

WHAT AFRICAN VOICE?

THE POLITICS OF PUBLISHING AFRICA IN IR

by
MIEKE FOURIE

Thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (International Studies)
at the University of Stellenbosch



SUPERVISOR: **DR. KAREN SMITH**
FACULTY OF ARTS
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

March 2011

DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the authorship owner thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously, in its entirety or in part, submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: 1 November 2010

Copyright © 2010 Stellenbosch University
All rights reserved

ABSTRACT

Despite the validity of arguments highlighting the inadequacy of existing theories to explain Third World and specifically African realities, criticism has perpetuated, rather than disarmed, status quo theories. This is because focus on (and thus within) the existing conceptual framework has impeded vision beyond these barriers, thereby hampering the formation of new, more applicable theories. The intellectual balance of power and methodological hegemony of the West is perpetuated, on the African continent through Western monopoly over course content in tertiary education as well as the preferences of publishers for Africanist rather than African contributions. This study provides a critical assessment of scholarly dominance on the topic of Africa in order contribute to a greater understanding of the dynamics acting to exclude non-Western ideas and experiences from the IR narrative.

The study provides a content analysis of 25 peer-rated influential journals publishing IR content for the period January 2000 to August 2010. The aim was to identify dominant themes and scholars on the topic of Africa in IR. General biographical information on the five highest ranking scholars in terms of publication exposure was gathered in order to assess networks of academic and professional affiliation that could have contributed to their publishing success.

Dominant themes vary between African, Third World and international-oriented journals. Governance is a prevalent theme throughout, but African journals prefer intervention to the international journals' preoccupation with conflict in Africa. Third World Journals place development first. The five most prolific authors are Ian Taylor, Kevin C. Dunn, Cameron G. Thies, Nana K. Poku and Chris Alden. They are all currently lecturing at either American or British academic institutions and are all Africanists, save for Poku who is a diasporic African.

Networks of affiliation are established through institutions of higher education primarily and through societal memberships. The internet does not seem to be an important tool of networking amongst Africanists. Dominant authors tend to collaborate, serve as article reviewers or on editorial boards of journals for which they also submit articles, and as research grant proposal reviewers, thus also constituting the gatekeepers in academia.

OPSOMMING

Ten spyte van geldige argumente wat aanvoer dat bestaande teorieë nie in staat is daartoe om Derdewêreld ervarings – spesifiek dié van Afrika – genoegsaam te begryp nie, het kritiek eerder hierdie teorieë versterk as ontsetel. Dit is omdat fokus op (en dus vanuit) bestaande teoretiese raamwerke die oorweging van elemente buite hierdie raamwerke onmoontlik maak, en sodoende die ontstaan van nuwe, meer verteenwoordigende raamwerke, teenwerk. Die intellektuele magsbalans en metodologiese hegemonie van die Weste word voortgesit, selfs op die Afrika kontinent, deur Westerse monopolie oor die kursusinhoud van tersiêre instansies, sowel as deur die voorkeur wat Afrikaniste se bydraes geniet bo dié van Afrikane vir publikasie. Hierdie studie bied 'n kritiese analise van dominansie in kundigheid oor die onderwerp van Afrika om sodoende by te dra tot 'n meer omskrywende geheelbeeld van die dinamiek wat nie-Westerse idees en ervarings uitsluit tot die diskoers van Internasionale Betrekkinge.

Die navorsing is in die vorm van 'n inhoudsanalise van 25 invloedryke joernale wat inhoud relevant tot Internasionale Betrekkinge publiseer, vir die periode Januarie 2000 tot Augustus 2010. Die doel is om dominante temas en kundiges oor die onderwerp van Afrika se internasionale betrekkinge te identifiseer. Biografiese inligting oor die vyf mees bedrewe kundiges in terme van publikasies is ingesamel om die netwerke van akademiese en professionele affiliasie wat moontlik tot hulle status kon bydra, te assesser.

Dominante temas verskil tussen Afrika-, Derdewêreld- en internasionaal-georiënteerde joernale. Regeerkunde is deurgaans 'n prominente tema, maar die Afrika-joernale verkies intervensie teenoor die internasionale joernale se fokus op konflik in Afrika. Derdewêreld-joernale plaas meer klem op ontwikkeling. Die vyf mees bedrewe outeurs is Ian Taylor, Kevin C. Dunn, Cameron G. Thies, Nana K. Poku en Chris Alden. Hulle is almal lektore by Amerikaanse of Britse akademiese instansies en, behalwe vir Poku wat deel van die Afrika diaspora vorm, is hulle almal Afrikaniste.

Netwerke van affiliasie word deur instansies van hoër opleiding of lidmaatskap aan professionele assosiasies bewerkstellig. Die internet is klaarblyklik nie 'n baie belangrik instrument in kontakbouing vir Afrikaniste nie. Dominante outeurs is geneig om saam te skryf, hulle is dikwels die artikelkeurders vir joernale of dien op die redaksie en tree ook dikwels in 'n hoedanigheid van keurders van navorsingsbefondsing op. As sulks is hulle gelyk die dominante akademici as die waghonde van die ivoortoring.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I want to thank my supervisor, Karen Smith, for her knowledge and guidance as well as her patience. My tendency to procrastinate is a frustration not at all isolated to me, I realise. I hope that the sudden and severe bursts of activity were at least exciting if not particularly productive. Secondly, I want to thank my colleagues at the Writing Laboratory who compensated for the long and sometimes demanding hours with friendship and inspiration that I could not imagine finding elsewhere.

I want to thank my brother and sister for their patience and love in what has been a tumultuous journey at times. Thank you also to my father who often suffers the brunt of such times, but takes it with such poise that it mostly goes unnoticed. Your objectivity and diligence is an inspiration; thank you for your invaluable support.

Finally I want to acknowledge my grandmother who passed away earlier this year. She would have been proud of this achievement even though I realise she would have preferred to see me get married. And my mother whose influence, despite her death in January 2000, remains inherent to all of my views and ideas.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Opsomming.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
List of Tables.....	viii
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Abbreviations.....	x
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1. Introduction.....	1
1.2. Problem Statement.....	3
1.3. Research Orientation.....	3
1.4. Research design.....	3
1.4.1. Journal sample.....	4
1.4.2. Article selection.....	6
1.4.3. Conceptualisation.....	6
1.5. Limitations and delimitations.....	9
1.6. Chapter Outline.....	11
Chapter 2: Why So Quiet?.....	13
2.1. Introduction.....	13
2.2. What's ailing IR?.....	14
2.2.1. Western theories and the project of universalism.....	14
2.2.2. Expanding inadequate concepts.....	16
2.2.2.1. Realism: state-centrism, sovereignty and territorial integrity.....	16
2.2.2.2. The pathology of Anarchy.....	19
2.2.2.3. Liberalism: democratic peace, development and human rights.....	20
2.2.3. Applicability of IR theory beyond Africa.....	22
2.2.4. Disciplinary and interdisciplinary blindfolds.....	23
2.3. The dynamics of African exclusion.....	25
2.3.1. Western (American) intellectual hegemony.....	25
2.3.2. Historic and systemic discrimination.....	27
2.3.2.1. The brain drain and assimilation.....	30
2.3.2.2. Representation.....	33
2.3.3. Intracontinental blindfolds.....	35
2.4. Summary.....	37
Chapter 3: Content Analysis.....	38
3.1. Quantitative content analysis: article count.....	38

3.2. Qualitative article analysis: dominant themes	40
3.2.1. Classification and tabulation of articles in terms of subject.....	40
3.2.2. Dominant themes and subject complexes.....	43
3.2.3. Discussion.....	47
3.3. Author Dominance	48
3.3.1. Assignment of Weights and Calculation of Dominance Scores.....	48
3.3.2. Dominance Statistic.....	51
3.4. Summary	54
Chapter 4: Publishing in IR - Authorship and Ownership	55
4.1. Authorship and Networking.....	55
4.1.1. General Overview	55
4.1.2. Biographical summary and articles published.....	56
4.1.3. Networking and affiliation.....	60
4.1.3.1. Academic affiliation	60
4.1.3.2. Societies and institutions.....	63
4.1.3.3. Journal affiliation	65
4.1.3.4. Research funding	65
4.2. Publishing in IR.....	67
4.2.1. Ownership	67
4.2.2. Codes of Conduct	69
4.3. Summary	70
Chapter 5: Conclusion	71
5.1. Publishing Africa in IR	71
5.1.1. Themes	71
5.1.2. Authorship and affiliation.....	71
5.1.2.1. Gatekeeping.....	72
5.1.2.2. Networking and strategic authorship	73
5.2. Why no Africans?	75
5.2.1. African intellectual community.....	75
5.2.2. International dynamic.....	77
5.3. Suggestions for further research.....	79
5.4. Conclusion.....	80
References	81
Appendix A: Journal Details	90
Appendix B: List of Articles.....	98

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Journal selection.....	6
Table 2: Total contribution of African content per journal tier	38
Table 3: Article totals and ratios per journal.....	39
Table 4: Theme prevalence per journal tier.....	44
Table 5: Ten most prevalent subject complexes	46
Table 6: Dominant relations	46
Table 7: Highest ranking authors in terms of article count.....	49
Table 8: Calculation of score per article	51
Table 9: 25 highest ranking authors in terms of dominance score	52
Table 10: <i>Publish or Perish</i> metric results.....	54
Table 11: Summary of co-authors per author	60
Table 12: Academic affiliation.....	62
Table 13: Professional Affiliation	64
Table 14: Journal Affiliation.....	66
Table 15: Affiliation with funding organisations	67
Table 16: Publisher rank by cumulative impact factor	67
Table 17: Journal selection with TRIP-ranking and Thomson Reuters JCR impact factor.....	90

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Theme prevalence as percentage of total African IR articles	43
Figure 2: Theme prevalence per journal tier	44
Figure 3: Theme prevalence for international journals	45
Figure 5: Theme prevalence for Third World journals.....	45
Figure 6: Theme prevalence for African journals	45
Figure 7: Frequency distribution of article counts.....	49

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA – African Affairs

AAU – Association for African Universities

ABBA – Addressing the Balance of AIDS

Adv. – Advisor

Afr – Africa(n)

Afr IR – African IR

AR – Article Reviewer

COMESA – Common market for Eastern and Southern Africa

CV – Curriculum Vitae

EAC – East African Community

ECA – Economic Commission for Africa

ECOWAS – Economic Community of West African States

Ed. – Editor

EU – European Union

G.Ed. – Guest Editor

GPR – Grant Proposal Reviewer

HIV/AIDS – Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ICC – International Criminal Court

IF – Impact Factor

IMF – International Monetary Fund

IO – International Organization

IPE – International Political Economy

IR – International Relations

ISA – International Studies Association

ISI – Institute for Scientific Information

JCR – Journal Citation Report

JMAS – Journal of Modern African Studies

JTWS – Journal of Third World Studies

LSE – London School of Economics and Political Science

LSE IDEAS – London School of Economics International Affairs, Diplomacy and Strategy

N/A – Not Applicable

OECD – Organisation for Economic Development

PRSP – Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers

ROAPE – Review of African Political Economy

SA – South Africa

SADC – Southern African Development Community

SAIIA – South African Institute for International Affairs

SSA – Sub-Saharan Africa

Tot – Total

TRIP – Teaching, Research and International Policy

TWQ – Third World Quarterly

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

UN-CHGA – United Nations' Secretary General's Commission on HIV/AIDS and Governance in Africa

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

US – United States (of America)

USAID – United States Agency for International Development

WAEMU – West African Economic and Monetary Union

WTO – World Trade Organisation

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The discipline of international relations (IR) has in recent years seen a growing body of scholarship lamenting the relative silence of the Third World¹ regarding theoretical contribution to the field. It is ironic that this scholarly lament now aids to negate the nature of the problem with which they have taken issue. Contribution in the form of criticism of the existing body of theory and its perceived inappropriateness when applied in Third World contexts has introduced alternative *voices* to the IR debate. In turn disciples of the discipline have been able to base the defence of their creed upon the inclusion of these voices. The silence is seemingly broken and yet dominant theories of IR remain unchallenged, affirming their representativeness and universal application. But this claim is based in an illusion. In essence the 'silence' is characterised by a general exclusion of Third World *experiences* from the mainstream IR narrative (Tickner, 2003a: 325). The number of voices partaking in the debate is irrelevant if the matters up for debate remain based in Western experiences. In terms of content, the silence remains deafening.

Traditional IR theory finds its roots in the Western philosophic tradition. The historic balance of power and resulting resource endowments has skewed theoretical contributions to originate in Western academic institutions. This state of affairs has been perpetuated so that dominant theories of IR continue to be based on Western experiences and ideas. As a result, mainstream IR theory has come to be criticised as being unrepresentative and Eurocentric. It claims to be universal in application and yet proves inadequate in non-Western settings, failing to explain relations of the third world to the international system (Tickner, 2003a; Malaquias, 2002; Dukor, 1993).

Also in Africa, the conceptual framework has been found gauche. Concepts such as sovereignty, rational choice, anarchy and the Westphalian nationstate system have little relevance to a continent where ethnicity rather than nationality determines identity. Issues of sovereignty and territorial integrity seem to cause more civil strife than it mitigates (Malaquias, 2002), thereby rendering the original purpose of the Westphalia system bunk. Likewise, rational choice theories are firmly based in individualism – a concept intrinsically foreign to the African experience, where the primacy of the 'I' in Western thinking is replaced by the 'we' of African communalism. However, the alleged universalism of these concepts in spite of the incessant exclusion of African experiences creates the impression that the inadequacy is not theoretical, but African. According to Dunn (2001a: 1) this has resulted in the

¹ 'Third World' in this context denotes the low income, "Less Developed Countries (LDCs)" (Kukreja, 1996: 320) or "states of underdevelopment" (Leftwich, 2000: 92), of the Southern hemisphere, including those in Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, the middle East and South/Southeast Asia (McGowan & Nel (eds.), 2002: 343). Also referred to as the 'developing world' (*ibid.*) or the 'Global South' (Litonjua, 2010: 107), the formation of this identity is generally accredited to the 1955 Afro-Asian Bandung Conference held in Indonesia where a number of African and Asian state leaders gathered to discuss their mutual LDC statuses. The movement soon expanded to incorporate Latin America (Kukreja, 1996: 325). Although the relative levels of economic development among the respective regions have changed – notably the Asian economies showing rapid economic growth as opposed to African stagnation – their intellectual communities share the oppression of the intellectually hegemonic West.

common Western assumption that “Africa does not have meaningful politics, only humanitarian disasters.” As such the marginalisation of Africa from the international system is reinforced by the disciplinary marginalisation of Africa from IR (Dunn, 2000: 61; Jones, 2005: 993; Neuman, 1998: 2).

It is not surprising, thus, that discourse on Africa’s IR has centred on the inappropriateness of mainstream IR concepts to the African experience. But focusing on the conceptual inadequacy of a theoretical framework does not move the perspective beyond that framework. Theoretical insights are at once enabled and hampered by the conceptual framework of the discipline from which it originates. Subject specific concepts and variables necessarily define the parameters of the inquiry, thus limiting observations to reflect only those realities that fall within the demarcated range, or scope of the field. In turn this is translated into an understanding of the world and further theory-building. If existing IR theory has been found *gauche* to the African experience, then in order for such experiences and discontents to translate into valuable contributions, the *experience* should be the primary focus; not the theory with which it stands at odds. The latter emphasis acts to affirm rather than negate Western intellectual hegemony in the field of IR. It strengthens the case for a theory of IR universal in application and “serves to reinforce the notion that Third World countries are essentially inconsequential for the functioning of the international system and unnecessary for understanding global processes,” (Tickner, 2003a: 325). Judging African representation in terms of publishing space awarded the topic of Africa, ignores how much of this space effectively constitutes a glorified gossip column.

Both Mkandawire (1995: 81) and Nyamnjoh (2004: 334) maintain that African authors are less likely to be published than Africanist authors, because although African scholars have access to African reality, they often lack sufficient research funding and access to the existing knowledge base – libraries and literature. Africanists, on the other hand, may be engaging in little more than speculation, but what their research lacks in validity, their bibliographies atone for in credibility. Africanists write about Africa in a way that the IR community understands, but ultimately this is playing to an orchestra that seems to have lost its grip on reality. Dunn (2008: 193) for one professes to the alienation of the intellectual community from the reality they supposedly study when he admits to being “struck by how irrelevant we [IR scholars] and our work can seem to the world’s population.” Anyidoho (2008) underlines this alienation from lived experience when she argues that authoritative representation is a function of a scholar’s identity in dynamic interaction with their existential proximity to, and positionality within, a given phenomenon. Within the African problematique, such an approach calls for “the recognition of the epistemic and cognitive scientific knowledge of African origin” (Dukor, 1993: 7) in affirmation of “the historical and existential humanity of black people” (*ibid*: 6). IR cannot hope to learn from African experiences as long as Africans remain the “eternal underlings whose acts and thoughts it is the sport of others to interpret,” (Anyaoku, 1999).

1.2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Despite the validity of arguments highlighting the inadequacy of existing theories to explain Third World (specifically African) realities, criticism has perpetuated, rather than disarmed, status quo theories. This is because focus on (and thus within) the existing conceptual framework has impeded vision beyond these barriers, thereby hampering the formation of new, more applicable theories. The intellectual balance of power and methodological hegemony of the West is perpetuated, on the African continent through Western monopoly over course content in tertiary education (Mkandawire, 1995; Dukor, 1993; Nyamnjoh & Nantang, 2002) as well as the preferences of publishers for Africanist rather than African contributions (Nyamnjoh, 2004; Mkandawire, 1995; Zegeye & Vambe, 2006). This necessitates a critical assessment of scholarly dominance on the topic of Africa in order to develop a greater understanding of the dynamics acting to exclude non-Western ideas and experiences from the IR narrative.

1.3. RESEARCH ORIENTATION

This study aims to contribute towards a greater understanding of African(ist) IR scholarship and the factors contributing to the Westernisation thereof. The primary objective is to assess the dynamics of African representation in the IR discourse. Secondary objectives thus include firstly, determining and evaluating prevalent themes on the topic of Africa in IR; secondly, identifying dominant authors writing about Africa in IR; and thirdly, assessing networks of academic and/or professional affiliation contributing to their dominance. Ultimately, this will contribute towards a greater understanding of the direction that African contributions (or lack thereof) have taken.

1.4. RESEARCH DESIGN

A content analysis of 25 peer-rated influential journals publishing IR content in order to assess contributions on the topic of Africa in IR formed the basis of this research. The study drew from a similar one conducted by Tickner (2003a) to determine conceptual trends in Latin American IR. It is not a precise replication, but the unit of analysis in both studies is scholarly contribution to the field of IR, with African(ist) scholarship as the focus of this thesis. As such, her justification that “[j]ournals provide one of the most accurate pictures of the state of a given discipline in terms of its theoretical tendencies, major concerns, and primary debates,” (Wæver as quoted by Tickner, 2003a: 339) also serves to inform the sampling unit of this study.

A combination quantitative/qualitative content analysis of specialised journals was conducted to determine publishing patterns in scholarship on Africa in IR. The timeframe for the study included the period starting January 2010 and concluded with the most recent available edition of any one of the selected journals at the time of analysis, namely the August edition of *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 39(1). The data type was textual for each of the three tiers corresponding to the three secondary objectives of the study – journal articles as source in the case of objectives one and

two, while the Curriculum Vitae (CV) of the author served as primary source and official websites as secondary source for the final tier of the study.

