Geo-Political Calculus: A Critique of South Africa's Hegemonic Status. *Politikon*. 1–20 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2015.1099373>.

569.

Hamill, J.: South Africa in Africa: The Dilemmas of Multi-lateralism. In: *The New Multi-lateralism in South African Diplomacy*. Palgrave-Macmillan (2006).

570.

Hamill, J., Lee, D.: A Middle Power Paradox? South African Diplomacy in the Post-apartheid Era. *International Relations*. 15, 33–59 (2001). <https://doi.org/10.1177/004711701015004004>.

571.

Prys, M.: Regional Hegemon or Regional Bystander: South Africa's Zimbabwe Policy 2000–2005. *Politikon*. 36, 193–218 (2009). <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340903240138>.

572.

Gebrewold, B.: Legitimate Regional Powers? A Failed Test for Ethiopia, Nigeria, and South Africa. *African Security*. 7, 1–23 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.880029>.

573.

Moore, C.: Thabo Mbeki and South Africa's African identity: a review of 20 years of South Africa's Africa policy. *African Identities*. 12, 371–389 (2014). <https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2015.1009620>.

574.

Hamill, J.: From Realism to Complex Interdependence? South Africa, Southern Africa and the Question of Security. *International Relations*. 14, 1–30 (1998). <https://doi.org/10.1177/004711789801400301>.

575.

Olusola Ogunnubi, Christopher Isike: Regional hegemonic contention and the asymmetry of soft power: a comparative analysis of South Africa and Nigeria. *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*. 37, (2015).

576.

Death, C.: Leading by Example: South African Foreign Policy and Global Environmental Politics. *International Relations*. 25, 455–478 (2011). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117811404582>.

577.

Desmond Tutu, A.: South Africa, Africa and the World. *Conflict, Security & Development*. 4, 199–205 (2004). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1467880042000259112>.

578.

Alden, C., le Pere, G.: Chapter 4: South Africa, Africa and the South: Leadership and Revival. *The Adelphi Papers*. 43, 55–69 (2003). <https://doi.org/10.1080/714027927>.

579.

Alden, C., Le Pere, G.: South Africa in Africa: Bound To Lead? *Politikon*. 36, 145–169 (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589340903155443>.

580.

Qobo, M.: Refocusing South Africa's economic diplomacy: the 'African Agenda' and emerging powers. *South African Journal of International Affairs*. 17, 13–28 (2010).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461003763833>.

581.

Jordaan, E.: The concept of a middle power in international relations: distinguishing between emerging and traditional middle powers. *Politikon*. 30, 165–181 (2003).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0258934032000147282>.

582.

Habib, A.: South Africa's foreign policy: hegemonic aspirations, neoliberal orientations and global transformation. *South African Journal of International Affairs*. 16, 143–159 (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10220460903265857>.

583.

Serrão, O., Bischoff, P.-H.: Foreign Policy Ambiguity on the Part of an Emergent Middle Power: South African Foreign Policy through other Lenses. *Politikon*. 36, 363–380 (2009).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589341003600189>.

584.

Baregu, M.L., Landsberg, C., International Peace Academy: From Cape to Congo: Southern Africa's evolving security challenges. L. Rienner, Boulder, Colo (2003).

585.

Ahwireng-Obeng, F., McGowan, P.J.: Partner or Hegemon? South Africa in Africa: Part One. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 16, 5–38 (1998).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02589009808729619>.

586.

Olusola Ogunnubi, Christopher Isike: Regional hegemonic contention and the asymmetry of soft power: a comparative analysis of South Africa and Nigeria. *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*. 37, (2015).

587.

Salawu, A.: A political economy of sub-Saharan African language press: the case of Nigeria and South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 42, 299–313 (2015).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2014.988695>.

588.

Senaji, T.A., Metwally, E., Sejjaaka, S., Puplampu, B.B., Michaud, J., Adedoyin-Rasaq, H.: LEAD - Leadership effectiveness, motivation, and culture in Africa: Lessons from Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, and Uganda. *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences / Revue Canadienne des Sciences de l'Administration*. 31, 228–244 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1002/cjas.1298>.

