POLITICAL SCIENCE 3315 (AFRICAN POLITICS)

FALL TERM, 2016

Instructor: Dr. Peter Arthur Office hours: Wednesdays 10-12; or by appointment

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The focus of the course will be the contemporary political economy of Africa. It begins with an overview of the political and economic change in African states and the issues of development since independence up to the contemporary context of 'globalisation' and the position of Africa in the capitalist world system. This leads to an extended analysis of the multi-faceted crisis that overwhelmed most African states during the 1980s: debt and structural adjustment, foreign aid and investment, industrialisation, and agriculture and food shortages. We will extend this into a consideration of the resulting general crisis of the nation-state in Africa and problems of political reform and democratisation. We will end with a consideration of the political and economic alternatives open to African countries in the opening decades of the twenty-first century.

Course Structure

The course is organized around a weekly three-hour seminar. It is expected that each student will have completed the assigned readings prior to the class meetings and will participate actively in the seminar discussions. In addition, each student will be responsible, at least once, during the term for leading seminar discussions. Where two students will lead seminar discussions, there should be some co-ordination prior to class to avoid redundancy. Each student will be assigned 15 minutes for presentation. The presentations should be based primarily on the assigned readings, but additional material should also be consulted. Keep in mind that leading a seminar presentation is **NOT merely** summarizing the assigned readings. A good presentation requires an awareness and knowledge of the author's main argument and a brief **assessment** of the strengths and weaknesses of the author's central argument or concepts. Comment here on whether the authors' evidence really supports what they set out to do and their conclusions. Say why you agree or disagree with their argument and conclusions, drawing on questions and issues that have been raised in other readings, lectures, and/or discussions from the course. Finally, the presentation should involve identifying the major issues that deserve discussion, preferably in the form of questions that can generate debate and reflection. There would also be an in-class mid-term test on October 12th 2016, based on topics discussed by then. Also, between October 19th and November 16th 2016, each student should write one short 'position' paper/critique (4 pages) in which you take a stance vis-à-vis the assigned material. In the position paper, you would be expected to select any two required readings, identify the central questions, main points, concepts and compare and contrast between the different points and arguments made. Rather than analyzing all the ideas that the authors present, you should focus in depth on one or two significant questions. Keep in mind that a position paper or critique is not the same as a summary. A good synthesis of a text requires an awareness and knowledge of the author's

style of thinking, not just the particular facts that are presented to support an argument. Finally, each student would write a major research paper, (after consulting the instructor) on an aspect or subtheme of one of the broad topics discussed in class and should conform to standard academic style and format. The papers are due on 30th November 2016. Extensions will be granted only for illness (verified by medical certificate) or other extraordinary (and verifiable) personal event. Late papers will be penalised 2% per working day.

PLAGIARISM AND OTHER UNACCEPTABLE PRACTICES:

Students are reminded that **plagiarism** (handing in another person's work as one's own or exact copying of the words of another author without attribution), submitting the same essay to more than one course, and close **paraphrasing** (reliance on a source with only minor alterations in wording) are unacceptable. Any paper submitted by a student at may be checked for originality to confirm that the student has not plagiarized from other sources. Plagiarism is considered a serious academic offence which may lead to loss of credit, suspension or expulsion from the University, or even the revocation of a degree. It is essential that there be correct attribution of authorities from which facts and opinions have been derived. At Dalhousie there are University Regulations which deal with plagiarism and, prior to submitting any paper in a course, students should read the Policy on Intellectual Honestv contained in the Calendar on the Dal web or at: http://www.dal.ca/dept/university_secretariat/academic-integrity/plagiarism-cheating.html Senate has affirmed the right of any instructor to require that student papers be submitted in both written and computer-readable format and to submit any paper to be checked electronically for originality.

STUDENT ACCESSIBILITY & ACCOMMODATION

Students may request accommodation as a result of barriers related to disability, religious obligation, or any characteristic under the Nova Scotia Human Rights Act. Students who require academic accommodation for either classroom participation or the writing of tests and exams should make their request to the Office of Student Accessibility & Accommodation (OSAA) prior to or at the outset of the term. Please see www.studentaccessibility.dal.ca for more information and to obtain the Request for Accommodation – Form A.