Data-collection was done through the University of Stellenbosch e-journal database. Articles were then tabulated in terms of author, title, source and subject in Microsoft Excel (2007), thereby producing the categorical data² necessary for the quantitative analysis of the study and calculating author dominance. The final tier of the study will investigate the relationship between dominance in the field and affiliation with Western academic institutions through the record method, or unobtrusive measures (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1995: 125), compiling biographical information on the top five authors. Those members of the top five for whom online CVs were not available, were contacted via e-mail to request such documents. This is informed by an assessment of broader patterns of dominance in the field - influence exerted by the dominant publishers as well as their role in determination and maintenance of the codes of conduct. Data source for this supplementary stage was the guidelines for contributors of the journals owned by the most dominant publishing house, which were downloaded from the official websites of the relevant journals. A conclusionary evaluation of the findings will provide greater insight into the production of African content - who is publishing, what they are publishing and why.

1.4.1. JOURNAL SAMPLE

As stated previously, articles dealing with Africa in specialised academic journals are regarded as the representative sampling unit for the unit of analysis: African(ist) IR scholarship. Non-probability sampling, specifically a combination of availability and purposive or judgement sampling, was selected as most appropriate method.

The process of journal selection was twofold. The first sample was based on a survey conducted by The Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations as part of their Teaching, Research and International Policy (TRIP) Program. The cross-national survey targeted faculty members at four-year colleges or universities in ten national settings, who teach or conduct research in the field of IR (Jordan *et al*, 2009: 3). Question 42 of the questionnaire required scholars to list the four journals that “publish articles with the greatest influence on the way IR scholars think about international relations. These can include general political science journals and/or non-political science journals,” (*ibid*: 49).

The 2 724 respondents (*ibid*: 3) produced a list of 25 journals, ranked accordingly. Of these 25 journals, 20 were included in the sample of the current study (see table 1). The five additional journals were excluded for practical reasons or validity concerns: *Survival* and *International Relations* are not available through the University of Stellenbosch e-journals database. *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy*

² Howell (2004: 9) draws a distinction between ‘categorical’ and ‘measurement data’ – sometimes termed ‘quantitative data’. The former refers to “[d]ata representing counts or number of observations in each category”, thus ‘frequency data’ or ‘count data’, whereas the latter is the result of the measurement of objects or events. Despite the confusing terminology, both require quantitative methods and the distinction is only relevant in the selection of statistical procedure.

were excluded from the study, because they are non-peer reviewed publications. *Foreign Affairs* for instance, as part of its official description, implicitly calls itself a magazine by stating that, “[t]echnical articles will be left to more special magazines,” (Council on Foreign Affairs, 2010). This muddles the link between the intellectual community, scholarship and the authors actually publishing in these journals. In addition, the content of both *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy* is biased towards an American audience, *Foreign Affairs* stating outright that “the fact that the interest and profit of the American reader are a first consideration will not be forgotten,” (*ibid.*) Finally, the subject material of *The National Interest* is US foreign policy and thus irrelevant to the study at hand.

The TRIP survey was useful in identifying influential IR journals with international exposure. However, certain aspects of the survey make it inappropriate as the only sampling population for a study focusing on African scholarship. The level of representativeness of the TRIP sample questions the validity of the findings thereof. Firstly, of the ten countries targeted for the survey, South Africa is the only representative from Africa, with Singapore and Hong Kong the only subsequent non-Western participants. Secondly, from a sample size of 5 868 potential respondents, 4 126 were from the United States. Not surprisingly, the actual response ratios correspond, with Americans constituting 1 719 of the 2 724 respondents to the survey. The remaining 1 005 scholars were mainly Western, with the combined total of non-Western respondents – Singapore, Hong Kong and South Africa – only 68. South Africa had the lowest number of respondents at 21 (Jordan *et al*, 2009: 5). Throughout the rest of the survey these validity issues are concealed by formulating further data as percentage amounts. The relevant dataset to the current study is also presented in this manner, starting with the percentage of total respondents and then stating percentage amounts per country, with the total percentage score determining rank. The scores are not weighted before the calculation of this total percentage, but merely pooled. As a result, the percentages allocated to various journals by certain countries have no impact on the ultimate rank of that journal, with the American percentages almost identical to the total percentages and journals sympathetic to the American brand of IR clustered in the top ten spots.

The second tier of sampling thus aims to compensate for the inherent bias of the first by including journals with the Third World and Africa respectively, as their focus. In this regard, the study relies on a set of criteria similar to that employed by Tickner (2003a: 339) in a study focused on Latin American IR scholarship, namely: (1) uninterrupted publication for ten years or more; (2) regional and international circulation; and (3) that the journal description includes ‘international relations’ as part of the subject listing. The first two criteria are intended to limit selection to established publications with some level of visibility and recognition in the field. The third is aimed at sample validity and corresponds to the criterion in a related study by Aydinli and Mathews (2000: 292) serving the same purpose. In addition to the twenty journals from the TRIP list, the final journal selection includes two journals with a Third World focus – *Third World Quarterly* (TWQ), and *Journal of Third World Studies* (JTWS) – and three with Africa as their focus, namely: *African Affairs* (AA), *Review of African Political*

Economy (ROAPE) and *Journal of Modern African Studies (JMAS)*. For a complete list of the selected journals along with detailed information about each, including publication frequency, the official description as provided by the publisher of that journal and its TRIP- and Journal Citation Report (JCR)-assigned ranks³, see Appendix A. The journals selected are listed in table 1.

Table 1: Journal selection

INTERNATIONAL (TRIP) JOURNALS	
International Organization	Millennium
International Security	American Journal of Political Science
International Studies Quarterly	International Affairs
American Political Science Review	Review of International Political Economy
World Politics	International Studies Review
Security Studies	Journal of Peace Research
Journal of Conflict Resolution	Global Governance
European Journal of International Relations	Journal of Politics
Review of International Studies	Political Science Quarterly
International Studies Perspectives	Comparative Politics
THIRD WORLD JOURNALS	AFRICAN JOURNALS
Third World Quarterly	African Affairs
Journal of Third World Studies	Journal of Modern African Studies
	Review of African Political Economy

1.4.2. ARTICLE SELECTION

The initial article selection was based on a simple keyword search for the term ‘Africa’ or ‘African’ occurring in the article title or abstract. Only academic articles appearing in a given edition were considered, excluding book reviews, summaries or compilation works, letters to the editor and any further supplementary content. In order to enhance reliability and ensure as comprehensive a dataset as possible, the keyword search was done twice for each journal, using two different abstracting and indexing databases where available, and the results crosschecked. From this sample of articles relating to the broader topic of Africa, articles were filtered for relevance to IR using the articles’ abstracts as basis. Selection was overly inclusive rather than exclusive. Exclusion of relevant articles would have a far more detrimental effect on the validity of the dominance statistic than would the inclusion of less relevant articles. A bibliography of the articles included in the survey is provided as Appendix B.

1.4.3. CONCEPTUALISATION

The key concepts as derived from the problem statement, relating to the level and unit of analysis, are ‘international relations (IR)’; ‘African representation’; ‘African content/contribution’; and

³ Thomson Reuters (formerly the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI)) publishes an annual JCR which ranks the journals in their fields based on impact factor (IF). The impact factor is a measure of the frequency with which the average journal article is cited in a given period of time – usually a year, but five-year-metrics are also available (Thomson Reuters, 2010). For purposes of sampling, the TRIP-ranking was definitive, however, in calculation of the dominant publisher in chapter 4, the ISI impact factors of the individual journals were pooled to determine cumulative impact factor per publisher.

'scholarship' – including 'African', 'Africanist' and 'diasporic African' scholarship. The theoretical framework of the study draws from research exploring culturally informed differences to the process of knowledge-creation – notably, a study conducted through the writing laboratory of an American university on the difficulties international students experience faced by foreign codes of conduct governing academic standards and practice (this will be discussed in Chapter 2). Consequently, the problem statement is contextualised by the following independent variables: 'intellectual community' or 'research community'; 'intellectual balance of power', 'intellectual hegemony', 'codes of conduct' as well as 'networking' and 'gatekeeping'. The following section will provide working definitions of each in relation to the study at hand.

'International relations (IR)' refers to the academic discipline traditionally associated with the study of politics among sovereign states (O'Brien & Williams, 2004: 1). This narrow definition became cumbersome, as globalisation opened the playing field to players no longer strictly representative of states or nations. The ontology, methodology and epistemology of IR has been under dispute to a greater or lesser extent since the establishment thereof as a discipline distinct from other social sciences in the aftermath of World War I (Burchill & Linklater, 2005). Considering the root and scope of the discipline, IR is inherently and necessarily multidisciplinary. An inclusive definition of IR will thus be used to include related disciplines; notably International Political Economy (IPE), but also International Law, Peace Research, Conflict Studies and International Studies where these affect world governance⁴ and as such interaction among international entities. A working definition can thus be formulated as: the study of processes and structures governing interaction among entities on a scale surpassing that of the domestic.

'Scholarship' is defined for purposes of the study, as literary contribution from an intellectual which has been recognised by the intellectual community through publication. As such, 'African representation' refers to any scholarship dealing with the topic of Africa in IR, irrespective of where such contribution is coming from or whether the agent speaks with any authority grounded in an African reality. Assessment of 'African representation' in terms of scholarship thus requires a distinction between an 'African', an 'Africanist' and a 'diasporic African' scholar.

Mazrui (2009: xi) draws a distinction between "*Africans of the blood* and *Africans of the soil*." The latter refers to those Africans who have become African by "adoption" (*ibid*: xii), defined in geographical terms – Africans whose ancestry are not from the African continent, but migrated to and settled in Africa – while the former refers to those Africans who are tied to the continent through genealogy and are thus defined in racial terms. This definition will be incorporated for purposes of the study, however qualified by the principle that proximity to the lived experience of what is researched

⁴ McGowan and Nel (2002: 7) define IR as the study of "the ways in which actors organise and manage their interactions in the global system, and how this leads to the establishment, maintenance and transformation of **governance** [sic] structures in the world," where 'governance' refers to "the way in which order is imposed in that domain," (*ibid*: 9).

matters (postulated by Anyidoho as cited by Smith, 2008: 6). Regardless of ancestry thus, in order to produce 'African content' or make an 'African contribution', a scholar needs to be producing from the African continent.

'Africanist scholarship' thus refers to both contributions by scholars of other nationalities writing about Africa and African diaspora writing about Africa from their various localities. The immediate implication of the above conceptualisation is that neither constitute valid contribution or can be understood to provide authoritative representation of African experiences. The study will identify scholars as either African, Africanist or diasporic African, but for purposes of theoretical discussions, 'Africanist' should be understood as pertaining to both.

'Intellectual community' or 'research community' relates to what Mouton (2006: 41-43) terms the 'sociological dimension of research', stating that "scientists usually operate within clearly defined 'scientific communities' or 'invisible colleges' (Diane Crane) and that they belong to identifiable disciplinary matrices (Thomas Kuhn) or are linked in research networks," (*ibid*: 41). Due to the effects of globalisation, these networks have become international in scale. Intellectual communities have preconceived standards that determine which research methods and practices are deemed creditable and by implication what research is funded and which articles are published. For purposes of this study, publication is regarded as recognition of a scholar by the intellectual community. In this sense, 'African intellectual community' is used to denote such networks on or associated with the African continent as well as African scholars who are published and thus recognised members of the (international) intellectual community.

The 'intellectual balance of power' is used as an extenuation of the traditional 'balance of power' concept in IR (realist focus) as pertaining to the structure of the international system informed by anarchy. Waltz (1979) posits that the balance is the result of states acting rationally to "improve their stance in accordance with their reading of the power of others and of their own power." The outcome is determined by the incentive for great powers to maintain their dominance, thus perpetuating the status quo distribution of power in the international system. Maintenance of the status quo in the case of the dominant state in a unipolar system, would amount to *retaining* hegemonic status. This perspective is prominent in the work of defensive realists, such as Waltz. However, according to offensive realists, of which Mearsheimer was the most prominent, security is the major consideration in great power politics. Particularly relevant when considering state behaviour in a bipolar or multipolar system, the constant threat of other great powers would drive every state to attain as much power as possible – power in this sense denoting material, specifically military capability – in order to achieve hegemony (Brown with Ainley, 2005: 44-45)

'Power' can be understood as capability – 'the physical force necessary to achieve a particular goal' (*ibid*: 31). Traditionally understood to be derived from material resources – military, economic and or

financial – or ‘hard power’ resources, more recently the recognition of ‘soft power’ resources added a new dimension to considerations of great power politics in the international system. The distinction between hard and soft power is clearly drawn by Hill (2003: 135): “Hard power is that which is targeted, coercive, often immediate and physical. Soft power is that which is indirect, long-term and works more through persuasion than force.” A more tentative reformulation of the initial definition of power as “the ability to influence the behaviour of others to get the outcomes one wants,” (Nye, 2004: 2), thus becomes appropriate.

Soft power resources arise largely from values as expressed through culture and exemplified in policy (*ibid*: 8). An active and influential intellectual community as an essential component of high culture, in itself amounts to a formidable resource in power politics. The balance of power extends to act within the intellectual community in and of its own accord, thereby creating an intellectual balance of power, corresponding to the broader international trend. The West has great incentive to maintain the status quo intellectual balance of power. Not surprisingly they have achieved this through the soft power means derived from the dominance of their intellectual community, thus perpetuating their ‘intellectual hegemony’. This is reflected in research funding and publishing patterns, favouring Western or Western-centric contributions.

‘Code of conduct’ refers to “the system of social control. . .institutionalised in many forms,” (Mouton, 2006: 43) inherent to a given intellectual community, which stipulates criteria for recognition within that community. This concept is closely linked to the previous, as the intellectual balance of power also informs which codes of conduct are likely to be dominant in a particular field.

‘Gatekeeping’ is used to denote the influence that members of grant committees for research funding or journal editors fulfil in terms of maintaining adherence to the hegemonic code of conduct for a given discipline (Neuman, 2006: 106-113). ‘Networking’ refers to the social dimension of research (Mouton, 2006: 28-32) and as such the degree to which scholars interact with each other and build new contacts; be that through societal or institutional affiliation, internet or co-authorship.

1.5. LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

The delimitation of African authorship of journal articles as data source is appropriate, because of the prominence of the journal as platform for academic discourse and debate within the intellectual community. In terms of codes of conduct many other academic texts would display similar styles, aspiring to the same ideals of academic prowess; for instance specialised textbooks or theses and dissertations. But the latter is constrained more directly by the style guides of the institution through which the study is undertaken whereas the former enjoys more academic freedom while facing constraints of a different nature in terms of the requirements of the publisher. The nature of the academic article as literary form necessarily elevates the journal to represent the codes of conduct inherent to a given discipline and its relative intellectual community. Regardless, codes of conduct

amongst the three text types mentioned are likely to be similar, deriving from more or less the same dominant disciplinary root. The more prominent motivation for selecting journals as data source relates to content as influenced by the method of production.

Journals provide a dynamic plethora of discourse and debates within the intellectual community. Books should not be disregarded as valuable literary contribution, but the extent to which it can contribute to the current and ongoing discussion, is limited by its length and the timeconsuming process of producing a text elaborate and reflective enough to stand as self-contained literary work. Logically the type of recognition an author seeks when publishing a book differs from that of a journal article, which again differs from that of a thesis or dissertation. A thesis is written with the intent to enter the intellectual community; the author seeks recognition as member of the intellectual community. On the other side of the spectrum, the author of a book seeks to be recognised as a superior member of that same community.

The journal finds its place in the middle of this delineated spectrum. Recognition is of contribution as an established member of the intellectual community – the overriding intent, thus: voicing of opinion. Also the timeframe associated with producing an article is far more manageable than that associated with the other two data sources. This constitutes the characteristic edge of the journal article as medium within the academy. Articles are relatively short. Arguments are specific and require less concentration from the reader than the more elaborate exponents of literature. Thus articles are reactive. Frequent publication in combination with this reactive nature of journal articles provide an excellent arena for ideas and debates and thus providing the ideal data source to identify trends and contentions within a field of enquiry and its intellectual community.

The timeframe posed a limitation to the scope of the enquiry as well as attention to detail feasible during analysis of the data. Many interesting nuances may have been overlooked as a result, impacting negatively on the generalisability of the findings. This issue was aggravated by the limited human resource allocated to the study. To compensate, a delimitation was set to include only editions of journals published in the last ten years. This in itself could impact negatively on validity. However, the amount of journals selected to calculate the initial dominance statistic was purposefully increased to be as inclusive (given the set criteria) as possible. The aim was to collect sufficient data to achieve a relatively high level of representativeness. If the area of interest is current trends in African IR, then a more comprehensive choice of journals is more valuable than a longer timeframe.

Another limitation deriving from the human resource component, is the issue of researcher bias or fallibility. With a single analyst conducting the article classification, even the more basic reliability techniques (cross-checking for instance) are impossible. Furthermore, the third tier of the study raises ethical concerns as the study includes biographical information on authors. Also, validity may be threatened by institutional bias in documents acquired, false representation in resumes or simply

lacking availability of sources for the required information. This issue was dealt with by establishing contact with the authors in absence of reliable or representative sources.

Using 'Africa' as keyword for the initial article search may have impacted negatively on the comprehensiveness of the dataset. Though 'Africa' was chosen specifically for its broad scope and application, articles referring to specific African countries without stating explicitly that they are African countries, would have been passed over in the search, regardless of their relevance to Africa in IR. Additionally, this may have resulted in overrepresentation of certain African states as subject matter *vis-à-vis* others, simply because the word 'Africa' forms part of the country's name. For instance, an article discussing South African foreign policy would have been identified and included in the dataset, but the same would not necessarily have been true for a similar article on Nigerian foreign policy if the author had thought it unnecessary to define Nigeria as an African country.

This problem is further exacerbated by confining the keyword search to the article abstract. Had the search been for 'Africa' in the full-text of a document, the likelihood of such exclusion would have been far less. However, this would also have made the amount of matches unmanageable to process, as the search would have identified every article using 'Africa' even in an off-hand manner, regardless of relevance. The relevance issue also made it impossible to use such a comprehensive full-text search as the basis for the article counts used to calculate the ratio of African subject matter to total subject matter. *Reference* to Africa does not necessarily make the article *relevant* to Africa, much less about Africa. Some of the databases included as part of their search options the option to order results in terms of relevance, but inter-database cross-checking for the same journal proved this feature to be highly inconsistent. It was also unclear what criteria were employed to assess relevance. As such, the admittedly imperfect abstract keyword search had to suffice.

None the less, an attempt was made after calculating the dominance statistic, to control for this by cross-checking for validity using *Publish or Perish* (Harzing, 2010), a program using Google Scholar as data source and Hirsch's h-index to calculate an author's cumulative impact factor. A comprehensive discussion of the *Publish or Perish* cross-check is included in chapter 3.

1.6. CHAPTER OUTLINE

"Chapter 2: Why So Quiet?" will provide an overview of the current literature concerning Africa's marginalisation from international relations as well as from International Relations.

"Chapter 3: Content Analysis" states the results of the content analysis as well as the calculation of the dominance statistic in order to identify prolific authors in the field of IR.

"Chapter 4: Publishing in IR – Authorship and Ownership" discusses the findings of the biographical component of the study based on the five highest ranking authors and evaluates them in the context of the codes of conduct and gatekeeping activity in IR as outlined in the guidelines for

contributors of relevant journals to achieve greater insight into networking and/or publishing in the field of IR.

“Chapter 5: Conclusion” will restate the main contentions of the previous chapters in order to assess the findings and implications of the study to the African(ist) problematique and also to motivate suggestions for futher research.

Chapter 2: WHY SO QUIET?

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The realm of theory in its traditional (Western) conception is ruled by the epistemic imperative – the search for “truthful knowledge” (Mouton, 2006: 28). Truth, according to Mouton (*ibid*: 28-32), is the regulative principle that distinguishes scientific enquiry from other forms of knowledge production. The Western philosophical canon finds its roots in Ancient Greek Philosophy; developed and transformed over two millennia, it constitutes the body of theory, ontologies and methodological paradigms that are considered mainstream today. However, the illusive “truth” as regulative of research practice and subsequent theory-building in the *social* sciences, introduces an inherent bias to the process of knowledge creation. Prescriptive standards for ‘truth’ necessarily act to regulate what version of the truth is presented. The result is that ownership and control of the institutions governing the standards for ‘truthful’ knowledge production, translates into ownership of the intellectual process of reality formation.