589.

Abegunrin, O., Akomolafe, O.: *Nigeria in Global Politics: Twentieth Century and Beyond*. Nova Science Publishers, Inc, Hauppauge (2006).

590.

Olusola Ogunnubi, Christopher Isike: Regional hegemonic contention and the asymmetry of soft power: a comparative analysis of South Africa and Nigeria. *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*. 37, (2015).

591.

Lopez-Lucia, E.: Regional powers and regional security governance: An interpretive perspective on the policies of Nigeria and Brazil. *International Relations*. 29, 348–362 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117815600936>.

592.

Ubi, E.N., Akinkuotu, O.O.: Nigerian foreign policy and economic development, 1999-2013. *International Area Studies Review*. 17, 414-433 (2014).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2233865914557099>.

593.

ADEBAJO, A.: Nigeria: Africa's New Gendarme? *Security Dialogue*. 31, 185-199 (2000).
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010600031002005>.

594.

Badmus, I.A.: *The African Union's role in peacekeeping: building on lessons learned from security operations*. Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England (2015).

595.

Shooting Dogs [DVD] [2007].

596.

Hotel Rwanda - University of Leicester,
[http://librarysearch.le.ac.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=requestTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=44UOLE_ALMA2195414030002746&indx=1&reclds=44UOLE_ALMA2195414030002746&reclxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&frbg=&dscnt=0&scp.scps=scope%3A%2844UOLE_DISSERTATIONS%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_DSPACE%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_CALM%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_ALMA%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_EXAM%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_CONTENTDM%29%2Cprimo_central_multiple_fe&mode=Basic&vid=44UOLE_VU1&srt=rank&tab=default_tab&vl\(freeText0\)=Hotel%20Rwanda&dum=true&dstmp=1488283395554](http://librarysearch.le.ac.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=requestTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=44UOLE_ALMA2195414030002746&indx=1&reclds=44UOLE_ALMA2195414030002746&reclxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&frbg=&dscnt=0&scp.scps=scope%3A%2844UOLE_DISSERTATIONS%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_DSPACE%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_CALM%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_ALMA%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_EXAM%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_CONTENTDM%29%2Cprimo_central_multiple_fe&mode=Basic&vid=44UOLE_VU1&srt=rank&tab=default_tab&vl(freeText0)=Hotel%20Rwanda&dum=true&dstmp=1488283395554).

597.

Blood Diamond [DVD] [2007].

598.

ABC News Nightline Heart of Darkness: The Democratic Republic of Congo.

599.

Black hawk down - University of Leicester,

[http://librarysearch.le.ac.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=requestTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=44UOLE_ALMA21102224230002746&indx=1&reclds=44UOLE_ALMA21102224230002746&recldxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&frbg=∓dscnt=0&scp.scps=scope%3A%2844UOLE_DISSERTATIONS%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_DSPACE%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_CALM%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_ALMA%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_EXAM%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_CONTENTDM%29%2Cprimo_central_multiple_fe&mode=Basic&vid=44UOLE_VU1&srt=rank&tab=default_tab&vl\(freeText0\)=Black%20Hawk%20Down&dum=true&p;dstmp=1488283893799](http://librarysearch.le.ac.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=requestTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=44UOLE_ALMA21102224230002746&indx=1&reclds=44UOLE_ALMA21102224230002746&recldxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&frbg=∓dscnt=0&scp.scps=scope%3A%2844UOLE_DISSERTATIONS%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_DSPACE%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_CALM%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_ALMA%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_EXAM%29%2Cscope%3A%2844UOLE_CONTENTDM%29%2Cprimo_central_multiple_fe&mode=Basic&vid=44UOLE_VU1&srt=rank&tab=default_tab&vl(freeText0)=Black%20Hawk%20Down&dum=true&p;dstmp=1488283893799).