A note taker may be required to assist a classmate. There is an honorarium of \$75/course/term. If you are interested, please contact OSAA at 902-494-2836 for more information.

Please note that your classroom may contain specialized accessible furniture and equipment. It is important that these items remain in the classroom so that students who require their usage will be able to participate in the class.

Evaluation

Attendance and Participation	15%
Seminar Presentation	10%
Mid-term test (October 12 th)	30%
Position Paper/Critique (Oct 19-Nov. 16)	10%
Research Paper (due 30 th November 2016)	35%
(10 pages, double-spaced)	

The grading thresholds are as follows for undergraduates:

90-100 = A+	77-79 = B+	65-69 = C+	50-54 = D
85-89 = A	73-76 = B	60-64 = C	below $50 = F$
80-84 = A-	70-72 = B-	55-59 = C-	

In order to receive a final grade for the course, each student must complete all four components of the course.

Please note that the deadline by which a student may withdraw without a 'W' is 7th October, and November 14th with a 'W' (early deadline: 19th September 2016).

Required Readings

Majority of the required readings can be accessed on the Dalhousie Library system (Novanet). The ones not available through the novanet system can be picked up from me for photocopying.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

Class One (September 7th): INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE & ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING

Class Two (September 14^{th}) INTRODUCTION TO THE REGION, RISE OF NATIONALISM & IMPACT OF COLONIALISM:

Required Readings:

Peter Schraeder (2004), **African Politics and Society: A Mosaic in Transformation**, 2nd edition, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson, chapters 3, 4, pp. 49-99.

Crawford Young (1995), "The Heritage of Colonialism," in Donald Rothchild & John Harbeson (eds), **Africa in World Politics**, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, pp. 23-42.

Grier, Robin, (2007), "Colonial legacies and economic growth," in William Moseley (ed) **Taking Sides: Clashing Views on African Issues**, Dubuque, Iowa: McGraw Hill, pp. 65-67.

Recommended:

Rodney, Walter, "The Unequal Partnership Between Africans and Europeans," in Walter Rodney, **How Europe Underdeveloped Africa**, pp. 135-147.

Edie, Carlene, Politics in Africa: A New Beginning? Toronto: Wadsworth, 2003, pp. 47-64.

Boahen, A. A. (1987), African Perspective on Colonialism, Baltimore, Maryland, pp. 95-112.

Mamdani, Mahmood, Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996, pp. 3-61.

Mamdani, Mahmood, Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996, pp. 285-301.

Class Three (September 21st) DEVELOPMENT THEORY & AFRICAN INDUSTRIALIZATION

Required

Parpart, Jane & Veltmeyer, Henry (2004), "The development project in theory and practice: A review of the shifting dynamics," **Canadian Journal of Development Studies**, vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 39-59 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Eversole, Robyn (2012), "Remaking participation: challenges for community development practice," **Community Development Journal**, Vol. 47, Issue 1, pp. 29-41 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Lawrence, Peter (2005), "Explaining sub-Saharan Africa's manufacturing performance," **Development and Change**, 36 (6), pp. 1121-1141 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Dagdeviren, H. & Mahran, H. A. (2010), "A tale of industrial stagnation from Africa," **International Review of Applied Economics**, 24, 4, pp. 495-510 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Recommended:

Matthews, Sally (2004), "Post-development theory and the questions of alternatives: a view from Africa," **Third World Quarterly**, 25, 2, pp. 373-384 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Oyejide Titiloye Ademola, Abiodun-S. Bankole and Adeolu O. Adewuyi (2009), "China–Africa Trade Relations: Insights from AERC Scoping Studies," **European Journal of Development Research**, 21, 485-505.

Cavalcanti, Joabe, (2007), "Development versus enjoyment of life: A post-development critique of the developmentalist worldview," **Development in Practice**, 17, 1, pp. 85-92.

Arthur, Peter, "Ghana: Industrial Development in the Post Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) Period," **Canadian Journal of Development Studies**, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 717-742, 2002.