This analogy of ‘truthful’ knowledge is particularly relevant to the topic of Western hegemonic exclusion of alternative perspectives in IR, as the literature shows a clear constructivist tendency (Burchill & Linklater, 2005: 19-21). The “Westernisation of the moral universal” (Grovoqui, 2001a) has usurped the social construction of reality to portray only Western narratives. Many African(ist)s along with scholars with research interests in other developmental regions, have articulated the need for a more “appropriate imaginary” (Saul, 2006) – a “structured collective imaginary” (Viljoen, 2008) or “political imaginary” (Grovoqui, 2001b: 428) that is sensitive to non-Western realities and open to non-Western narratives in the IR discourse. To illuminate this contention, it is appropriate to revisit the metatheoretical underpinnings of constructivism: critical international theory⁵. Theory understood as constitutive of reality (Reus-Smith, 2005: 195; Barnett, 2008: 163) renders the intrinsic Western development of current academic practice highly suspect. The '*omnia vincit veritas*'⁶ that formed the historic foundation of social scientific enquiry, rings ironic in a setting where theories cannot be considered without due recognition of the purpose of theory⁷. It is theory, not truth that has become the imperative. This ‘theoretical imperative’ shifts the emphasis to the purpose, as opposed to the validity, of theory. The epistemic reformulation as '*theoria veritas*'⁸, along with the Western intellectual hegemonic imperative, sheds some light on the issues currently faced by the African intellectual community.

⁵ The primary difference between constructivism and critical international theory is that the latter has a purely philosophic focus while the former applies these metatheoretical contentions to real life situations, thus grounding them through empiricism (Reus-Smith, 2005: 195).

⁶ ‘Truth conquers all,’ (Yuni, 2006; Marwood, 1995).

⁷ Cox (1986: 207) famously states that “theory is always *for* someone and *for* some purpose.” It is not neutral, thus inherently normative and wielded by the contingent hegemon or balance of power in the world system (Gramsci as cited by Barnett, 2008: 167). Cox’s constructivist application of Gramsci’s critical theory is an ideal illustration of the nexus between the two theoretical exponents.

⁸ ‘Theory is truth,’ (Yuni, 2006; Marwood, 1995).

This chapter will consider literature relevant to the marked absence of both continental Africa from mainstream IR and scholarly Africa from IR theoretical contribution. The first section will discuss criticism against the existing body of IR theory. The following sections will summarise the discourse on exclusion of African scholars from the international intellectual community.

2.2. WHAT'S AILING IR?

2.2.1. WESTERN THEORIES AND THE PROJECT OF UNIVERSALISM

The decolonisation of much of the former colonial world in the latter half of the 20th century opened the international system to a relatively large number of new independent states. It soon became clear that the traditional body of IR theories and concepts were unable to explain the experiences of the new additions to the world system (Jones, 2005: 989; Mamdani, 2005: 2). Theories that had developed out of Western experiences, perspectives and needs, proved inappropriate when applied to nether world regions (Malaquias, 2001: 27). Regardless, for normative reasons hegemonic theories were transplanted unaltered onto Third World realities (Jones, 2005: 994). The international system had been established around interaction among Westphalian nationstates and allowing the Third World to vary from this pattern would disrupt the system. The Cold War formed the backdrop for the larger part of decolonisation, and further disruption was more than the hegemonic powers of the time were willing to accommodate.

The incapacity of these theories to explain new world experiences meant that their application became intrinsically prescriptive. The European nationstate became the ideal type – the benchmark for civilisation – development and modernisation thus introduced as linear progressions to a homogenous outcome (Jones, 2005: 989). The purpose was not African development, but African convergence. Failure to comply with this comparative framework was not considered a failure on the part of theory. After all, the theories had worked for their Western designers. Instead, Africa and other parts of the Third World were blamed for their inability to ‘progress’ in a direction and at a pace acceptable to Western expectations. Rather than admit to theoretical inadequacy, Africa was marginalised from the discipline (Grovoqui, 2001b: 41; Thomas & Wilkin, 2004; Jones, 2005: 993; Dunn, 2000: 62), dismissed as “an anomaly” (Aydinli & Mathews, 2000: 299); “a nuisance” (Nkiwane, 2001a: 279); as “the limbo of the international system” (Bayart, 2000: 217); or simply dismissed, too insignificant to global order to matter.

This is not an observation isolated to the discipline of IR. Viljoen (2008: 535) highlights similar contentions regarding the Eurocentrism and assumed universalism of mainstream psychology. Western-based epistemologies and ontologies were exported to Africa and remained unaltered. These continue to exclude African realities from theory and research. Theories of pathology or personology with purely African perspectives and realities as base have not yet been developed, with the result “that Western diagnostic categories are not always applicable to African patients,” (Viljoen, 2008: 536). Some Western scholars, notably Jung, did show interest in the implications of African difference

to the understanding and interpretation of reality, but research considering African or (more often) African-American subjects have without failure been from a Western-oriented framework. This is also true for more recent research projects conducted on the African continent, where mainstream psychology remains seated in Western ontological and methodological traditions (Viljoen, 2008: 535-537).

The same case is made for African Philosophy by Dukor (1993), Development Studies by Jones (2005) and African Studies by Olukoshi (2006). The topic will be revisited under the section considering the exclusion of African narratives in IR.

The most prevalent objections against mainstream IR are based in the Eurocentrism or Westerncentrism of the discipline and its assumed universalism (Jones, 2005: 993; Dunn, 2001; Malaquias, 2001; Smith, 2002). Theories were formed around exclusively Western existential realities which since its inception regarded “the capacity for state life as the peak of human historical achievement” (Mamdani, 2005: 3). Despite the blatant exclusion of alternative experiences in their conceptualisation, theories claim to be ahistoric and universal in application (Lemke, 2003: 115; Jones, 2005: 993; Neuman, 1998: 2). As a result, phenomena and events in non-Western IR continue to be studied through Westerncentric lenses (Viljoen, 2008: 535; Anyaoku, 1999) and misunderstood. A related contention is that IR theory is biased towards great power politics; the assumption that the only entities of importance in IR are the ones with some leverage in the international system, has excluded much of the developing world from the theoretical discourse (Neuman, 1998: 2; Jones, 2005: 993; Lemke, 2003: 114-115). Finally, the academic eclecticism of IR excludes non-Western narratives through assuming non-Western sources of knowledge inferior (Dukor, 1993) and restricting publication to authors with “correct” ideas (Nyamnjoh, 2004: 335).

Acknowledgement despite, an alternative remains evasive. Theoretical contention is presented as inherently inadequate, but few solutions are offered that surpass the conceptual boundaries of the very theory up for discussion, begging the question of whether African theories would necessarily be that much different. Brown (2006: 122) highlights this contradiction in the work of many prolific African and Africanist scholars: they argue that existing theories necessarily need to be replaced by African theories if Africa is ever to overcome its marginalisation from IR, though the authors themselves suggest adaptation of existing theories that would lead to inclusion. Bilgin (2008) responds to the pervasive ‘difference’-assumption in the discourse by highlighting the interconnectedness of cultures of the world throughout the millennia, resulting in a fusion of ‘West’ and ‘non-West’ that today would be difficult to disentangle:

If the world has remained oblivious to such interconnections, this is partly because the ‘West’ has usurped not only the material resources of the ‘non-West’ but also its image of itself as a subject, as opposed to a mere object, of history, (Bilgin, 2008: 7).

Grovogui (2001b: 30) offers a similar analogy when he argues that the genealogy and teleology of Western hegemony “nurtured arbitrary ontological distinctions between the West and the rest, as well as resulted historically in a corresponding political ethos.” Regardless, rather than dismissing allegedly inadequate frameworks, the discourse seems to have fixated on these defunct theories, with scholarship lamenting either the conceptual inadequacy or the theoretical bias, but ultimately still attempting to make existing theories fit.

2.2.2. EXPANDING INADEQUATE CONCEPTS

Regardless of subsequent developments in IR theory, Brown (2005: 120) argues that the use of ‘Western’ or ‘mainstream’ IR in what he terms the Africanist critique (*ibid*: 119) in fact refers to neorealism specifically. However, Neuman (1998: 2) also groups classical realism and neoliberalism along with realism under ‘mainstream IR.’ What the ‘neo-’ conveys in both realism and liberalism, is the incorporation of the positivist, choice-theoretic assumptions of micro-economic theory to the classical forms along with neoliberalism’s acceptance of realist anarchy to their conception of the international (Reus-Smith, 2008: 192). However, the contentions of neoliberalism do not support the status of the discourse on universal human suffrage that it currently enjoys. As such, the following sections will deal with assumptions of ‘realism’ and ‘liberalism’ understood to encompass the classical and subsequent developments in the two schools of thought. Common criticism in the literature includes the statecentrism of realism and the assumption of anarchy as well as the liberal focus on democracy and human rights.

2.2.2.1. REALISM: STATE-CENTRISM, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

By far the most prevalent conceptual contention revolves around the state-centrism (Neuman, 1998; Dunn, 2001b; Lemke, 2003) of mainstream IR. This section will discuss the inadequacy of the concept of state in Africa due to its Westphalian roots, followed by African(ist) contributions towards expanding the concept to include African realities.

The unit of analysis in international relations has been established since the Treaty of Westphalia, as the sovereign nationstate (Malaquias, 2002: 416-417; Kayaoglu, 2010; Grovogui, 2001b). Ironically, the same principle that brought about peace and stability in Europe after the Thirty Year War with the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, has created what Malaquias (2002: 417) describes as “serious and unwieldy contradictions in Africa”. This is because the territorial demarcation of most post-colonial African states is as artificial as the colonies they replaced. These states were established with complete disregard of the perceived opportunity for ethno-national identities to reclaim political, economic and cultural stakes post-independence. In the Westphalian framework, such groups had to surrender to modern state-building initiatives. Governments, in reaction to the various ethnic factions within their borders, often copied colonial methods of oppression to maintain territorial integrity in

the face of ethnonationalism⁹ (Malaquias, 2002: 421). This further exasperated the already tumultuous political situation. In many countries ongoing and bloody civil war has been the direct result.

Africa contradicts every one of the major premises upon which Westphalia was based (Grovogui, 2001b; Malaquias, 2001; Kayaoglu, 2010): firstly, no consensus exists among or within many politically demarcated states over that demarcation; secondly, the homogeneity assumed by the concept 'nation-state' is not a luxury afforded most of the ethnically diverse post-colonial African states. Furthermore, various conflict zones have attracted the ongoing involvement of foreign militia – mostly in the form of United Nations (UN) peace-keeping forces, but also direct military involvement from international and to a lesser extent, African states. Under circumstances where the basic struggle between state and nation has not been consolidated, and sovereignty is further undermined by international involvement, a Westphalian system based on sovereign nationstates cannot apply (Malaquias, 2002: 420; Lemke, 2003; Malaquias, 2001).

As an artificial construct (Malaquias, 2002; Kayaoglu, 2010; Malaquias, 2001; Grovogui, 2001b), the African state has manifested itself in a myriad of different anomalous forms, both in reality and in IR discourse. In reality, economic detriment and poverty, seemingly endless conflict and corruption are the most common associated phenomena and the descriptive rhetoric aims to capture and sensationalise every nuance. Dunn (2001b: 46-47) compares the discourse to a word game where a blank space is left before 'African state' to enter a qualifying adjective of choice, while Neuman (1998: 7) makes a similar observation about sovereignty. Also Dukor (1993: 14) contends that it is not the 'African' standing at odds, but the adjective in front that needs to form the basis for enquiry. Some of the most common examples include "fragile" (Lemke, 2003: 119), "illegitimate" (Malaquias, 2002: 416), "failed" (Clapham as cited by Lemke, 2003: 124-125; Englebert & Tull, 2008: 106), "brittle" (Malaquias, 2002: 415), "quasi-" (Grovogui, 2001b: 29); "defective" (Jacoby, 2005: 215) and the list goes on. These colourful descriptions always emphasise the 'African' component of the concept 'African state', which according to Dunn (2001b: 47), results in Africa being blamed for failing at a concept when in reality the concept has failed Africa.

Lemke (2003) provides a practical example of how state-centrism in IR research acts to marginalise Africa from the discipline. Many African states lack the capacity to compile general statistical data normally used in international relations correlative research. If data is available, it is often of very low quality. For statistical purposes, omissions in the data would disqualify not only that variable from computation, but the entire case (or country, in this instance). This results in the systematic omission of Africa from statistical IR and thus further marginalisation from the discipline.

⁹ Both Mamdani (2005), Grovogui (2001a) argue that cultural or ethnic identities continue to be informed by colonial segregationist influences, and have been politicised in the post-colonial era. Thies (2004: 54) provides empirical evidence of opposition identifying themselves ethnically rather than politically.

Despite the above mentioned revolutionary tone in the work of many African and Africanist authors alike, those who do not end with grim forecasts for African political organisation and marginalisation from the world system, end with suggestions to adapt existing theories. Many authors highlight alternative African forms of “effective political actors” (Lemke, 2003: 117) that should be considered along with states (Dunn, 2001b: 46-63; Grovogui, 2001b: 29-45; Malaquias, 2001: 11-28). Some of these actors act like states, perform state functions and interact with other international entities as states would, but are not formally regarded, or legally recognised, as states (Lemke, 2003). These entities are ignored in mainstream IR’s statecentric methodologies, leading to inaccurate or under-representation of African realities. Thies (2004: 53) for instance bases a study on the extractive abilities of states, noting that ethnic rather than political opposition affects the ability of regimes to tax their constituents. The research points to alternative forms of political organisation effectively generating revenue from a constituent base, often providing infrastructure, public goods and services normally associated with government service provision, in return (Lemke, 2003: 117). The loss of territorial and political control that the existence of alternative actors implies, distort economic indicators such as GDP for a recognised territorial state, due to the inability of such a state to tax or audit revenues incurred by the oppositional group. As such this disregard of unrecognised entities in IR research could explain the excessively low growth rates calculated for African states (Lemke, 2003: 121) as much of the continent’s *de facto* economic activity would *de jure* be regarded as part of the shadow economy.

The above suggestion of substate groupings that deserve inclusion in IR illustrates one of the alternatives to state-centrism with relation to Africa, namely greater inclusivity. Consideration thus should be awarded to warlords (Vinci, 2007), insurgent groups, tribal systems or oppositional ethnic groups (Lemke, 2003: 124-132). The second alternative calls for greater generalisation. Generalisation suggests a focus shift from state legitimacy to alignment and cooperative networks – thus supranational groupings. These could include transnationalisation (Mbembe, 2001), regionalism (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2005: 21; Schlee, 2003), shared history (Brysk, Parsons & Sandholtz, 2002), identity (Schlee, 2003) or circumstance, strategic partnerships, and global institutions, such as customary international law (Dugard, 2007: 33; also Jacoby, 2005), music – specifically punk rock – as agency of empowerment (Dunn, 2008), or other products of the moral imaginary (Saul, 2006).

Jacoby (2005) suggests that there is a clear agenda behind the resilience of state-centrism in IR and the loaded rhetoric with which the discourse portrays the continent. Firstly, it diverts the attention away from the prospect that blame for African detriment is external to the continent. In accord, Grovogui (2001a: 428) highlights that IR scholars concerned by the striking absence of an international conception of social justice, are in a stark minority. Nyamnjoh (2004) on the other hand would argue that the extent to which such perspectives are voiced *vis-à-vis* status quo theories, constitutes the minority; not necessarily the extent to which such perspectives exist. Secondly, it justifies the intervention of foreign forces on the continent (Jacoby, 2005: 215) – forces of which the

benevolent façade also disguise the true maintenance of status quo agenda with which they arrive on the continent. Both Anyaoku (1999) and Malaquias (2002) argue that the objective of UN peace-keeping missions to Africa is not humanitarian intervention. Despite the focus placed on the primacy of human beings by the UN Charter, as an organisation the UN is state-, not people-oriented. The purpose of the UN is maintenance of international order, which also explains their peace-building failures in Africa. In their ideologically driven attempt to maintain Westphalian international relations, they preserve illegitimate (Malaquias, 2002: 416) or defective (Jacoby, 2005: 215) states, ultimately fuelling more violence and hindering the development of political structures appropriate to African contexts. Thirdly, it follows that peace-building can only be effective and mitigate the threat posed by defective states if the intervention can instigate a process of political transformation (Jacoby, 2005: 215). However, as mentioned in the previous section, the adequacy of prescribed structural adjustments leaves much to be desired. Brown (2006: 127) is correct in stating that theory cannot be specific to given societies, because societies are subject to change. But Western hegemony and maintenance of the Westphalian status quo ensures that the direction or nature of change is no longer self-determined.

2.2.2.2. THE PATHOLOGY OF ANARCHY

Realists, neorealists and neo-liberalists alike assume the nature of the international system to be anarchic. This means that states must rely on their own capacity to hold their own against aggressions of other states in a self-help environment. However, this is relevant only to interactions among great powers. Weaker states must defer to the balance of power (Neuman, 1998: 3). The assumption that international processes necessarily involve great power politics, fails to account for a multitude of relations that do not involve great powers at all. Furthermore, the balance of power's assumed ordering function deems their involvement implicit in all relations, thereby diminishing the relevance of alternative influences to world politics. This in turn allows for the existence of only one international system of which entities (in the form of states) form part, or to which they are excluded (Neuman, 1998: 3-4). Where excluded entities (states and other) disappear to in their exile – or even that they disappear and continue to function via alternative networks – is either ignored or goes unnoticed.

Lebow (2009a) in reflecting on the relationship between affect¹⁰ and reason highlights a pathology that has become endemic to IR. He starts by distinguishing three levels of reason: instrumental (strategic), *phronēsis* (practical) and *sophia* (wisdom). The first is intrinsically goal-oriented, while the latter two place greater emphasis on goal assessment. Modern social science has limited itself to the first level, or instrumental reason. Affect is another largely ignored component of modern social science, but modern neuroscience is starting to show that affect can have drastic implications for the

¹⁰ 'Affect' in this context refers to the emotional component of interstate relations. Though the specific causative inclinations or circumstances may be complex, it is expressed as neutral, positive or negative, regardless of degree or intention (Lebow, 2009b: 154).

quality of decisions in combination with the various levels of reason. The two most important combinations for IR are: negative affect (feelings of antagonism, hostility or suspicion) coupled with instrumental reason; and positive affect (feelings of friendship, respect, empathy) coupled with *phronēsis*. The first combination is closely associated with realism and particularly neorealism in IR, where power is considered zero-sum and conflict thus endemic to IR (Reus-smith, 2008: 190). This perspective was considered pathological by the ancient Greeks due to its destructive nature – constitutive of fear-based worlds and thus abnormal to any society. Lebow (2009a) argues that realism urges leaders to treat this pathology as the norm, thus hampering cooperation among states. In this sense, the concept of anarchy becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

2.2.2.3. LIBERALISM: DEMOCRATIC PEACE, DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Prescriptive developmental paradigms invariably introduce democracy along with liberal economies as the recipe for success to states of underdevelopment. The African pre-colonial political system hosted various different regime types – theocracies, monarchies, democracies, autocracies and many more – under relatively peaceful conditions (Malaquias, 2002: 421). However, the implementation of democratic politics along with liberal market-economies proved to be disastrous to many newly liberated African states (Jones, 2005; Nkiwane, 2001b). Once again misunderstanding the dynamics of ethnic identity, democratisation was offered after decolonisation, as the answer to the myriad of diverging opinions within African states. This is unlikely to have the desired effect in most instances. Horowitz (2000: 681) states, “Democracy is exceptional in severely divided societies, and the claim has repeatedly been advanced that democracy cannot survive in the face of serious ethnic divisions.” This is due to the “propensity to form ethnically based parties” which may either end elections once split-off parties jeopardise the ruling party’s dominance or become a single-party regime in that “...ethnic parties contest divisive elections, which produce feelings of permanent exclusion on the part of those who are ascriptively locked out of office,” which is in turn conducive to violent opposition.