Class Four (September 28th) AGRICULTURE, FOOD PRODUCTION, FOOD SECURITY AND THE CRISIS OF RURAL SOCIETY

Required Readings

Pedro Conceição et al. (2016), "Towards a food secure future: Ensuring food security for sustainable human development in Sub-Saharan Africa," **Food Policy**, 60, 1-9. (**Available online at Novanet**).

Bates, Robert, "Governments and Agricultural Markets in Africa," in R. Bates (ed), **Toward a Political Economy of Development**, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988, pp. 331-358.

Steven Haggblade (2013), "Unscrambling Africa: Regional Requirements for Achieving Food Security," **Development Policy Review**, 31, 2, pp. 149-176 (Available online at Novanet).

Burney Jennifer & Naylor Rosamond (2012), "Smallholder Irrigation as a Poverty Alleviation Tool in Sub-Saharan Africa," **World Development**, 40, 1, pp. 110 -123 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Recommended:

Holmen, Hans (2006), "Myths about agriculture: Obstacles to Solving the African Food Crisis," **European Journal of Development Research**, 18, 3, pp. 453-480 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Jayne, T.D. Mather, D. & Mghenyi, E. (2010). "Principal Challenges Confronting Smallholder agriculture in Africa," **World Development**, Volume 38, Issue 10, pp. 1384-1398 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Chris Ackello-Ogutu (2011), "Managing Food Security Implications of Food Price Shocks in Africa," **Journal of African Economies**, 20, 1, pp. 100-141.

Gross, Adam (2006), "Can Sub-Saharan African Countries Defend Their trade and Development Interests Effectively in the WTO? The Case of Cotton," **The European Journal of Development Research**, 18, 3, pp. 368-386.

Olukoshi, A. (2005), "Investing in Africa: The political economy of agricultural growth," **IDS Bulletin**, 36 (2), pp. 13-22.

Kandiero, Tonia, & Randa, John (2004), "Agricultural exports: Important Issues for Sub-Saharan Africa," **African Development Review**, vol. 16, issue 1, pp. 1-35.

Bennett, Richard et al. (2006), "The economic impacts of genetically modified cotton on South Africa's smallholders: Yield, profit and health effects," **Journal of Development Studies** 42 (4), pp. 662-677.

Keijiro, O. (2006), "Why can't we transform traditional agriculture in Africa," **Review of Agricultural Economics**, 28 (3), pp. 332-337.

Class Five (October 5th) WOMEN, POLITICS AND DEVELOPMENT Required Readings

Bauer, Gretchen & Okpotor, Faith (2013), "Her Excellency: An Exploratory Overview of Women Cabinet Ministers in Africa," **Africa Today**, Vol. 60, Issue 1, pp. 77-97 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Agbalajobi, Damilola Taiye (2010), "Women's participation and the political process in Nigeria: Problems and prospects," **African Journal of Political Science and International Relations**, vol.4, issue 2, pp. 75-82.

Morrell, R., Jewkes, R., Linderger, G. (2012), "Hegemonic masculinity/masculinities in South Africa: Culture, power and gender politics," **Men and Masculinities**, 15, 1, pp. 11-30 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Lombe, Margaret et al. (2014), "Much Ado About Nothing? Exploring Effects of the Millennium Development Goals on the Welfare of Women in Sub-Saharan Africa," **Journal of Policy Practice**, 13, 3, pp. 200-217. (**Available online at Novanet**).

Recommended

Hicks, Janine (2011), "Bringing Women into Local Governance: A Review of Enabling Mechanisms in South Africa," **Community Development Journal**, 46, 3, pp. 351-364 (**Available Online at Novanet**).

Isike, C. & Uzodike, U. O. (2011), "Marginalizing women in politics: Recent trends in KwaZulu-Natal," **Development Southern Africa**, 28, 2, pp. 225-240 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Tripp, Aili-Mari (2003) "Women in Movement: transformations in African political landscapes," **International Feminist Journal of Politics** 5 (2), July, pp. 233-255.

Longwe, Sara (2000), "Towards realistic strategies for women's political empowerment in Africa," **Gender and Development**, vol. 8, issue 3, pp. 24-30.