Again, methodological inadequacy and lacking statistical data aggravates the theoretical marginalisation of the continent. Jerven (2009) for instance shows the futility of using GDP estimates as a measure of relative development in Africa. Lemke (2003) also mentions statistical anomalies with regards to GDP estimates and African growth rates. More importantly, he shows the inability to correlate conflict in Africa with the usual determinants of conflict, thereby rendering the African challenge to the assumption of “the democratic peace” (Nkiwane, 2001a: 286), statistically irrelevant. To reiterate, however, such positivist techniques are intrinsically biased towards great powers, as they can afford data-collection on a mass scale.

With a more qualitative focus, in terms of social ontologies, African collectivism poses the dominant challenge to mainstream human rights doctrines, which are all based in Western individualism. Mwenda (2000) argues that the discourse on human rights in Africa is influenced by Eurocentric and ideologically driven ideas of individualism, appropriate to capitalist systems. The

African society in contrast, maintains a more communalist focus and has “stagnated somewhere between feudalism and capitalism” (Mwenda, 2000). Thus not possessing the motivation or resources to sustain first, second or third generation human rights, such a conception is redundant. The state-citizen relationship in Africa facilitates focus on obligation and responsibility rather than individual liberties and human rights in the traditional Western sense. This is because the African society is bound by traditional societal structures rather than individual value-systems. Western conceptions of human rights are too ‘archaic’ to be appropriate to the African context. He argues that Africans should be left to construct an appropriate human rights doctrine based on both valid principles from Western conceptions of human rights and more traditional African value-systems.

Various authors (see Howard, 1990: 159) contend that first generation individual political human rights are considered inadequate in African contexts because of the collectivist focus of African society. Second generation social and economic rights are considered more appropriate, specifically in their relation to the third generation conception of group rights. The rationale is that African states cannot afford the legal protection required by first generation rights and that individual liberties and equality before the law is relatively meaningless to the purposes of impoverished communities. Considering the colonial contribution to the current economic detriment faced by Africa and the subsequent and ongoing subjugation and marginalisation of the continent, an African perspective on Africa’s most basic human right would emphasise the right to develop. In addition, this development should be facilitated by the beneficiaries of colonialism and the slave trade.

However, Mwenda (2000) comes to the conclusion that awarding Third World countries the right to development supposes, through the very nature of a ‘right’, that this be enforceable and that First World countries are duty-bound to support or uphold this Third World right. The First World refuses this obligation, and development cannot therefore be understood as a human right. But this argument is logically inconsistent. If human rights were a function of the First World’s willingness to oblige, the world might never have seen the abolition of slavery. Furthermore, the original formulation of the natural rights by moral philosopher John Locke – arguably the most influential contributor to the current international rights doctrine – declared for all humans “the right to life, liberty and property” (Cranston, 1973: 1). The right to property formed part of the justification for the colonial project, but this coupled with the negation of the human status of indigenous populations. To counter the dehumanising effects without maintaining a double standard, thus, Africa and the rest of the developing world must be awarded ‘the right to life, liberty and *development*.’ The international conception of social justice inherent to this debate is stated convincingly by Ramose (2002: 31):

Because it is historical, structural and systemic [sic] poverty in Africa and, indeed in every part of the world, is not natural but artificial. It is a human construction designed purposely to minimize, limit or even eliminate completely the natural right of access and use of natural resources in order to benefit some at the expense of others. On this definition poverty is in the first place a human rights issue.

This section has discussed the conceptual inadequacy of both dominant theories of IR to the African context. The fact remains that Africa has produced no alternatives. However, as the following section will show, alternative theories from Africa to overcome disciplinary marginalisation is perhaps an unrealistic expectation from a discipline that has produced no disciplinary specific theories as a whole.

2.2.3. APPLICABILITY OF IR THEORY BEYOND AFRICA

Parallel to the debate on the gap in theoretical contribution from the developing world, another scholarly debate has considered the inadequacy of existing theory to deal with the question of international relations, even in their application to the West. Brown (2006: 120) aptly summarises this view when he states that “[t]he problems of IR theory do not simply appear when one moves one’s focus to Africa, they are there to begin with.” IR theories, like all theory, are abstractions of reality (Brown, 2006: 123). By definition, thus, they cannot apply under all circumstances and it is not their purpose to do so. However, recently the issue of abstraction of reality was joined by the question of, ‘Which reality?’ in the discourse, and indeed also whether this reality is at all relevant to the study of the international.

The most prominent influence to the development of the dominant IR theories comes from Political Philosophy. The social contract theories¹¹ of political philosophers Thomas Hobbes and John Locke came to be particularly influential, regardless of the fact that the organising principles were derived from a rational exercise involving consideration of (culturally informed) assumptions about human nature under conditions in the ‘state of nature’¹². In this manner, Realism was established by Thomas Hobbes along with anarchy and the balance of power justifying an oppressive state. The same is true for Locke and Liberalism, leading to a justification for private property, the enforcement of which requires a minimalist state, and the natural rights doctrine (Hayworth, 2004). However, the same motivations and rationale which founded these traditions do not necessarily hold for abstract entities of state in the international realm (Jarvis, 2000). Regardless, these theories of domestic sphere politics were transplanted onto the international and manipulated to fit.

In defence of this transplant, Thies (2004: 53) does point out that the division between the domestic and international spheres is a meaningless one. However, both of these theories were fundamentally normative in their aim to provide a justification for state-formation in the domestic

¹¹ The early social contract theories were essentially status quo theories. The purpose for both philosophers Hobbes and Locke was justification of the state – more specifically, of the British monarchy (Plamenatz, 1962: 10-11; Carpenter, 1924: vi-ix). Locke also rendered a justification for private property, which has been used to rationalise poverty and economic stratification ever since (Hayworth, 2004: 117-136).

¹² The ‘state of nature’ is an ahistorical setting devoid of any institutionalised form of social control. Under such conditions, human nature would lead to the establishment of certain organising principles (Plamenatz, 1962: 9; Hayworth, 2004: 75). Hobbes (1652) identified anarchy as the organising principle, as every man would constantly be at war with every other man for the sake of self-protection, thus justifying the oppressive state. Locke (1689) imagined a less violent situation, rather ruled by the laws of reason. According to him, men would realise the value of peaceful cooperation in maximising their freedoms. A minimalist function of enforcement of property rights is thus accorded the state. The state should under no circumstance infringe upon the basic freedoms or natural rights of men.

realm (Hayworth, 2004). In international relations theory, their orientation became increasingly positivist and the founding principles as such, were taken out of context.

Other disciplinary influence was derived from the methodological fields of Sociology and Economics, History and the natural sciences in the behaviouralist movement. Critical theory became dominant in the constructivist approach to IR, while poststructuralism was also influenced by the field of Psychology and prior philosophic conceptions of reality based less on the international than on the interpersonal and individual spheres. It follows that the academic discipline of International Relations as a whole can be regarded as a net theory-taker, burrowing most of its theoretical body from other disciplines in the social sciences (Jarvis, 2000), but generating no discipline-specific theories to supplement or replace the dominance of the supplanted theories.

2.2.4. DISCIPLINARY AND INTERDISCIPLINARY BLINDFOLDS

In light of the previous section, it is ironic that a common suggestion in the literature to overcome the theoretical inadequacy of the discipline is to promote greater interdisciplinarity. Bangura and Fenyo (2000) conducted a content analysis of the *JTWS* for the period 1984 to 1999. The primary purpose was to catalogue African content in order to produce an annotated bibliography, the need for which served as their main rationale – the study was precipitated by the chance discovery that authors writing on related topics in the same journal do not cite each other.

In their lament, Bangura and Fenyo (2000) were referring to the interdisciplinary disregard of the work of colleagues. They note the deceptive prevalence of African development as subject material for scholars from all faculties, suggesting that, contrary to status quo academic conduct, authors are not limited by discipline and that interdisciplinary research is being done. However, the prevalence is due to the undeniable scope of the problem of development, not due to any form of academic cooperation. They note that “[i]n practically every instance, what is highlighted in a given article is the development dimension of the discipline itself,” (*ibid*: 132) and that as a result the arguments “reflect the narrow range of philosophical choices available to the authors,” (*ibid*: 133).

Scant contribution from Africa has motivated various other authors to suggest similar initiatives to the annotated bibliography of Bangura and Fenyo (2000). Nkiwane (2001a: 279-280) for instance suggests cataloguing African content due to her finding that theories, case studies and examples from Africa are becoming exceedingly rare in IR due to the power relations within the discipline. A similar argument is posited by Nyamnjoh (2004: 331-335), however referring to publishing from or about Africa in general, highlighting the importance of interdisciplinary awareness among African and Africanist authors in the face of a marginalised cultural base. On an international scale, the field through its flagship organisation, the International Studies Association (ISA), has also acknowledged the relevance of a bibliographic catalogue of an ongoing nature (Denemarke, 2007) and compilation started in 2007.

However, whereas the purpose of an African catalogue is to scrape together the little scholarship that does consider the continent, the international aim is to create a database to enable browsing through a growing body of literature that is becoming unmanageably large. If Nkiwane (2001a: 279) is warranted in her suspicions that African voices are excluded from IR because the power dynamics in the discipline are biased towards Western ideas, it is unlikely that the international project will provide much support to the African initiative. Aydinli and Mathews (2000: 298) in their content analysis of 20 influential IR journals highlight the infrequency with which scholars from the periphery specifically, but also scholars outside of the United States in general, are recognised. Most disquieting, however, is their finding that for the period considered in the study (1990-2000), despite its constitutional emphasis on promoting intergroup dialogue, of the published material in the ISA's flagship journal, *International Studies Quarterly (ISQ)*, only 10 percent was contributed by scholars from outside the US; only 1,5 percent by scholars from the periphery.

Despite the impressive body of international IR scholarship, African IR is not alone in the potential benefit of greater interdisciplinarity. Jones (2005) illustrates the growth potential of interdisciplinary cross-pollination by comparing the fields of IR and Development Studies, showing how they could supplement each other's theoretical blind spots. The combination would necessitate a more in-depth understanding of the historicity of modernity (see also Grovogui, 2001a: 426-427), thereby addressing the failure of Development Studies to theorise the international and debunk the prescriptive nature of development theories. Furthermore, IR would obtain a much needed social justice element.

The lacking social justice component in IR theory is also the main impetus for Higgott (Cohen, Higgott & Watson, 2008) when he proposes a closer affiliation between the IR spin-off discipline IPE and Political Philosophy. He argues that the effectiveness and efficiency considerations and overly abstractive, "scientific" social science of the so-called American school of IPE must draw from the sensitivity of the British school's approach in order to understand the vast social issues involved in socioeconomic redistributive justice. This, he states in accordance with Jones (2005: 988), is no longer a local issue; an international conception of social justice needs to be cultivated. Towards this end, he proposes revisiting John Rawls's justice as fairness¹³ principles, as these can easily be extended to the international due to the nature of their derivation¹⁴.

It is unfortunate that the social justice element of the British school of IPE has apparently failed to enter mainstream discourse on the topic of Africa in IR. According to Grovogui (2001a: 428) only a minority of scholars do take issue with the social justice content of IR, because mainstream IR is loathe

¹³ The most famous literary work by moral philosopher, John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, posited a number of social justice maxims that he believed constituted a conception of justice as fairness. These came to be highly influential in the philosophic social justice discourse (Appiah, 2003: 248-260; Hayworth, 2004: 237-259).

¹⁴ Rawls used a similar technique to that of Hobbes and Locke, however substituting the state of nature for what he calls the 'original position'. The individuals present in the original position, understand what it is to be human and have knowledge of all the social, political and economic considerations of human existence, but they are devoid of self-knowledge. In other words, they understand the concept of poverty, realise that it is a social phenomenon characteristic of the age, but do not know whether they themselves are poor or rich in life. These premises, according to Rawls, would necessarily lead to principles of social justice aimed at uplifting the 'worst-off' members of society (Hayworth, 2004: 244-247).

to recognise contributions that are contrary to the status quo. However, Ramose (2002: 36-38) in considering the problem of Africa in the international, takes a similar position to Rawls's when he calls for "abandon[ment of] the mentality of centredness" (*ibid*: 37) to enable "decentered dialogue in the search for solutions to the problems of equality, justice and poverty" (*ibid*: 38) in Africa's international relations. Despite the obvious parallel, he does not cite Rawls, accrediting rather an immigrant Dane residing in Zimbabwe, J.A.B. Jacobsen, who allegedly left no writings¹⁵ of his own, but enjoyed a few conversations with Ramose.

2.3. THE DYNAMICS OF AFRICAN EXCLUSION

2.3.1. WESTERN (AMERICAN) INTELLECTUAL HEGEMONY

Western imperialism and skewed resource endowments established Western dominance in knowledge-production. This is also true of the social sciences and IR, however the positivist and objective ideal of the natural sciences transplanted onto an inherently subjective field of enquiry, leads to the wrongful assumption of universalism when the very notion of 'truth' and the methodologies deemed appropriate to its establishment are in fact culturally informed (Nkiwane, 2001a; Mouton, 2006: 28).

Social scientific enquiry is a social process. Knowledge is produced within institutionalised frameworks with established codes of conduct that govern knowledge-production and places constraints on what is acceptable to a discipline (Mouton, 2006: 41; Barnett, 2008: 169; Jones, 2005: 993). Once established, disciplinary standards are maintained and internalised – which in the current era of globalisation also means internationalised (Barnett, 2008: 168) – through diffusion. Diffusion occurs through expert networks – formal or informal – established to provide support to academics conducting research in a given discipline, and also to facilitate greater dissemination of ideas. These networks along with formal institutions of education, such as universities act to socialise, or acculturate, researchers, to the ontological, epistemological and methodological paradigms governing the discipline, and are thus 'agents of diffusion' (Barnett, 2008: 169).

Codes of conduct are enforced through "gatekeeping" (Neuman, 2006: 106-113). Gatekeepers exert control over the production and dissemination of knowledge. Various institutionalised forms of gatekeeping are identified by Mouton (2006: 43), ownership of which usually corresponds to, or sympathises with, hegemonic intellectual orientations. Gatekeepers influencing knowledge-production include grant review committees for research funding, constituting direct control over what research is conducted as well as the quality of that research. Codes of conduct in a given field prescribe methodologies and research techniques appropriate to the epistemic imperative and the ontological requirements of a given discipline. Grant review committees can bar research in certain areas by

¹⁵ It is ironic, considering the emphasis on the oral production of African knowledge (see following section), that when Ramose opts to break from the status quo citation of European literature, the verbal source is a European.

either awarding insufficient funding to conduct the research adequately, or turning down proposals asking the 'wrong' questions, or questions considered irrelevant to the subject material of the discipline (Neuman, 2006: 106).

Peer-review systems and editorial boards serve a similar function in deciding which ideas are deserving of recognition through publication and which are rejected (Mouton, 2006: 43; Nyamnjoh, 2004: 335). Rules for promotion in academic institutions stimulate self-imposed constraints on the part of researchers – a phenomenon referred to as self-censure. This self-censure for purposes of promotion is strengthened by the previous form of gatekeeping, due to the fact that publishing is often considered a relevant criteria for promotion. Scholars have little defence against dynamics of censure and discrimination against alternative ideas, as publishers, editorial boards, review committees and universities do not have to provide public motivation for their decisions (Falk, 2007: 374).

Power cannot be divorced from research (Nkiwane, 2001a). In terms of writing standards or codes of conduct, the Western intellectual model reigns supreme (Nyamnjoh, 2004: 333). An integral element of Western codes of conduct pertains to the practice of citation as sound academic practice to strengthen the credibility of arguments through those of acknowledged members of the ivory tower. However, the practice of citation acts as a prescriptive barrier to alternative sources of knowledge or processes of knowledge creation, in two distinct ways: it places emphasis on ownership of ideas rather than on the evolution thereof and it acts to homogenise and indeed limit the scope of ideas, as existing ideas must then form the foundation for further theorising.

Studies conducted through writing centres at American universities found that foreign students often have difficulty adhering to the requirements of academic writing (Writing Across Borders, 2007). Specifically Chinese students found the idea of referencing awkward, pointing to the communalism of Chinese society. The study includes testimony of one African student, but her writing concern involved her lack of experience in thinking critically, due to the oppressive political regime of her country. However, the study does have interesting implications for the verbal traditions of many African societies. African cultural norms place greater focus on the community than on the individual (Viljoen, 2008: 546). Likewise, emphasis falls less on individual knowledge contribution than on collective knowledge proliferation.

On a more practical level, citation limits the cultural base¹⁶. As mentioned previously, skewed resource endowments have resulted in skewed literary contribution, favouring Western academics or Western-centric ideas for publishing (Nyamnjoh, 2004; Dukor, 1993: 10). In addition, the oral production of African knowledge (Dukor, 1993: 29) left no tangible contribution upon which to build literary contributions that would be deemed creditable by international standards. As such, non-Western scholars are forced either to base their arguments on Western concepts and assumptions, or

¹⁶ The intellectual capital available to and formative of a culture; traditionally in literary form.

to take issue with these concepts. Van der Westhuizen (2001: 67) states in accordance that the ability of non-Western scholars to think outside of Western canons “has been seriously undermined by the apparent inevitability that the powerful in *international relations* also tends to become the powerful in *International Relations*.”

Like Mkandawire (1995), Olukoshi (2006: 542) notes the bias this constitutes in favour of Africanist rather than African authors, stating that “validity. . . hinges. . . on the number of contemporary Africanist guru’s cited.” This is due to an unwholesome tendency among Africanists to reference only a select group of fellow Africanists, in addition to self-referencing. Either way, the extent to which new ideas can enter the discourse and be taken seriously by the international intellectual community, is restricted.

2.3.2. HISTORIC AND SYSTEMIC DISCRIMINATION

The discrimination against the African intellect is historic and systemically reproduced. African intellectuals even today are the “victims of age-old assumptions and stereotypes about the inherent inferiority of African humanity, creativity and cultures,” (Nyamnjoh, 2004: 335). The discourse uses derogatory descriptions, often with evolutionary connotations, such as “primitive,” “primordial” (Viljoen, 2008: 548), “irrational” (Jacoby, 2005: 219), “prelogical” (Dukor, 1993: 9), all attesting to “African backwardness” (Nyamnjoh, 2004: 336). “It uses loaded rhetoric and cultural archetypes in juxtaposition to articulate existing biases and discriminatory attitudes toward certain regions or peoples,” (Grovoqui, 2001a: 428). Adding to the problem is the fact that the verbal tradition commonly ascribed to African cultures has resulted in the belief that there are no African thinkers or African thoughts, because there is no written proof. If there were such a thing as African knowledge based on traditions, it would be no different from ethno-philosophies of other primitive peoples from across the globe (Dukor, 1993: 12).

The mainstream (Western) philosophic canon is often considered universal due to its focus on rational argumentation and reflection. Ethno-philosophic contributions from Africa (and other third world regions), by contrast, are regarded as inferior and homogenous. This assumed homogeneity stresses the dichotomy of development versus underdevelopment, resulting in a polar discourse rather than one of diversity. The debate is extended to the subject matter of IR theory by Ramose (2002: 27) when he argues that *logos*, or reason, were claimed by western colonial powers as their exclusive preserve, ascribing only *mythos* – primordial sources of knowledge – to the colonised. The African was thus denied the claim to reason, and as such full human status, because of the established Aristotelian philosophic definition of a ‘human’ as a ‘rational animal.’

However, it is precisely this focus on *a* human that causes misunderstanding and thus devaluation of the African approach. The difference in approach can be ascribed to the collectivism of African society and the holistic view of the human being as inseparable from either social process or the cosmos (Viljoen, 2008: 546-548). This stands in stark contrast to the Western conception, embodied in

the '*cogito ergo sum*'¹⁷ maxim of Descartes's philosophy: human existence as verifiable only through individual thought awards absolute primacy to the individual in knowledge and reality formation. The human mind is considered in isolation from the very bodily flesh of the contingent self, thus isolated entirely from the experiences of other individuals, the community, or the cosmos. Individualism is threaded throughout the development of Western philosophy, resurfacing prominently in most of the philosophic developments of the 19th and 20th centuries, including those influential to IR theory.

Also Viljoen (2008: 549) takes issue with the wrongful *logos/mythos* dichotomy of Western/African thinking. He states that, in contrast to the Western focus on rationality, African cognitive functioning can be described as "intuitive rationality" (*ibid.*) The room for emotion in knowledge creation that this suggests, is at odds with the rational benchmark, which brands any diverging epistemologies "irrational" (Jacoby, 2005: 219) – again an absolutist polar dichotomy instead of a range of plurality. Also Senghor (as cited by Viljoen, 2008) acknowledges the intuitive component of African cognitive processes, but stresses that African sources of knowledge should not be deemed inferior simply because they are not Western (also Dukor, 1993: 7). The one does not provide greater access to knowledge than the other, although this has been the historic assumption. Rather the approaches should be regarded as complimentary or supplementary, relative to context.

Ironically, recent cognitive theorists provide evidence of not only cognitive equality, but that Africans may even be cognitively superior to Westerners. According to Viljoen (2008: 552-554), African connectedness to their physical and spiritual environments and thus equal emphasis on rational and emotional knowledge gives rise to balanced use of the two hemispheres of the brain (as opposed to dominance of the rational left hemisphere in the West). Africans are as a result better equipped to reach and sustain optimal levels of development and psychological health. However, this could also explain why Africans are less likely to intellectualise phenomena into abstractive principles, or theories. 'Intellectualisation' is considered a psychological disorder commonly associated with left-hemisphere dominance along with 'denial' and 'rationalisation,' (Viljoen, 2008: 553). Western intellectual hegemony has enabled Western scholars to turn their culturally informed shortcomings into standards for validity and benchmarks of academic conduct.

Cognitive equality, unfortunately, will amount to little if Africa is unable to address the socio-economic conditions plaguing the continent. Universal primary school education was set as one of the Millennium Development Goals for 2015. Over half of African countries seem unlikely to meet this goal, mostly due to lack of funding (Adams, King & Hook, 2010). In addition to insufficient funding and misappropriation of that which there is, the socio-economic conditions of many African children

¹⁷ The complete maxim, '*Dubito, ergo cogito; cogito, ergo sum,*' or 'I doubt, therefore I think; I think, therefore I am,' was in truth never stated by Descartes. The method of extreme doubt with which he derived the '*cogito*' by implication informed the preamble. Through a systematic process of doubting everything, in order to distinguish potentially false reality from absolute, irrevocable truth, he concludes that nothing is undeniable, save for doubt itself, because in doubting doubt, it is affirmed. According to Descartes this necessitates the existence of an agent of doubt – hence the affirmation of his own thinking mind.

further problematise the situation of schooling. Ramose (2002: 32) summarises the reality of a situation common to African primary school education:

[African children] then have to get into the discipline of being on time at school. But this presupposes that many other things are in order. For example, they have to know how to read the clock. Yet, having a clock at home is often a luxury in their circumstance. . .They have to be properly washed and have clean clothes to wear to school. However, hygienic care of the self is more than problematic. . .It is not uncommon that teachers have to teach them the use of a [sic] toilet paper and even request them to wash their underwear.

Such socio-economic detriment is not conducive to success in the current educational system. Children from an early age have to adhere to standards for which they are not prepared and are punished for failure to adapt to situations for which adaptation is not facilitated. The impediments faced by African children to perform well in an educational setting far exceed those faced by other societal groups, yet they face the same expectations and criteria for success as their international counterparts. From an early age children are exposed to ridicule and discrimination. Poverty as an international reality cannot be ignored, but that does not mean the poor have to be acknowledged (Jones, 2005: 997). Devastated by the colonial heritage, Africa faced the burden of abandonment by their former colonists in the direct aftermath of decolonisation (Malaquias, 2002: 421-423). The West turned a blind eye to their African miscarriage.

Further aggravating the situation: Africans have turned a blind eye to Africa. African diaspora communities are not only uncommitted to, but embarrassed to be associated with Africa (Nyamnjoh, 2004: 332). This is especially true of the academic cadre, as the educational backlog along with lacking research funding as well as funding for institutional upkeep, library resources or technological upgrade (Mkandawire, 1995; Nyamnjoh, 2004) has resulted in low quality research and academic mediocrity (Nyamnjoh & Nantang, 2002). In addition, those few continental academics who achieve international mobility, emigrate elsewhere, forming part of the debilitating African brain drain due to the extreme socio-economic detriment and inferior financial incentive to stay at African academic institutions (Mkandawire, 1995). The resultant reality construct is one where only the rich (West) exist; both the haves and the have-nots see only the haves, influenced by the Western preoccupation with commercialism. This dynamic is translated into publishing patterns and credit to peripheral scholarship (Aydinli & Mathews, 2000: 290).

In an attempt thus to raise the status of the black African intellect, Dukor (1993: 7) emphasises the importance for African theorists to unite in “standing for the recognition of the epistemic and cognitive scientific knowledge of African cultural origin.” This statement summarises the position of the inclusivist school of African philosophy. The point is not that all Africans must conform to enable formation of an essentialist African theory, as the diversity of the continent is likely to produce far more than one. Furthermore, the statement does not imply that African theories would necessarily be different from Western theory. Rather Dukor (1993: 6) places black African historic and existential

humanity at the forefront of African Philosophy, with affirmation of the African as a cognitively equal human being as its primary objective.

A historic approach to African realities must consider Africa in the context of its colonial heritage (Dukor, 1993: 6), also in the selection of appropriate methodologies to explore African narratives, folk knowledge and issues (Viljoen, 2008: 536). The aim is not to homogenise African experience, but to elevate African thought and scholarship in general. This is why he condemns the exclusivist school of African thinkers for intellectual abandonment of African thought by its own Africans. The exclusivist school initially refused to be associated with 'African Philosophy' rather opting to be referred to as 'African philosophers', thus denoting country of origin, but not orientation. Their dissociation in adherence to Western sources of knowledge, re-established Western superiority over African sources of knowledge and affirmed the universalist assumption of Western theoretical application (Dukor, 1993: 6-7). Noble (as cited by Viljoen, 2008: 540) aptly summarises the situation:

As long as Black researchers ask the same questions and theorise the same theory as their White counterparts, Black researchers will continue to be part and parcel to a system which perpetuates the misunderstanding of Black reality and consequently contributes to our degradation.

This theme of abandonment of African knowledge by African intellectuals is prevalent in the discourse on African neglect in research and theorising. Three overarching concerns can be identified from the literature in this regard: assimilation – also 'absorption' or 'incorporation' (Jones, 2005: 996) of Africans into Western academia (Nyamnjoh, 2004: 339; Aydinli & Mathews, 2000: 298; Dukor, 1993: 9); the brain drain (Reynolds, 2002); and the alienation of the African diaspora (Nyamnjoh, 2004: 338). The following section will deal with the development of the African intellectual community in order to highlight the triggers for abandonment.

2.3.2.1. THE BRAIN DRAIN AND ASSIMILATION

Mkandawire (1995) outlines the development of the African intellectual community in terms of three distinguishable generations (with a subsequent fourth added by Anyidoho, 2008). The first generation was educated abroad in the immediate aftermath of decolonisation. At this point the main impact of colonisation was understood to be economic (Mamdani, 2005: 2). Most returned to Africa and lay the foundations for the indigenisation of African scholarship and university education (Mkandawire, 1995: 75). However, they brought with them Western knowledge constructs upon which to build subsequent generations of African scholarship, thus adding to the discord highlighted by Dukor (1993: 8-9) persisting in tertiary education between the traditional African and inherited Western ontologies and epistemologies.

Western hegemony in the sphere of knowledge and knowledge production is perpetuated through African institutions of higher education, resulting in what Noble (as cited by Viljoen, 2008: 540) terms "scientific colonialism," Also according to Zegeye and Vambe (2006: 333) African knowledge or sites of knowledge production remain controlled by Western experts. Another discipline facing the same

contentions is African Philosophy. Dukor (1993: 8-9) describes the experience of many African students at tertiary institutions in Africa as culturally alienating and assimilatory. African students studying in Africa are generally taught Western theories and perspectives as the main body of content in most courses. These theories are often at odds with the traditional perspectives of their own cultures as inherited through verbal, artistic and ritual means rather than literature. The result is hybrid knowledge: not African, but also not European. It acts to debase the African intellect, causing the African students to dissociate themselves from indigenous knowledge.

Likewise, Nyamnjoh and Nantang (2002) describes African educational systems as violent due to their cultural and political subversion of African narratives and realities – a process referred to by Falk (as cited by Grovogui, 2001b: 40) as “colonising forms of knowledge”. The Western content taught in most university courses discriminates against African sources of knowledge, acting to diminish their value *vis-à-vis* Western benchmarks and fosters an academic culture of ignorance and mediocrity in Africa (Nyamnjoh & Nantang, 2002: 3). Africa remains an object of study rather than the agent of study (Anyaoku, 1999; Jones, 2005: 990, 994).

The second generation also studied abroad, though most completed their undergraduate studies at local institutions. Most of these intellectuals did not, however, return to Africa and those few who did, left again soon after, thus constituting the first wave of the African brain-drain (Mkandawire, 1995: 76-77). At this stage, the reality of economic detriment was no longer enveloped by the liberation zeal. Furthermore, many states had become relatively disenchanted with the critical stance of academia towards regime functioning and the resulting political oppression “added academic ‘political refugees’ to the growing stock of academic ‘economic refugees’,” (Mkandawire, 1995: 77). On an intellectual level, whereas the first generation had brought Western thought to African institutions, the second generation had become wholly assimilated. The indigenisation process started by the first generation was abandoned by the second to make them more marketable outside of Africa.

Various authors take issue with this process of assimilation into Western academic culture while studying abroad. Aydinli and Mathews (2000: 298) for instance, quotes an interviewee from their study of international scholars in American institutions:

I haven't seen too many [famous developing world scholars] unless you're brought up in the U.S. and you have become part of the system. . .the problem is that I myself after being in the West, you know, *I* have problems with their work too.

They further highlight the institutional bias towards questions with African (or Third World) relevance and the systematic erosion of the perceived relevance of these questions in scholars studying at Western institutions (Aydinli & Mathews, 2000: 298-299). African scholars are effectively forced to choose between their own professional upward mobility and research or theorising that would be relevant to African realities (Aydinli & Mathews, 2000: 299; Nyamnjoh, 2004: 333). In addition, this choice comes in the form of an invitation (Nyamnjoh, 2004: 339) rather than an

ultimatum. Their individual contribution is welcomed, thus acknowledging their individual worth academically, providing their contribution voices the 'correct' ideas (Nyamnjoh, 2004: 335). Because of the pervasive discourse deeming African intellectuals inferior by proxy and the disciplinary negation of African relevance, many African scholars suffer from a devalued perception of self as a vehicle of knowledge. This makes the Western invitation promising acknowledgement and insider status in the international intellectual community, highly appealing, if not irresistible of upward career mobility is a personal priority. In turn they attempt to dissociate themselves entirely from their African heritage (Nyamnjoh, 2004: 336-339). Due to the racialised nature of the IR dynamic, this often means attempted dissociation from being black. Christian, Mokutu and Rankoe (2002: 36) for instance quote one of the participants in a study on black students' experiences studying at 'white' institutions, in saying:

I think there's always that thing there, ehm, you don't want to be perceived as a good black... instead it makes you to have more of a drive to work harder... people see that you are competent – you did not get there because you are black.

The above quote highlights three dynamics of black intellectuals competing in international settings: firstly, due to their minority status, individual black students become 'tokens', representative of all black people, diminishing the importance of their own personal identity in their academic progress. Secondly, the fact that preferential treatment, though instituted due to historic discrimination, is now acting to strengthen existing biases. The necessity for racial quotas is often attributed to inherent inferiority rather than historical disenfranchisement (Christian, Mokutu & Rankoe, 2002). Nyamnjoh (2004: 337-338) illustrates this double standard through citing a scholarly article in which political scientist, Jean-François Medard, laments the devaluation of French tertiary education due to the fears of universities of being accused of racism. The result is likewise claimed to be unfair elevation of incompetent individuals. Falling victim to these dynamics, the participant has internalised the inferiority ascribed to blackness, which is accompanied by the understanding that in order to escape the label, performing as well as the other students would not be enough – he needs to do better.

Nyamnjoh (2004) proposes two options to this dilemma of recognition: the scholar either retracts from the intellectual community entirely in favour of some variant of Afrocentrism and remains unrecognised; or the scholar adopts Western intellectual ideologies in order to become a competent player in the publishing game. However, the result is that recognition of such scholarly successes is not heralded as African achievements, but as individual exceptionalism (Nyamnjoh, 2004: 342). The scholar becomes an example with which to flog other Africans who are not as willing to apply themselves, despite the fact that most of these canonised African authors are no longer living on the African continent. In turn it re-establishes Western intellect over African inferiority and strengthens the argument for the universalism of Western theory.

2.3.2.2. REPRESENTATION

Benefiting from the pursuit of African intellectual upliftment of the first generation, the quality of the second generation's education awarded them the mobility to move when the going got tough, and they did so. As a result, by the time the third generation underwent university training; many African states had grown wary of the true value of quality education. State funding for research and institutional upkeep decreased significantly and in many settings the standards of university training were deliberately lowered so that the product would be functional, but not attractive (Mkandawire, 1995: 78). In the case of the second generation of intellectuals, the high state funding of research activities and institutional upkeep facilitated their immigration through turning them into academic currency. It is interesting to note, ironically, that another facet of the brain drain developed in parallel to the training of the third generation intellectuals: emigrants deciding to move abroad in search of higher quality education (Reynolds, 2002).

Mkandawire (1995: 79) argues that the African university faces an identity crisis in the sense that "African universities lost their original *raison d'être* in the eyes of the state and sometimes the public." On the one hand their mission to supply the economy with sufficient amounts of skilled labour is now often regarded to have succeeded to the point of oversupply, as unemployment and the more recent phenomenon of overqualification manifests in many settings. Alternatively, the need for and quality of expertise supplied by domestic institutions seemed redundant in the face of teams of experts and specialist consultants brought in by international institutions for the sake of various structural adjustment programmes and economic resuscitation missions. These teams showed little regard for local academics and on the odd occasion that they did need to recruit from the local populace, much preferred the familiar markings of European or American academic institutions on the certificates of respondents.

Despite these challenges the third generation, according to Mkandawire (1995) show incredible resilience in their research activities, albeit often of inferior quality due to lack of funding, but some have made valuable contributions towards developing methodologies more appropriate to capturing African narratives. However, the third generation clearly displays the covert influence latent in the content of the education system. Like mainstream IR, these African thinkers have a tendency to ignore the historicity of modernity that has linked race and culture to political dysfunction and poverty by understating the impact of colonialism and slavery (Grovoqui, 2001a: 429), thereby internalising African problems (Mkandawire, 1995). This internalisation runs parallel to a discourse demanding African solutions to African problems (Malaquias, 2002: 433; Mwenda, 2000; Lumumba-Kasongo, 2005: 22). However, considering Anyaoku's (1999) explanation of Africa's development failure resulting from an unwillingness of Western allies to keep their promises, it seems futile to ignore historic discrimination if such discrimination proves to be of an ongoing nature. Pheko (1999) mentions that aware of historical blame, they continue to seek African solutions to the current state of Africa, as if the colonial influence subsided with decolonisation. Instead, the efficacy of African

diplomacy in international negotiations should be regarded as part of a solution that accords to African terms and conditions.

This discord between African solutions and African representation in the international is part of the problematique considered by the fourth generation. Anyidoho (2008) engages the question of representation by highlighting that proximity does matter in her defense of insider scholarship as a valuable research method. What it implies for Africa is that research will at once be speaking *from* Africa, *about* Africa and *for* Africa. It introduces the collectivist orientation of Africans to the IR discourse; interestingly, also a movement mirrored by so-called fourth generation psychology, with a greater focus on interpersonal psychology and holism (Viljoen, 2008: 536). Furthermore, it addresses both the issue of relevance of representation and validity of research in the IR discourse on Africa.

Also Nkiwane (2001a: 288) emphasises the importance of the self-awareness imperative, acknowledging the subjectivity of research. African subjectivities should inform African realities if Africa is to make a contribution towards IR theory (Okolo as quoted by Dukor, 1993: 19). However, Olukoshi (2006: 542) argues that one of the factors indeed hampering African intellectual progress is the tendency to research only local particularities and not focusing on more comparative research. Instead, they contribute mainly descriptive research (Mkandawire, 1995) and allow the Western Africanist contributors to combine, generalise and theorise on Africa's behalf (Olukoshi, 2006: 542). To the extent that Anyidoho (2008) is correct and proximity does matter, Oruka (as quoted by Dukor, 1993: 17) states:

Now it is possible and necessary that the concern for African Philosophy is not in the unique sense, but only in the simple sense. Here a piece of philosophy would deserve to be described as 'African Philosophy' simply in the sense that either (i) it is a work of an African thinker or philosopher (regardless of its subject-matter): (ii) That it is a work dealing with specific African issues formulated by an African intellectual.

Nyamnjoh (2004) likewise makes the valuable point that people have a tendency to read about Africa, but not from Africa. As mentioned in chapter 1, Africanist writers are more likely to be published than African writers (Mkandawire, 2005). Furthermore, most prolific African writers no longer reside in continental Africa (Nyamnjoh, 2004: 342). According to Olukoshi (2006), this dynamic acts to maintain the asymmetries of capacity and influence currently governing most social science disciplines, including IR. The African diaspora as well as the more recent emigrants associated with the brain drain, have actively sought to dissociate them from the embarrassment of the African continent. This is due both to the historic conception of black African intellectual inferiority and the low quality research resulting from the extreme resource deprivation of the continental research community. Furthermore, African intellectuals and their diaspora equivalents more often than not find themselves competing for research funding or publishing space, with the diaspora at a level of competitiveness equal to the Africanist advantage.

But the debate over the African diaspora's relevance to African intellectual development is far from settled. Adi (2002) introduces the African diaspora as an important component of African

intellectual development and 'modern' African political theory. The relation between Africa and its diaspora communities is one of mutual neglect, with continental Africa negligent of ideas emerging from diaspora communities and most diaspora research and theorising being more interested in identity studies than in the continent. His argument stands in direct opposition to the lament of assimilatory patterns regarding African intellect, instead positing the Westernised ideas of for instance nationalism as imperative to the development of Africa in the modern era. Regardless, Nyamnjoh (2004: 332) mentions the incident of the folding of the Heinemann African Writers Series as proof of the general abandonment of Africa by its diasporic communities. Despite the achievements and ideals of the series, the African content failed to appeal to Western audiences, and when bankruptcy loomed, ideals were not enough to motivate African elite from the Western diaspora communities to show their commitment to Africa and buy the establishment.

Noble (as quoted by Viljoen, 2008: 536) on the other hand argues for an indigenisation of African theoretical knowledge in accordance with Anyidoho's (2008) recognition of the value of participant research. Also Nkiwane (2001b) emphasises the importance of African subjectivities in the formation of an appropriate imaginary to the African problematique. Regardless of the leverage that Africa's diaspora implies for African intellectual representation, the representation is of an Africa far removed from continental reality.