Gordon, April (1992), "Women and Development," in **Understanding Contemporary Africa**, edited by April Gordon & Donald Gordon, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 201-222.

Pankhurst, Donna (2002), "Women and politics in Africa: The case of Uganda," **Parliamentary Affairs**, vol. 55, issue 1, pp. 119-128.

Bauer, Gretchen (2004), "The hand that stirs the pot can also run the country: Electing women to parliament in Namibia," **Journal of Modern African Studies**, 42, 4, pp. 479-509.

Class Six: (October 12th) (Mid-Term Test).

Class Seven (October 19th) ECONOMIC DECLINE, THE SEARCH FOR EXPLANATIONS & ECONOMIC REFORMS/STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES (SAPs) Required Readings:

Skosireva, Anna K. and Bonnie Holaday (2010), "Revisiting Structural Adjustment Programs in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Long-Lasting Impact on Child Health," **World Medical and Health Policy** Vol. 2: Issue 3, Article 5, pp. 75-89 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Onyeiwu, Steve et al. (2009), "Structural Adjustment Intensity, Vulnerability and Poverty in Africa," **Journal of developing societies**, 25, 1, pp. 27 -55 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Alexander E. Kentikelenis, Thomas H. Stubbs, Lawrence P. King (2015), "Structural adjustment and public spending on health: Evidence from IMF programs in low-income countries, **Social Science and Medicine**, 126, (February) pp. 169-176 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Recommended:

Hilson, Gavin & Potter, Clive, (2005), "Structural adjustment and subsistence industry: Artisanal gold mining in Ghana," **Development and Change**, 36, 1, pp. 103-131 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Konadu-Agyemang, K., "The Best of Times and the Worst of Times: SAPs and Uneven Development in Africa: The case of Ghana," **The Professional Geographer**, vol. 52, no. 3, 2000, pp. 469-483.

Mkandawire, Thandika (2007), "The global economic context," in William Moseley (ed) **Taking Sides: Clashing Viewson African Issues**, Dubuque, Iowa: McGraw Hill, pp. 82-93.

Scott, Gerald (2007), "Who has failed Africa? IMF Measures or the African Leadership," in William Moseley (ed) **Taking Sides: Clashing Views on African Issues**, Dubuque, Iowa: McGraw Hill, pp. 74-81.

Cheru, Fantu, **African Renaissance: Roadmaps to the Challenges of Globalization**, London: Zed Books, 2002, chapter 1, pp. 1-32.

Hutchful, Eboe (2002), **Ghana's Adjustment Experience: the Paradox of Reform**, Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Department (UNRISD).

Carmody, Padraig (1998), "Constructing Alternatives to structural Adjustment in Africa," **Review of African Political Economy**, no. 75, pp. 25-46.

Class Eight (October 26th) FOREIGN AID, DEBT RELIEF AND DEVELOPMENT Required Readings

Elkins, Meg & Feeny, Simon (2014), "Policies in PRSPs: dominance or diversity," Canadian Journal of Development Studies, 35, 2, 228.248 (Available on line at Novanet).

Yiagadeesen, Samy & Aksli, Marje (2015), "Examination of bilateral donor performance and progress under the Paris Declaration on Aid effectiveness," Canadian Journal of Development Studies, 36, 4, 516-535 (Available online at Novanet).

Samy, Yiagadeesen (2010), "China's Aid Policies in Africa: Opportunities and Challenges," **The Round Table**, Vol. 99, Issue 406, pp. 75-90 (**Available online on Novanet**).

Recommended:

Omotola, J. Shola& Saliu, Hassan (2009), "Foreign aid, debt relief and Africa's development: problems and prospects," **South African Journal of International Affairs**, Vol. 16, Issue 1, pp. 87-102 (**Available online on Novanet**).

Chhotray, Vasudha & Hulme, David (2009), "Contrasting visions for aid and governance in the twenty-first century: The White House MCA and DFID's Drivers of Change," **World Development**, 37, 1, pp. 36-49 (**Available on line at Novanet**).

Whitfield, Lindsay (2010), "The State Elite, PRSPs, and Policy Implementation in aid dependent Ghana," **Third World Quarterly**, Vol. 31, Issue 5, pp. 721-737 (**Available online at Novanet**).

J. Vandemoortele (2009), "The MDG Conundrum: Meeting the Targets Without Missing the Point," **Development Policy Review**, 27 (4), 355-371 (**Available on line at Novanet**)

Easterly, William (2009), "How the Millennium Goals are Unfair to Africa," **World Development**, 37, 1, pp. 26-35.

Moyo, Dambisa (2009), **Dead Aid: Why aid is not working and how there is a better way for Africa**, New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

Cheru, Fantu (2006), "Building and supporting PRSPs in Africa. What has worked well so far? What needs changing?" **Third World Quarterly**, 27, 2, pp. 355-376.

Class Nine: (November 2^{nd}): Developmental "Models" & Politics of "Success" (Botswana & Mauritius).

Readings

Sandbrook, Richard (2007), "Explaining good governance: The case of Mauritius," in Jennifer Welsh & Ngaire Woods (eds), **Exporting Good Governance: temptations and challenges in Canada's aid programme**, Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press & Centre for International Governance innovation (CIGI), pp. 203-221.

Matadeen, Jeevita & Seetanah, Boopen (2015), "Stock market development and economic growth: Evidence from Mauritius," **The Journal of Developing Areas**, 49, 6 (2015): 25-36. (Available Online at Novanet).

Kasenally, Roukaya (2011), "Mauritius: Paradise Reconsidered," **Journal of Democracy**, vol. 22, 2, pp. 160-169 (**Available Online at Novanet**).

Cook, Amelia & Sarkin, Jeremy (2010) "Is Botswana the miracle of Africa? Democracy, the rule of law, and human rights versus economic development," **Transnational law & contemporary problems**, 19, 2, pp. 453-488 (**Available Online at Novanet**).

Hillbom, Ellen (2014), "Cattle, Diamonds and Institutions: Main drivers of Botswana's Economic development, 1850 to Present," **Journal of International Development**, 26, 2, pp. 155–176.

Recommended

Joseph, A. and Troester, B. (2013), Can the Mauritian Miracle continue? The role of financial and ICT services as prospective growth drivers, Berlin Working Papers on Money, Finance, Trade and Development in Cooperation: Working Paper No. 01/2013.

Hillbom, Ellen (2012), "Botswana: A development-oriented gate-keeping state," **African Affairs**, Vol. 111, Issue 442, pp. 67-89 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Taylor, Ian (2012), "Botswana as a development-oriented gate-keeping state: A response," **African Affairs**, Vol. 111, Issue 444, pp. 466-476.

Hillbon, Ellen (2008), "Diamonds or development? A structural assessment of Botswana's forty years of success," **Journal of Modern African Studies**, 46, 2, pp. 191-214 (**Available on line at Novanet**).

Sobhee, Sanjeev (2009), "The economic success of Mauritius: lessons and policy options for Africa," **Journal of Economic Policy Reform**, 12, pp. 29 -42 (**Available on line at Novanet**).

Class Ten (November 16^{th}) MILITARISM, THE CRISIS OF 'GOVERNANCE' & PEACE BUILDING

Required Readings

Leonard, David & Straus, Scott (2003), "The Causes of Civil Conflict in Africa," in **Africa's Stalled Development: International Causes and Cures**, London & Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, chapter 4, pp. 57-82.

McKnight, Janet (2010), "Child Soldiers in Africa: A Global approach to Human rights Protection, Enforcement and Post-Conflict Reintegration," **African Journal of International & Comparative Law**, 18, 2, pp. 113-142 (**Available on line at Novanet**).

Lord, Janet & Stein, Michael (2015), "Peacebuilding and reintegrating ex-combatants with disabilities," **International Journal of Human Rights**, 19, 3, pp. 277-292 (**Available on line at Novanet**).

Recommended

Igwe, Dickson Ogbonnaya (2011), "Violent conflicts as an impediment to the achievement of Millennium Development goals in Africa," **Journal of Military & Strategic Studies**, Vol. 13 Issue 2, pp. 1-27 (**Available on line at Novanet**).