2.3.3. INTRACONTINENTAL BLINDFOLDS

Apart from the mutual neglect between Africa and its diaspora, the intracontinental neglect poses another serious constraint to African intellectual progress. Some networking does occur. The Association for African Universities (AAU) boasts 225 member institutions in 44 countries on the continent (Global Research Report on Africa, 2010). As stated by Mkandawire (1995: 80), such networks provide for scholars – often struggling for resources and isolated from the growing body of mostly electronic knowledge created daily by the international intellectual community – the only opportunity for international exposure. However, the support and resources these and other such academic organisations should provide to their members remain lacking, constrained by the same insufficient funding faced by the individual institutions themselves. Indeed financed by overseas patrons, beneficiaries of the AAU in terms of research funding is subject to the same scrutiny and codes of conduct with which African authors are faced when trying to procure funding from international academic institutions directly. Regardless thus of the existence of such networks, the extent to which an African variant of IR, or any other discipline, could develop out of an exchange of true African ideas remains constrained.

Attempts to unite African scholars under an umbrella organisation display the same tendencies as such endeavours in other spheres of social life. Political organisation and/or attempts at continental economic integration and cooperation, though prevalent in the discourse, have continuously failed to meet the demands of its constituents. Plagued by resource deficiency, lacking infrastructure and often

corruption, members often become disenchanted and shift their attention to smaller cooperative networks – mostly regional in scale. Regional integration is a very common phenomenon in the dynamics of African economic development strategies, but the same holds true for proliferation of the intellectual community.

The Global Research Report on Africa (2010) identifies four networks, or clusters, of cooperation, with membership – not surprisingly – following the same regional and cultural trends as existing networks of economic cooperation, with SSA an exception in this regard. Note that this is a much generalised observation. Collaboration varies among group members within a given cluster. Also the sparse contribution from Africa in general results in an overamplification of what are in fact very few instances of co-authorship or collaboration. However, the basic tendency of countries to group with others with the same cultural attributes, language and colonial heritage is clear (USAID, 2007).

Furthermore, with the exception of the North African grouping and to the extent that collaborative networks exist at all, clusters form around one or two intellectual powerhouses who have a relatively large volume of output in terms of total African contribution. The activities of the focal contributor thus become central to the success and status of the group as a whole. It is largely responsible for procuring international research funding and as a result ploughs most of this revenue back into its own research community. As a result an African variant of intellectual hegemony has been established, evident in the output of each of the consecutive groupings. This is an ambiguous observation, however, as contribution of a particular grouping is mostly confined to output of, or collaboration with, this hegemonic player. It is thus difficult to assess to what extent intragroup ideational or philosophical variation does occur.

The most prolific grouping is the North African cluster consisting of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. The members share both culture and language, and all boast active research communities in their own right. Little collaboration occurs with the rest of Africa, save for some collaboration between Egypt and South Africa as the hegemonic members of their respective groups (Adams, King & Hook, 2010). The second grouping roughly correspond to the constituency of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) (USAID, 2007), but includes traditionally East African Congo and with no noted contribution from Guinea-Bissau. Ironically, this grouping formed around the active research community of the Cameroon, who is also not a member of WAEMU, suggesting that the primary common denominator is that these are all French-speaking nations.

The link between the large East African grouping and economic cooperation is less clear – members including constituents from the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the East African Community (EAC) – with no evident dominance among the former three and the latter EAC in the minority. Members are also more ethnically diverse than the previous two clusters. The most obvious common attribute is the Anglophone heritage, with English as

the *lingua franca*. It follows that the SADC also does not boast a corresponding research community, as membership is split between the East African grouping, revolving around Kenya and Nigeria, and a smaller group with close ties to South Africa. This latter group also includes Sudan and Gabon with some interaction between South Africa and Egypt, as mentioned before (Adams, King & Hook, 2010; USAID, 2007).

The regional hegemons – South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria and Egypt with the exclusion of the less prolific Cameroon¹⁸ – are the only relevant actors, not only in continental interaction between the regional groupings, but also internationally on behalf of those groupings and thus the entire Africa, with the only correspondence worth mentioning between African intellectuals and the international community stemming from researchers active in these settings.

2.4. SUMMARY

Despite the validity of arguments highlighting the inadequacy of existing theories to explain Third World (specifically African) realities, criticism has perpetuated, rather than disarmed, status quo theories. This is because focus on (and thus within) the existing conceptual framework has impeded vision beyond these barriers, thereby hampering the formation of new, more applicable theories. The intellectual balance of power and methodological hegemony of the West is perpetuated, even on the African continent by regional hegemony held by key players in the African research community. These players in turn adhere to Western standards of academic excellence in order to obtain recognition. For the same reason they are reluctant to associate themselves with African academic cadres because of the inferior quality of African research.

Lack of funding has resulted in the systematic degradation of African research and quality of available data. This has led to the systematic exclusion of Africa as an area of interest or a relevant source of insights about the world system. Africa has in all respects become the invisible continent. Scholars in most disciplines choose to jump ship and join the rest of the African brain drain rather than face the seemingly insurmountable obstacle that is Africa's current economic and social detriment.

¹⁸ The Cameroon, though the most successful regional contributor, does not compare well to the other four regional hegemons. Intellectuals from the West African grouping enjoy even less exposure to the international. Sporadic collaboration with Nigeria forms the only, albeit secondary, link to the rest of the African and the international intellectual communities.

Chapter 3: CONTENT ANALYSIS

This chapter provides the results of the content analysis and the calculation of the dominance statistics. The first section will provide an overview of the quantitative journal analysis, including article count and prevalence of Africa as topic in IR. The second section deals with the qualitative article analysis, classification and tabulation in terms of theme. The final section presents the calculation of author dominance and the results: the 25 most prolific authors on the topic of Africa in IR.

3.1. QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS: ARTICLE COUNT

A total of 9 053 articles were published in the 25 selected journals for the period starting January 2000, with the most recent available edition among the journals – *Millennium* 39(2), August 2010 – marking the cut-off date for inclusion. 1 087 of these articles made reference to ‘Africa’ in the abstract of which 539 had an IR focus. In percentage terms, the topic of Africa constitutes 12 percent of the universal sample of published articles in the 25 journals, with African IR scholarship comprising half of that total at 6 percent of international African content (for a comprehensive list of articles included in the assessment, see Appendix B).

However, this total is misleading due to the inclusion of the Third World and African journals in the calculation. A Third World focus would necessarily include more material on Africa than the international publications while the African journals publish exclusively material on Africa. A more meaningful statistic is derived from dealing with the three tiers in isolation (see table 2):

Table 2: Total contribution of African content per journal tier

JOURNAL TIER	ARTICLE TOTALS			% TOTALS	
	TOT	AFR	AFR IR	AFR/TOT	AFR IR/AFR
International	7 094	215	165	3	77
Third World	1 209	125	100	10	80
African	750	750	278	100	37
All	9 053	1 090	543	12	50

Of the 9 053 published articles, 7 094 were published in international journals. Africa was the subject of only 215 of these – 3 percent. However, the results do reflect positively on the relative importance of IR as a field, if not on Africa as a continent: 77 percent of articles on Africa published in international journals were IR-related, despite the multidisciplinary focus of the journal sample. Regardless, at 2 percent of total published content, this leaves little to be said for the impact of African(ist) IR scholars internationally.

The two Third World journals published 1 209 articles. This total seems large in relation to the other tiers of the study, but is a result of *TWQ*'s bi-quarterly publication frequency, producing eight

editions per year. For this tier, the proportion of African content constituted a disappointing 10 percent with 8 percent IR-related. The statistic marks a decrease in the proportion of content dealing with Africa in the ten years since Bangura and Fenyo's (2000: 131) content analysis of *JTWS*. For the period 1984 to 1999, African content amounted to 27 percent – a fair ratio considering the focus of the journal includes four developing geopolitical groupings. However, for *JTWS*, the current study shows a decrease of nine percentage points to 18 percent. The proportion for *Third World Quarterly* is even lower at 8 percent of total content. Once again, the topic of IR performs well at 80 percent of total African content (8 percent of total content). Finally, as the ratio of African content to total content is a given for the African journal tier, only the IR content ratio is relevant: 37 percent. This does not compare well with the findings from the other two tiers in terms of the relative importance of IR as discipline. Table 3 provides a summary of the results per journal.

Table 3: Article totals and ratios per journal

JOURNAL	ARTICLE TOTALS			% TOTALS	
	TOT	AFR	TOT	AFR/TOT	AFR IR/AFR
International Organization	234	2	2	1	100
International Security	234	5	4	2	80
International Studies Quarterly	355	5	3	1	60
The American Political Science Review	457	5	4	1	80
World Politics	178	10	3	6	30
Journal of Conflict Resolution	423	5	4	1	80
European Journal of International Relations	209	7	7	3	100
Review of International Studies	501	19	19	4	100
Millennium	327	5	4	2	80
American Journal of Political Science	627	16	10	3	63
Security Studies	370	7	4	2	57
International Affairs	469	39	39	8	100
Review of International Political Economy	350	12	10	3	83
International Studies Review	202	9	9	4	100
Journal of Peace Research	447	12	10	3	83
Global Governance	324	14	13	4	93
Journal of Politics	619	7	3	1	43
International Studies Perspectives	314	5	5	2	100
Political Science Quarterly	232	6	1	3	17
Comparative Politics	222	25	11	11	44
Third World Quarterly	978	83	68	8	82
Journal of Third World Studies	231	42	32	18	76
African Affairs	233	233	91	100	39
Journal of Modern African Studies	234	234	62	100	26
Review of African Political Economy	283	283	125	100	44

3.2. QUALITATIVE ARTICLE ANALYSIS: DOMINANT THEMES

3.2.1. CLASSIFICATION AND TABULATION OF ARTICLES IN TERMS OF SUBJECT

The categories for classification in terms of theme or subject material were not pre-selected, but rather construed from a reading of the article abstracts, then generalised and grouped. This was purposeful employment of inductive reasoning, as deductive reasoning would have introduced a degree of bias to the process, possibly leading to the exclusion of articles and topics that might otherwise have made a significant contribution to the study of IR in Africa. However, the subjects identified through this inductive process have the same generic ring to those traditionally associated with IR and specifically Africa in IR and include conflict, resources, intervention, development, governance, health or HIV/AIDS, criminality, displacement, entity, relations and scholarship.

'Conflict' refers to any form of disunity – violent or not – within or among national entities. Articles focusing on domestic conflict were only included if it could be seen to affect entities beyond that domestic context. The involvement of UN peacekeeping forces or militia from neighbouring countries, for instance, would be grounds for domestic conflict to be classified international. Likewise if conflict is understood to affect international trade, regional cooperation or other supra-national networks of interaction, it was deemed international or regional, depending on the context.

'Resources', notably oil, but also mineral reserves such as gold and diamonds feature often. Global warming, pollution or any form of conservation was also regarded as impacting on resources. As such, all environmental concerns were grouped under this heading, including global warming, environmental degradation or conservation and various forms of pollution. Also where the topic concerned resources of sustenance – agricultural inputs, land or water – it was grouped under this theme. As a result, land reform or any form of redistributive justice involving tangible goods would also be included here. However, no redistributive justice issues other than land reform received any mention at all. This theme generally occurs in combination with one or more of the others. The link between resources and conflict is a very popular topic. US-Africa relations, China-Africa relations (or a combination of the two) and oil is also quite common.

'Intervention' was chosen as the representative term for any foreign influences on the domestic sphere. As a result the category is the broadest of the themes, and encompasses both a wide range of potential actions and agencies alike. Actions can include donations, financial aid and as such debt or debt relief, and incentives or sanctions of any kind – trade, financial or policy incentives were the most common. Agency included NGOs or social movements, including international, regional or domestic; individual philanthropists – notably Bill Gates and Bono – or patron states. Patronage mostly concerned actions on the part of former colonial powers, but also those representing the more recent strain of imperialism – China and the US – are on the increase. It should be mentioned at this point that the colonial heritage and its lingering effects, admittedly devastating as it was, was not regarded as

relevant to IR in and of itself. Where the effects have translated into current situations relevant to IR, such as bilateral trade agreements, border disputes, intra-continental¹⁹ conflict or conflict involving foreign militia, or regional/continental social movements the relevance cannot be disputed. But in each of these scenarios the implications for one or more of the other potential themes would ensure article inclusion. This argument also holds for the slave trade.

In terms of great power involvement on the continent, it is interesting to note that the EU and most of the former colonial powers take action mostly in the form of preferential treatment in trade or financial assistance. The neo-imperialists, however, show a tendency towards more hands-on approaches, far more often including themselves in conflict resolution or peace-building operations (the US mostly). China's involvement in the arms trade is also noteworthy. In the same regard, international organisations are prominent players in African political dynamics. Featuring prominently in the literature are the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in terms of development (the World Trade Organisation (WTO) is only mentioned by one of the articles), and the UN with its various institutions of international law, the International Criminal Court (ICC) and its *ad hoc* tribunals, which are predominantly mentioned with regard to humanitarian intervention.

Another very inclusive theme is 'development'. Applicable topics included conditions (poverty, famine or health related issues for instance), development (or underdevelopment) of various spheres of economic or social life: socioeconomic or socio-political, economic or industrial (trade relations included) and technological development dynamics. Where they were introduced as factors impacting on development, democratisation, economic liberalization, modernisation and globalisation were also grouped under development. However, the indication would more likely occur in combination with 'governance'. Inequality and marginalisation was (not necessarily, but mostly) grouped under development, as there were no articles dealing with these topics in isolation, thus not warranting their inclusion as themes in and of themselves.

'Governance' was defined in chapter 1 as "the way in which order is imposed in [a] domain". The reason why this and not other themes were discussed prior to this section is due to its centrality to the field of IR. Not surprisingly thus, this is the most prevalent theme, because of its relevance to and thus successful combination with any of the other themes. Governance is seldom discussed in isolation, though this does occur in the more theoretical articles. Globalisation as well as regional integration or cooperation were labeled as governance. Governance also pertains to the more specific structures of rule, such as regime types, political systems or leadership styles. In this sense, rule by the many – democracy – would be classified as a form of governance. Liberalism as an ideology and in that an

¹⁹ The use of 'intra-continental' rather than 'interstate' conflict is intended to broaden application to the myriad of non-state entities involved in various African conflicts. These include, but are not limited to, rebel militia, international peace forces, ethnic groups and religious groups – most of which should be understood in a regional context rather than forces representative of any particular state.

organising principle is considered relevant to governance. As a result, a very prevalent subject combination is formed by the nexus between intervention and governance.

It almost seemed redundant to include 'health' as a theme due to the prominence of HIV/AIDS in the literature. For the odd occasion that malnutrition, mortality rates or tuberculosis received some attention, a broader term needed to denote the commonality of the theme. During the tabulation, however, HIV/AIDS was used as subject indication rather than health, clearly showing the relative importance of this disease *vis-à-vis* other health concerns.

'Diaspora' was used as theme label rather than 'migration', as the connotation is less with choice than with reality. Another option was 'mobility', but once again the connotation was too choice-oriented. Grouped here are the various forms of migration – immigration and emigration; articles concerning refugees or asylum; migrant labour and logically also any article dealing with xenophobia (though this always occurred in combination with conflict). Articles dealing with historic migratory patterns or the slave trade were not included as relevant to international relations unless the topic for discussion was a current IR issue caused by these historic events.

It is interesting that a continent facing such economic detriment would have such a booming shadow economy. 'Criminality' refers to any activity involving organised crime, syndicates, cartels or corruption. This would include international criminal networks involved in smuggling, human trafficking, substance distribution and other activities associated with the international shadow economy. Often in combination with 'conflict', this could also refer to rebellion, warlords and rebel militia. Corruption and blue collar crime, such as embezzlement and fraud, mostly concern the actions of government elite, but petty crime was also grouped under this heading. This was mostly coupled with 'development' for articles dealing with for example the impact of crime on the tourism industry. Articles dealing with the efficacy of armed forces or policing was also grouped under criminality.

'Entity' refers to definitional issues of group classification, including territorial integrity and border disputes, ethnicity and identity politics. By far the most prevalent concern in this category concerns the African state. 'Scholarship' as subject could be further subdivided into theoretical contentions, methodological contentions or research. For purposes of tabulation they were grouped together, however.

Very reliant on indication of scope, 'relations' encompass a wide range of entities and spheres of interaction. Each of the intercontinental relations with the major powers was regarded as a theme in and of itself, including US-Africa relations, UK-Africa relations, EU-Africa relations, France-Africa relations and China-Africa relations. Intra-continental relations, trade relations and relations with NGOs or multinational corporations were occasionally grouped under relations, unless the article leaned more towards interventionism.

3.2.2. DOMINANT THEMES AND SUBJECT COMPLEXES

Figure 2 provides a summary of the dominance statistic for themes. More than one theme was often identified per article. Although themes were tabulated and totals calculated irrespective of whether they occurred in the same article, presenting a statistic in terms of total themes would be irrelevant. As such the percentage totals in figure 2 were calculated as percentage of total articles and do not amount to 100 percent. Governance is ranked first with 31,7 percent of all African IR content dealing therewith, followed by intervention (27,1 percent), relations (23,9 percent), development (23,2 percent) and conflict (23 percent). Entity, scholarship and resources are considered by 16,6 percent, 12,3 percent and 10,5 percent of articles respectively, with criminality at 8,5 percent and diaspora and HIV/AIDS both at 5,9 percent.

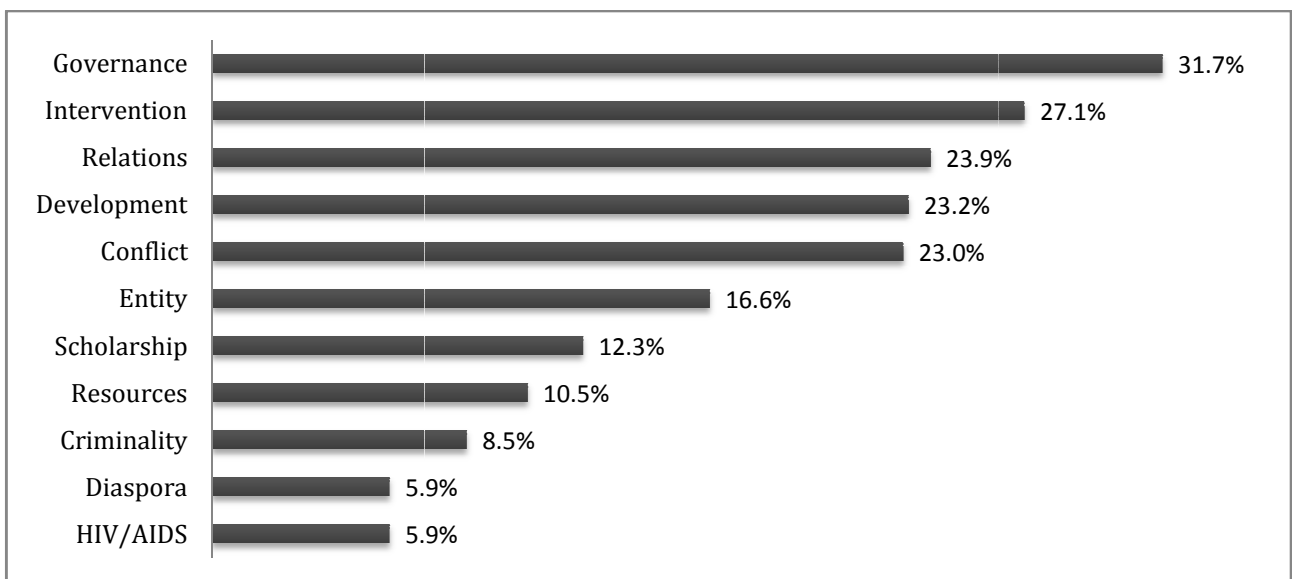


Figure 1: Theme prevalence as percentage of total African IR articles

However, the relative importance ascribed to a topic by the respective journal tiers differ to quite an extent. Figure 3 provides an illustration of the variation among journal tiers for the more prevalent themes. Table 2 provides a summary of theme prevalence as percentage total of African IR content per journal tier.

The three tiers agree to an extent on the importance of governance in African IR. Governance is the most salient issue in the international journals (37,6 percent of articles), followed by conflict (32,1 percent) and entity (25,5 percent) (figure 3). Development is the most prevalent theme in the Third World tier, followed by governance and then scholarship (figure 4). This result has remained constant since Bangura and Fenyo's (2000) study, during which development was also considered the most important topic for discussion by *JTWS* authors. Intervention is the most prevalent theme in African journals, with relations and governance following in that order (figure 5).

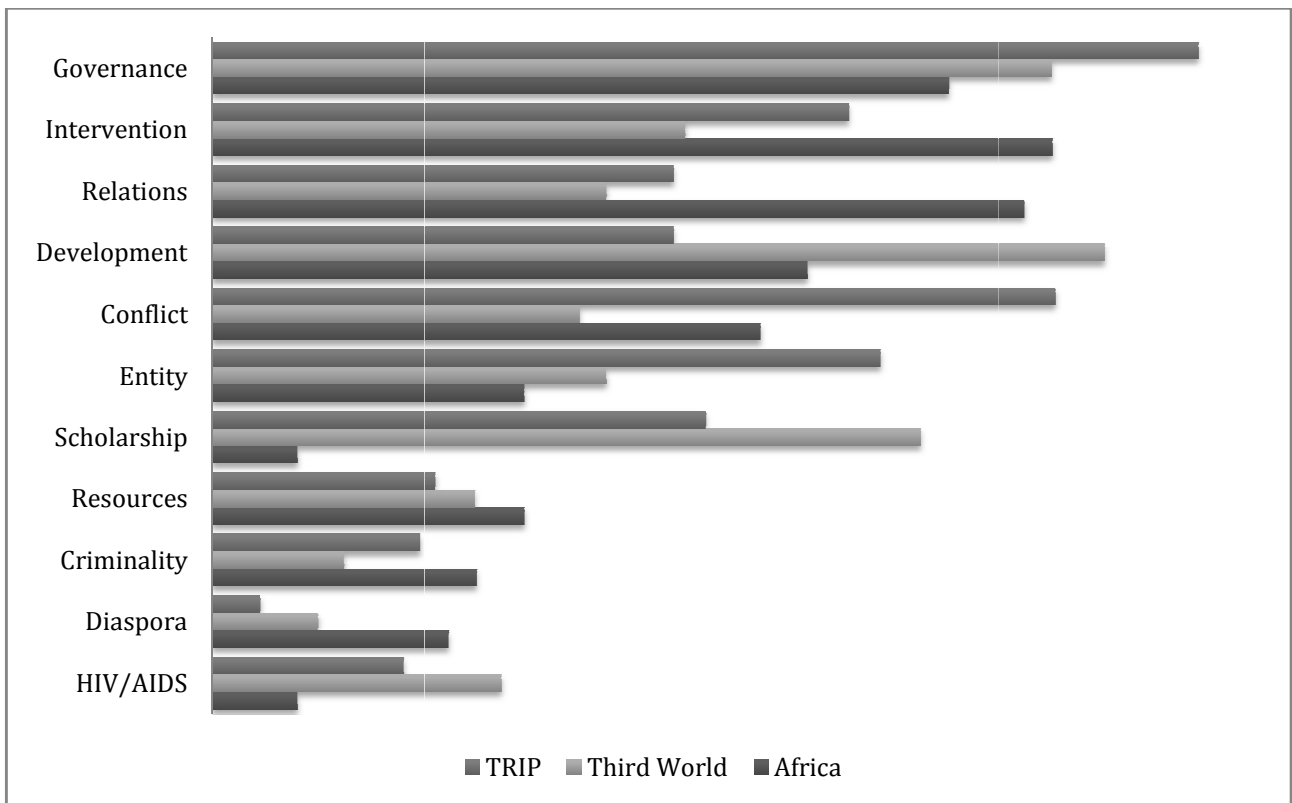


Figure 2: Theme prevalence per journal tier

Table 4: Theme prevalence per journal tier

THEME	TOTAL %	TRIP %	3RD WORLD %	AFRICA %
Governance	31,7	37,6	32,0	28,1
Intervention	27,1	24,2	18,0	32,0
Relations	23,9	17,6	15,0	30,9
Development	23,2	17,6	34,0	22,7
Conflict	23,0	32,1	14,0	20,9
Entity	16,6	25,5	15,0	11,9
Scholarship	12,3	18,8	27,0	3,2
Resources	10,5	8,5	10,0	11,9
Criminality	8,5	7,9	5,0	10,1
HIV/AIDS	5,9	7,3	11,0	3,2
Diaspora	5,9	1,8	4,0	9,0

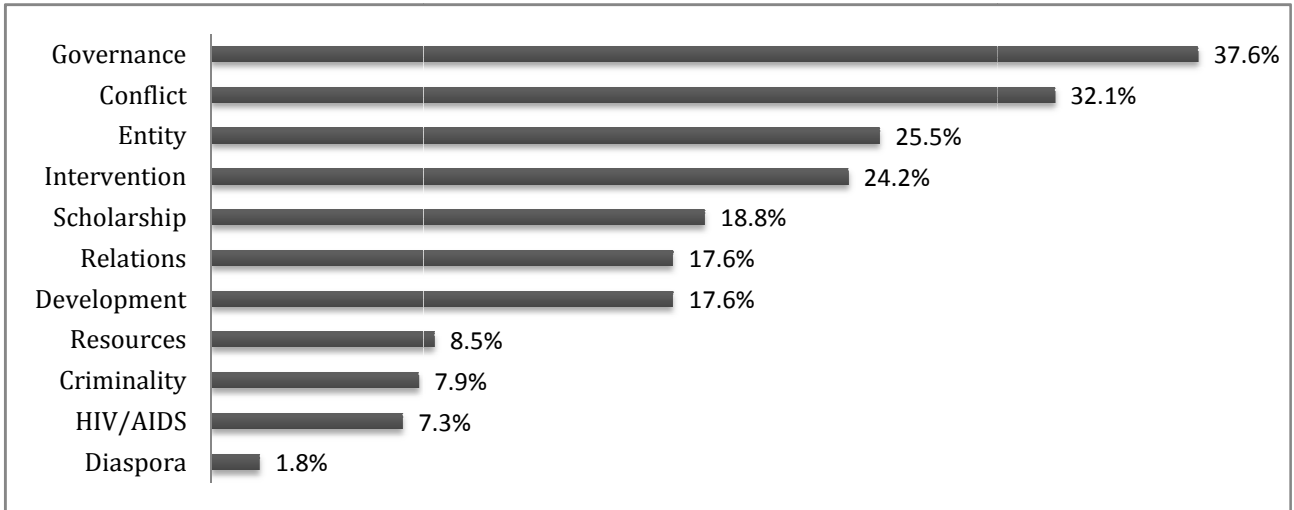


Figure 3: Theme prevalence for international journals

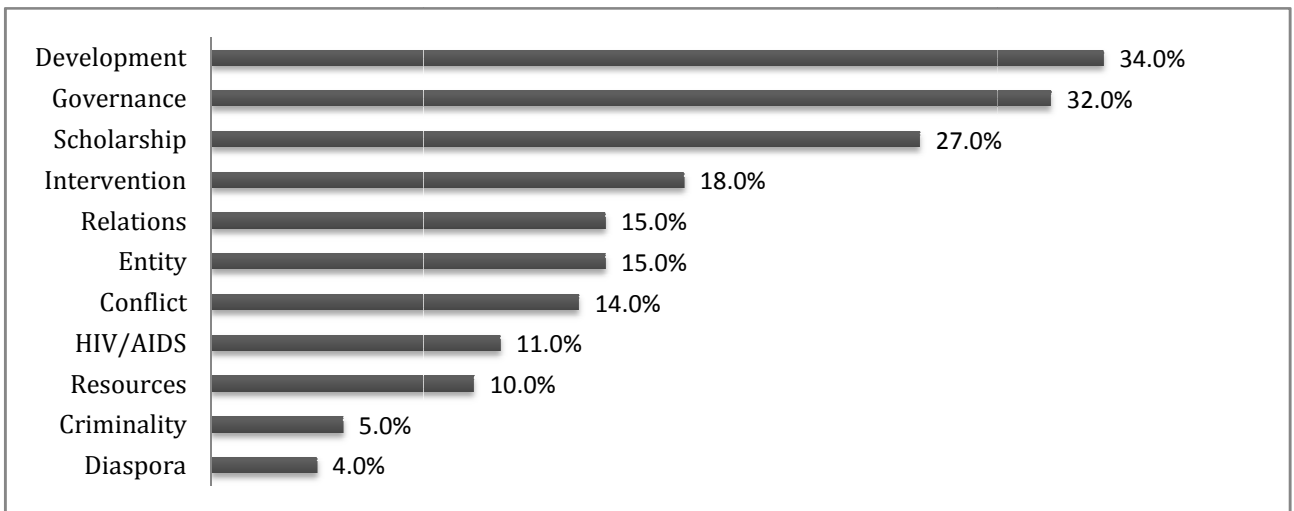


Figure 4: Theme prevalence for Third World journals

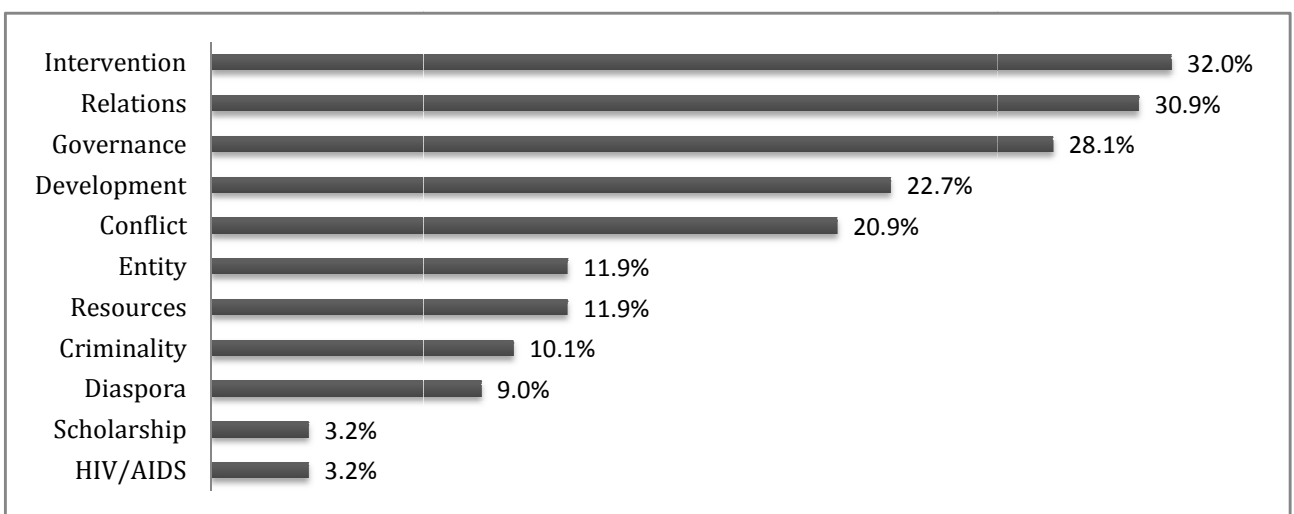


Figure 5: Theme prevalence for African journals

Governance and intervention are the most common themes with which subject complexes are formed. For governance, the most common combination is formed with development, but intervention,

scholarship and governance/entity combinations are also very common. In addition to its nexus with governance mentioned above, intervention is often coupled with relations, conflict and development. The top ten most common subject complexes are provided in table 5.

Table 5: Ten most prevalent subject complexes

SUBJECT COMPLEXES	ARTICLE
Governance/development	40
Governance/intervention	36
Intervention/relations	34
Intervention/conflict	31
Governance/scholarship	30
Entity/conflict	27
Relations/development	24
Intervention/development	23
Governance/entity	20
Entity/scholarship	20

Relations can be subdivided into the categories summarised in table 4, African relations are further subdivided into international, continental, regional, multilateral and bilateral categories, Continental relations feature most prominently with 14 articles, These include four articles about the African Union (AU), four about the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and five about South African foreign policy. Interestingly, US-Africa relations is a more popular topic than China-Africa relations, but at one article the margin is insignificant.

The US and China are of equal importance in the African tier, both with 18 articles considering. However, the Third World journals seem relatively uninterested in either, awarding both three articles. The TRIP journals prefer US-Africa relations (seven articles) to China-Africa relations (three), determining US-Africa relations as the most commonly discussed African affiliation. UK-Africa relations is valued more by the international journals at seven than by either the third world (three) or African tiers (five). Other relations include France-Africa, EU-Africa and Japan-Africa to a lesser extent, and also one article on Cuba-Africa relations and another on Soviet-Africa relations.

Table 6: Dominant relations

RELATIONS	PREVALENCE
Continental African Relations	50
<i>Continental</i>	13
<i>International</i>	11
<i>Regional</i>	11
<i>Bilateral</i>	10
<i>Multilateral</i>	4
US-Africa	16
China-Africa	24
EU-Africa	11

France-Africa	5
UK-Africa	5
Japan-Africa	2
Canada-Africa	1
China-India-Africa	1
China-US-Africa	1
Cuba-Africa	1
EU-US-Africa	1
Soviet-Africa	1

3.2.3. DISCUSSION

The relative importance ascribed to conflict in Africa by the international journals, considering it only ranks fifth in the African journals and seventh in the Third World, is telling. In the African tier, conflict is outranked by not only intervention, but also relations, governance and development. The ongoing supremacy of development in the Third World tier also stands in stark contrast to the international conflict placement, in addition preferring governance, scholarship, intervention, relations and entity to the topic.

This finding highlights a contention voiced by Anyaoku (1999) that the international community's preoccupation with conflict is averting attention from the root causes thereof. Interestingly, the African tier's intervention focus, of which a large portion constitutes peace-operations, notably by the UN, but also the US and to a lesser extent other foreign militia, presents the inverse in many respects. Ongoing discourse on African conflict internationally justifies ongoing foreign presence and intervention on the continent. The destabilising effects of such interventionism thus becomes the focal point of African scholarship, but enters the international discourse only to the extent that a fourth place be awarded.

Further highlighting the disparate views with regards to conflict in Africa, the most prevalent subject complex in the African tier is intervention/conflict with 38 percent of articles dealing with conflict in African journals forming a nexus with intervention. This is only true of 17 percent of conflict articles in international journals. Furthermore, whereas intervention is the only prominent combination with conflict in African journals, the second and third most prominent complexes in the international tier are conflict/entity and conflict/scholarship.

The fact that conflict/entity is a prevalent topic in the international tier is another interesting omission from the African and Third World tiers. Like conflict, entity as theme is only particularly prevalent in international journals – ranking third with 25,5 percent of articles considering some form of state problematique (-building, -failure, -opposition) or alternative (politically effective entities) – illustrating the state-centrism maintained by the international IR scholarship. In the African tier, entity forms no significant complexes with other themes and concerns only 11,9 percent of articles in total.

The same is true of the Third World tier which, like the African journals, awards it attention only to the amount to rank it sixth. However, entity/scholarship does constitute one of the Third World tier's only noteworthy complexes along with governance/development. This tier seems generally less concerned with the links between variables than the theoretical backdrop of those variables in isolation.

The African tier's second place 'relations' considered relative to the 'intervention' first place, indicates a general outward-looking tendency with regards to Africa's perceived problems as well as its likely solutions. A topic cluster is formed regarding relevant topics in this tier, with the higher ranking themes also achieving an oligopoly over the higher ranking subject complexes. The most prevalent intervention/conflict complex in this sense constitutes an anomalie, with intervention, relations, development and governance merging in various dynamics to constitute those at all worthy of mention subsequently.

The variation in theme prevalence and preoccupation with certain themes *vis-à-vis* others amongst the journal tiers highlights the necessity to consider the origin of the contributions as well as the influences and interests that help shape them. With this in mind, the next section provides the dominance statistic for authorship.

3.3. AUTHOR DOMINANCE

3.3.1. ASSIGNMENT OF WEIGHTS AND CALCULATION OF DOMINANCE SCORES

Single article publishing authors are by far in the majority with 444 of the 529 authors identified in the research publishing only once for the period considered. The remaining 85 authors published with count frequency displayed in figure 4: 56 authors published two articles; 17 three; six authors published four articles; two published five; with three authors publishing seven articles and one extreme outlier, Ian Taylor, publishing 16. Ian Taylor is thus ranked first in terms of count, followed by Nana K. Poku, Chris Alden and Paul D. Williams in a joint second place, both with seven published articles. Another tie in the fifth place between Kevin C. Dunn and Jędrzej George Frynas, both with five articles published, thus amounts to a top six in terms of count (see table 6).

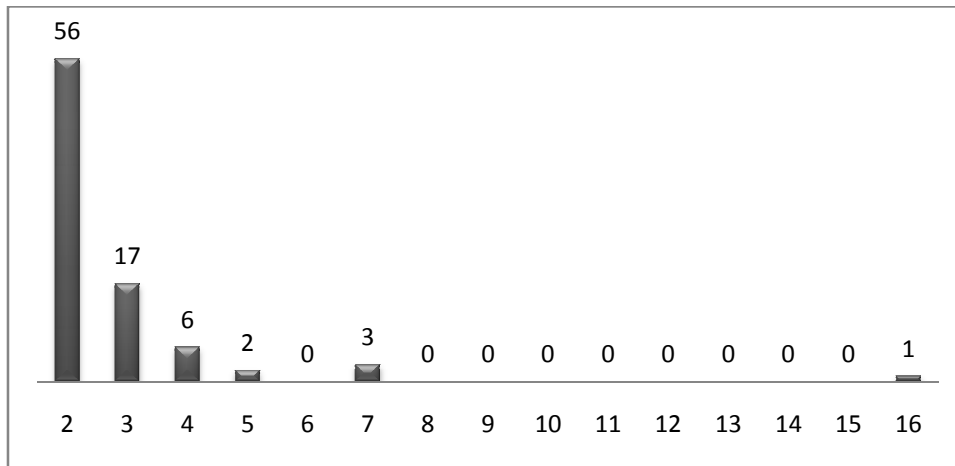


Figure 6: Frequency distribution of article counts

Table 7: Highest ranking authors in terms of article count

RANK	AUTHOR	COUNT
1	Ian Taylor	16
2	Nana K. Poku	7
	Chris Alden	7
	Paul D. Williams	7
5	Kevin C. Dunn	5
5	Jedrzej George Frynas	5

However, closer inspection of the completed dataset identified two troublesome tendencies: firstly, and prevalent among the top ranking authors, is co-authorship. Many authors, and especially those in the upper ranks in terms of count, did not publish a single article alone. Taking as an example the joint fifth place of Jedrzej Frynas and Kevin Dunn: Frynas published five articles, but only wrote two of them alone, collaborating with a co-author on two articles and with two co-authors on the remaining article. Dunn, on the other hand, wrote all five of his articles alone. Judging co-authors among non-collaborating authors with the same article count, would award co-authors an unfair advantage, considering the relative effort required from each for the same credit.

Secondly, many authors boasting two published articles had both articles published in the same journal. Such an author would not have featured in this study at all had it not been for the inclusion of that specific publication. The tendency is continued among the higher ranking authors. In total, 38 of the 85 authors – 45 percent – with two or more published articles, published twice in the same journal. Of these, five published three times in the same journal and two published as many as four articles in the same journal. To illustrate, the shared second place in terms of count is filled by Paul Williams and Chris Alden. However, Williams published three articles in the same journal and two in another, which brings his journal count to four; whereas Alden also duplicated two journals, but published only twice in each, thus publishing in a total of five journals.