Dzinesa, G. (2007), "Post-conflict disarmaments, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants in Southern Africa," **International Studies Perspectives**, vol. 8, Issue 1, pp. 73-89 (**Available on line at Novanet**).

Ismail, Olawale (2008), "Power elites, war and post-war reconstruction in Africa: Continuities, discontinuities and paradoxes," **Journal of Contemporary African Studies**, Vol. 26, Issue 3, pp. 259-278.

Englebert, Pierre & Tull, Denis (2008), "Post-conflict reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed State," **International Security**, 32 (4): 106-139(**Available on line at Novanet**).

Williband, Sigrid (2006), "Does money work? Cash transfers to ex-combatants in disarmaments, demobilization and reintegration process," **Disasters**, 30, 3, pp. 316-339.

Class Eleven (November 23^{rd}) DEMOCRATIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT Required Readings

Clark C. Gibson, Barak D. Hoffman, Ryan S. Jablonski, (2015), "Did aid promote democracy in Africa: the role of technical assistance in Africa's transition," **World Development**, 68, pp. 323-335 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Nwosu, Bernard (2012), "Tracks of the third wave: democracy theory, democratisation and the dilemma of political succession in Africa," **Review of African Political Economy**, 39, 131, pp. 11-25 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Wahman, M. (2014), "Democratization and electoral turnovers in sub-Saharan Africa and beyond," **Democratization**, 21, 2, 220-243 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Recommended:

Lynch, Gabrielle & Crawford, Gordon (2011), "Democratization in Africa 1990-2010: an assessment," **Democratization**, 18, 2, pp. 275-310 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Lewis, Peter (2008), "Growth without prosperity in Africa," **Journal of Democracy**, 19, 4, pp. 95-109 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Fombad, Charles (2007), "Challenges to Constitutionalism and Constitutional Rights in Africa and the Enabling Role of Political Parties: Lessons and Perspectives from Southern Africa," **American Journal of Comparative Law**, 55, 1, pp. 1-46 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Brown, Stephen & Kaiser, Paul (2007), "Democratizations in Africa: Attempts, Hindrances and Prospects," **Third World Quarterly**, 28, 6, 1131-49 (**Available online at Novanet**).

Ayers, Alison (2006), "Demystifying democratisation: the global constitution of neoliberal polities in Africa," **Third World Quarterly**, 27, 2, pp. 321-338.

Class Twelve: November 30th: REGIONALISM IN AFRICA Required

Iheduru, Okechukwu C. (2011), "The 'new' ECOWAS: implications for the study of regional integration," In Timothy M. Shaw, J. Andrew Grant, and Scarlett Cornelissen (Editors), **Ashgate Research Companion to Regionalisms**, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, pp. 213-239 (**Available on line at Novanet**).

Gibb, Richard (2009), "Regional integration and Africa's Development and Africa's Development Trajectory: meta-theories, expectations and reality," **Third World Quarterly**, 30 (4): 701-721 (**Available on line at Novanet**).

Bah, Adama (2013), "Civil Conflicts as a Constraint to Regional Economic Integration in Africa, **Defence and peace economics**, 24, 6, pp. 521 -534 (**Available on line at Novanet**).

Recommended

Bachmann, Veit and Sidaway, James (2010). "African regional integration and European involvement: external agents in the East African Community," **The South African Geographical Journal**, 92 (1): 1-6 (Available on line at Novanet).

Tavares, Rodrigo and Tang, Vanessa (2011). "Regional economic integration in Africa: impediments to progress," **South African Journal of International Affairs**, 18 (2): 217-233.

Dirar, Luwan (2010). "Common Market for Eastern and Southern African Countries: Multiplicity of Membership Issue and Choices," **African Journal of Comparative and International Law**, 18 (2): 217-232.

El-Affendi, Abdelwahab (2009). "The Perils of Regionalism: Regional Integration as a Source of Instability in the Horn of Africa?" **Journal of Intervention and State-building**, 3 (1): 1-19.

Mutambara, Tsitsi Effie (2009). "Transport challenges within the Southern African Development Community and their implications for economic integration and development," **Journal of Contemporary African Studies**, 27 (4): 501 -525.