To compensate for this, dominance was not calculated as purely a function of article count, but rather as a weighted score in order to separate the ranks. The formula was designed to penalise co-

authorship, but more importantly, to reward exposure. Regardless of the implications for patronage of the ability to have consecutive articles printed in the same publication, the practice ultimately acts to confine exposure of that author to subscribers of only one particular publication. In contrast, an author publishing multiple works in multiple journals expands his reader-base with every subsequent publication. Qualifying the definition of dominance with the principle of exposure had implications for the scoring of the three different tiers of journals as well. Logically, the international journals would enjoy exposure to a broader audience than journals focused on Third World affairs, which in turn would trump those dealing exclusively with African content. According to these broad principles, scores and penalties could be allocated as follows:

An article published in an international journal would award the author 100 points. Scaled to the relative audience of each tier, Third World journals would be credited with 75 and African journals with 50 points. To compensate for co-authorship, this initial score was multiplied by a percentage amount representing his relative contribution, judging by the number of co-authors to an article: two authors would allow credit to the amount of 50 percent of the total potential score as according to journal of publication; three authors would allow credit to the amount of 33 percent, whereas four or more authors would bring the total down to only 25 percent of the original. After the co-authorship penalisation, the article is further penalised by 30 percent if it is the second article published in a publication; and by 70 percent if the third (and thereafter) article. As co-authorship would influence the amount of score these percentage totals would represent, articles were considered in chronological order.

Table 7 provides an outline of the scoring system with the potential scores after penalties for each of the journal tiers per article. The grey section represents the maximum score for an article per journal type – an article published without co-authors and with no prior articles published in that same journal. After calculating the scores per article, the scores per author are summated to become that author's dominance score, according to which he/she is ranked.

Table 8: Calculation of score per article

		ARTICLE PER PUBLICATION			
		FIRST: x 1	SECOND: x 0.7	THIRD (+): x 0.3	
CO-AUTHORS	NONE: x 1	100	70	30	TRIP
		75	52.5	22.5	3RD WORLD
		50	35	15	AFRICAN
	ONE: x 0.5	50	35	15	TRIP
		37.5	26.25	11.25	3RD WORLD
		25	17.5	7.5	AFRICAN
	TWO: x 0.33	33	23.1	9.9	TRIP
		24.75	17.325	7.425	3RD WORLD
		16.5	11.55	4.95	AFRICAN
	THREE (+): x 0.25	25	17.5	7.5	TRIP
		18.75	13.125	5.625	3RD WORLD
		12.25	8.75	3.675	AFRICAN

3.3.2. DOMINANCE STATISTIC

Table 8 lists the 25 highest ranking authors with their dominance scores and publication counts. As compared to the pure count ranking, this method differentiated more sufficiently. Although joint ranks do occur (a five-way split in 12th place, a four-way split in 21st, and two-way splits on the 19th and 25th positions consecutively), it remains far superior to the count rank. The count rank would have constituted a top five as outlined above, followed by a six-way split in seventh place (authors with 4 published articles), a seventeen-way split in 13th place (authors with 3 published articles), a 57-way split in 30th place (two articles) and a tail of 444, all sharing the 86th rank. As such, the scored ranking is regarded authoritative. Where authors with differing article counts achieved the same scores, however, the counts determined ranking amongst them.

Table 9: 25 highest ranking authors in terms of dominance score

RANK	AUTHOR	SCORE	COUNT
1	Ian Taylor	640, 5	16
2	Kevin C. Dunn	402, 5	5
3	Cameron G. Thies	400	4
4	Nana K. Poku	368, 65	5
5	Chris Alden	290	7
6	Paul D. Williams	277, 5	7
7	Graham Harrison	275	4
8	William Brown	235	4
9	Branwen Gruffydd Jones	225	3
10	Daniel N. Posner	223, 1	3
11	Catherine Boone	220	3
12	Lauren B. Landau	200	3
	Peter J. Schraeder	200	3
14	Jean-Paul Azam	200	2
	Douglas Lemke	200	2
	Ngaire Woods	200	2
17	Alex de Waal	189, 95	4
18	Arthur A. Goldsmith	185	3
19	Rita Abrahamsen	175	3
20	Scarlett Cornelissen	175	2
21	Kathryn Firmin-Sellers	170	2
	Alex Vines	170	2
	Carolyn M. Warner	170	2
	Joseph Wright	170	2
25	Emmanuel Akyeampong	160	3
	Sarah Bracking	160	3

Ian Taylor holds an uncontested top spot with an article count of 16 and dominance score of 640, 5. Kevin Dunn moves up to second place with a score of 402, 5 with a new addition to the top five moving up from the seventh to the third place with a score of 400, Cameron G. Thies. The three-way split, formerly in second place, become differentiated and move down to place Nana Poku fourth (score: 368, 65), Chris Alden fifth (score: 290) and moving Paul Williams out of the top five into a sixth position. Jędrzej Frynas moves down to the 36th percentile with a score of 134 due to his publishing all five articles in African journals, furthermore publishing three articles in the same journal (*African Affairs*) and also co-authoring on three of them, as discussed above. A concise biography of each of the top five authors is provided in chapter 4.

The ranking was cross-checked for validity using *Publish or Perish* (Harzing, 2010), a program using Google Scholar as data source and Hirsch's h-index to calculate an author's cumulative impact. Various associated or supplementary metrics to the h-index are also calculated. Of these, the following were considered relevant to the study: cites/author; g-index and h_{i-norm} .

Hirsch's h-index can be defined as follows:

"A scientist has index h if h of his/her N_p papers have at least h citations each, and the other (N_p-h) papers have no more than h citations each," (Harzing, 2010).

The creator of *Publish or Perish* as part of the introductory passage of her website states why the method is superior to that used by ISI: it "combines an assessment of quantity (number of papers) and quality (impact, or citations to these papers)," (Glänzel as cited by Harzing, 2010) to rate a scholar, as opposed to purely citation rate (thus quality in the above conception) as used by ISA. However, the program is far from foolproof. The website lists underrepresentation of author impact due to the limited ability of the index to access citations or chapters in books, or the relative size of the field of enquiry (Harzing, 2010), as the only salient issues. However, underrepresentation is by far not the most problematic feature of the program.

It is appropriate that the creator so prominently presents the program as a tool for Curriculum Vitae (CV) enhancement in job seeking (Harzing, 2010), because if viewed in isolation the results are more than likely to over exaggerate impact factor. Although it is admittedly a positive that the program does not discriminate heavily in terms of second names or initials, search results are on average too sensitive to be reliable. Ian Taylor, Kevin Dunn and Chris Alden had more than one near doppelgangers in the academic cadres. The program makes no attempt to filter for these or even to order the information in terms of best match. Often distinguishing between the authors based on subject material is problematic. To illustrate, Taylor's initial score as calculated using 'I Taylor' as search term, considered work by Isaac Taylor, Irene Taylor, Iain Taylor and Imogen Taylor²⁰. Even more confusing and time-consuming, the following scholars had to be identified and removed manually: Ian Taylor, assistant director of music at Downe House School; dr Ian Taylor, senior lecturer in public policy at Aston University; Ian Taylor, J.D. candidate at the Tulan University School of Law and prof Ian Taylor, retired criminologist. For some of the disciplines, the article titles have a tendency to be very similar. Ultimately filtering through all the mistaken matches makes for a severely laborious process.

Alternatively, the program could produce an undervalued impact score, but for reasons not at all related to the size of the academic field. Articles are often duplicated in the listing, resulting in an exaggerated article count and thus undervalued citation rate, hence lower impact factor. Even if the user had the time and the inclination to attempt a thorough filtration of content, the results are still unlikely to be reliable due to Google Scholar's results limit of 1000 matches (Google Scholar – a new data source for citation analysis, 2010). Google Scholar also does not seem to discriminate between academic and non-academic material. In addition to the duplicates, non-academic material that was

²⁰ These had to be determined through a different search engine as the actual article had to be found to determine authorship and cannot be accessed through *Publish or Perish*.

manually removed from the various authors' listings included a transcription of a phone conversation, a review for a fashion line, two letters of congratulations, a notification of promotion and a eulogy.

Regardless, the h-index findings do support the ranking of the top five authors to an extent. The results and subsequent rankings for the selected metrics are provided in Table 9.

Table 10: *Publish or Perish* metric results

RANK	CITES/AUTHOR	H-INDEX	G-INDEX	H _{I,NORM}
1	Taylor (226,5)	Taylor (10)	Taylor (12)	Taylor (10)
2	Dunn (115,5)	Thies (6)	Thies (9)	Thies (6)
3	Poku (94,17)	Alden (6)	Alden (7)	Alden (5)
4	Thies (80)	Dunn (5)	Dunn (6)	Dunn (5)
5	Alden (67,5)	Poku (4)	Poku (5)	Williams (4)
6	Frynas (61,17)	Frynas (4)	Frynas (4)	Frynas (4)
7	Williams (49)	Williams (4)	Williams (4)	Poku (3)

Ian Taylor remains in the top spot for all the indices. The specific order of the ranking for the rest of the top five varies, however all but the h_{I,norm}-index support the author inclusion, if not the specific author placement. Unfortunately the validity of the scores does not warrant much further discussion, as many of the articles that were included in the survey were not found by the program and where there were duplications, discarding the duplicate also meant discarding those references that were tied to it, as these could not be transferred to the correct version for citation.

3.4. SUMMARY

Although African IR fares well as a component of total African content, Africa as subject in IR does not. Dominant themes vary amongst journal tiers: African journals favour intervention, Third World journals development and the international tier, governance and conflict. The dominant themes overall are governance, intervention, development, relations and conflict. The five highest ranking authors are Ian Taylor, Kevin C. Dunn, Cameron G. Thies, Nana K. Poku and Chris Alden. The following chapter takes these five authors as its focus.

Chapter 4: PUBLISHING IN IR - AUTHORSHIP AND OWNERSHIP

This chapter will provide a general overview of the findings of the dominance statistic and concise elaboration on the five top ranking authors, including articles published during the relevant period and academic orientation or area of interest. This is followed by a summary and analysis of their academic and professional affiliations which will serve as base for an evaluation of the broader patterns gate keeping in the field.

4.1. AUTHORSHIP AND NETWORKING

4.1.1. GENERAL OVERVIEW

Sources are not forthcoming about any biographical information other than purely academic detail. This is probably because most of the authors (including those of higher rank) would not have featured on the internet at all were it not for their mention on the web pages of the academic institutions to which they are affiliated. The omission of nationality from the information pieces of all of the above authors places emphasis on the obvious Africanist majority in the group. Although this is probably not intentional on the part of academia, the result is that the question of whether a scholar is an African or an Africanist becomes completely racialised.

Of the top 25, only three authors are considered African, with two however diasporic. These include Nana K. Poku (fourth) and Emmanuel Akyeampong (25th) – both from Ghana (ColorQWorld, 2006) – as well as South African Scarlett Cornelissen (20th), currently professor in the department of Political Science at the University of Stellenbosch (University of Stellenbosch, 2010) in South Africa (SA). Cornelissen is the only African still active in Africa. Both Poku and Akyeampong are lecturing at Western academic institutions – Akyeampong at the University of Harvard in the US and Poku at the University of Bradford in the UK. With the exception thus of Cornelissen and also of Africanist Loren B. Landau (American) currently affiliated to the University of the Witwatersrand in SA (University of the Witwatersrand, s.a.) the 25 most prolific authors on Africa in IR are writing about, but not from Africa. But for New Zealand born Ngaire Woods, the other Africanists in the top 25 are all either (with a degree of uncertainty) American or British and are all employed by British or American academic institutions – including Woods, in the UK at the University of Oxford (2010). This finding is consistent with the contention of Nyamnjoh (2004) that the literature representing Africa is not produced by Africans or even on the continent.

The only author enjoying marginally decent internet exposure is Ian Taylor. This is less a result of his impact on the field of IR than on his willingness to market himself, placing his own curriculum vitae

on networking sites. He is for instance the only author among the top 25 registered on Academia.edu (2010a) – a networking tool that allows academics to follow each other’s work by creating a web pages on which they can share their research and research interests, calculate statistics on article views and downloads and also determine which keywords are used to search for them on Google. None of the authors are available on any of the biographical databases to which the University of Stellenbosch has access and most of them seem to have passed over such networking tools as Facebook (2010) – Ian Taylor again the only representative – or LinkedIn (2010) on which only three authors from the top 25 have profiles. LinkedIn is a professional networking site, not specifically aimed at academics.

4.1.2. BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY AND ARTICLES PUBLISHED

Africanist **Ian Taylor** is currently Professor at the School of International Relations of the University of St. Andrews, UK. His profile on Academia.edu (2010b) served as primary biographical source, as it also provided a link to his full CV (Taylor, 2010). He lists his research interests as “development and governance; international political economy; natural resources security; comparative regionalisms; Afro-Asian relations; Africa’s international relations [and] Chinese foreign policy” (Academia.edu, 2010b), as well as South-South relations (Taylor, 2010).

These interests are clearly reflected in his articles. The most dominant theme is relations – China-Africa specifically, but also continental African relations and UK/EU-Africa relations – with governance and development featuring either overtly or covertly in most, followed by conflict and scholarship. Sixteen articles were included in the survey:

China’s oil diplomacy in Africa. *International Affairs*. October 2006. 82(5): 937-959.

Sino-African relations and the problem of human rights. *African Affairs*. January 2008. 107(426): 63-87.

Explaining the rise of ‘human rights’ in analyses of Sino-African relations. *Review of African Political Economy*. March 2008. 35(115): 59-71 (with Breslin, S.)

Governance and relations between the European Union and Africa: the case of NEPAD. *Third World Quarterly*. February 2010. 31(1): 51-67.

The limits of engagement: British foreign policy and the crisis in Zimbabwe. *International Affairs*. July 2002. 78(3): 547-565 (with Williams, P.)

‘Advice is judged by results, not by intentions’: why Gordon Brown is wrong about Africa. *International Affairs*. March 2005. 81(2): 299-310.

Multilateralism in South Africa’s foreign policy: the search for a critical rationale. *Global Governance*. January/March 2000. 6(1): 43-60 (with Nel, P. & Van der Westhuizen, J.)

South African foreign policy and the Great Lakes crisis: African Renaissance meets *Vagabondage Politique?* *African Affairs*. April 2001. 100(399): 265-286 (with Williams, P.)

Conflict in Central Africa: clandestine networks and regional/global configurations. *Review of African Political Economy*. March 2003. 30(95): 45-55.

Globalization and regionalization in Africa: reactions to attempts at neo-liberal regionalism. *Review of International Political Economy*. May 2003. 10(2): 310-330.

'New Africa', globalisation and the confines of elite reformism: 'getting the rhetoric right', getting the strategy wrong. *Third World Quarterly*. February 2002. 23(1): 163-180 (with Nel, P.)

Commentary: the New Partnership for Africa's Development and the Zimbabwe elections: implications and prospects for the future. *African Affairs*. July 2002. 101(404): 403-412.

Blind spots in analyzing Africa's place in world politics. *Global Governance*. October/December 2004. 10(4): 411-417.

Globalisation studies and the developing world: making international political economy truly global. *Third World Quarterly*. October 2005. 26(7): 1025-1042.

Transmission belt for transnational capital or facilitator for development? Problematising the role of the state in the Maputo Development Corridor. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. December 2001. 39(4): 675-695 (with Söderbaum, F.)

Not forever: Botswana, conflict diamonds and the Bushmen. *African Affairs*. April 2003. 102(407): 261-283 (with Mokhawa, G.)

Areas of specialisation for American Africanist, **Kevin C. Dunn**, include IR theory and practice, American foreign policy and African politics and development – specifically security and development of the Great Lakes region, comprising Congo, Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and the DRC (Hobart and William Smith Colleges, 2007a). His body of work is largely theoretical with a qualitative research orientation. Sources used to compile information include the Hobart and William Smith Colleges (2007a; 2007b) website, as well as personal correspondence – his CV (Dunn, 2010), forwarded on request, serving as primary source. Authoring all five articles alone, Dunn ranks second. Articles published include:

Tales from the dark side: Africa's challenge to international relations theory. *Journal of Third World Studies*. Spring 2000. 17(1): 69-90.

Imagining Mobutu's Zaïre: the production and consumption of identity in international relations. *Millennium*. June 2001. 30(2): 235-258.

Fear of a black planet: anarchy, anxieties and postcolonial travel to Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. April 2004. 25(3): 489-499.

Contested state spaces: African national parks and the state. *European Journal of International Relations*. September 2009. 15(3): 423-446.

'Sons of the soil' and contemporary state making: autochthony, uncertainty and political violence in Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. February 2009. 30(1): 113-127.

Cameron G. Thies is an American currently holding the position of Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science of the University of Iowa. He is also Director of the Honours Program, Director of undergraduate studies, B.S. Program Advisor and Advisor to Interns (University of Iowa, 2010). Though sympathetic to the African cause, Thies could more aptly be called a 'Third Worldist'

than an Africanist. His academic interests include Latin America in addition to Africa (specifically SSA), conflict and regional security, development, international political economy, state building and international relations theory. His contributions are mixed in terms of approach – qualitative and quantitative, with a focus on scholarship, theory or methodology. The primary biographical source used to compile information on Thies was his online CV (Thies, 2010), accessible via his staff profile on the University of Iowa website (University of Iowa, 2008; University of Iowa, 2010), which also served as secondary source. With four articles authored alone and published in international journals, Cameron Thies is placed third:

Explaining zones of negative peace in interstate relations: the construction of a West African Lockean culture of anarchy. *European Journal of International Relations*. December 2009. 15(4): 391-415.

State building, interstate and intrastate rivalry: a study of post-colonial developing country extractive efforts, 1975-2000. *International Studies Quarterly*. March 2004. 48(1): 53-72.

The political economy of state building in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Politics*. August 2007. 96(3): 716-731.

National design and state-building in sub-Saharan Africa. *World Politics*. October 2009. 61(4): 623-669.

Diasporic African, **Nana K. Poku**, is the John Ferguson Professor of African Studies at the University of Bradford's Peace Studies Department. He is also a Special Advisor to the government of Ghana on Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) and health issues and has led 14 appraisal missions in 11 different African countries in association with the UN, with whom he held two positions – Senior Policy Advisor to the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and Director of Research for the United Nations' Secretary General's Commission on HIV/AIDS and Governance in Africa (UN-CHGA) – prior to his employ at the University of Bradford (University of Bradford, 2005).

Besides his affiliation with the government of Ghana, Poku reveals no alternative educational or other connection with Africa. A CV and additional information was requested from him as well as from the University of Bradford's information desk, but neither has been forthcoming. The only available sources were his staff profile on the website of the University of Bradford (2007) and contributing author information from Palgrave Macmillan (2010), and neither mentions his place of birth. His nationality is thus assumed to be Ghanaian, interestingly also home to the only other black African author to make the top 25, Emmanuel Akyeampong. This is at odds with the findings of the Global Research Report on Africa (Adams, King & Hook, 2010) which does not identify Ghana as particularly intellectually active. On the other hand, it could explain why both Akyeampong and Poku are currently teaching at academic institutions outside of Africa.

Geographically, Poku's specialty area is listed as Sub-Saharan Africa and the Global South. His research interests include African politics, economy and society; global social policy and governance with a focus on HIV/AIDS; human security with a focus on poverty, migration and health; post-conflict reconstruction, focusing on employment and security; and African regional organisations (University of Bradford, 2007). The UN has been his most prominent benefactor in terms of research funding, and through them he has found his academic niche in HIV/AIDS governance and impact. Articles include:

The socioeconomic context of Africa's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. *Review of International Studies*. October 2005. 31(3): 665-686 (with Freedman, J.)

Africa's AIDS crisis in context: 'how the poor are dying'. *Third World Quarterly*. April 2001. 22(2): 191-204.

Poverty, debt and Africa's HIV/AIDS crisis. *International Affairs*. July 2002. 78(3): 531-546.

The global AIDS fund: context and opportunity. *Third World Quarterly*. April 2002. 23(2): 283-298.

HIV/AIDS financing: a case for improving the quality and quantity of aid. *International Affairs*. March 2006. 82(2): 345-358.

Global health and the politics of governance: an introduction. *Third World Quarterly*. April 2002. 23(2): 191-195 (with Whiteside, A.)

Human security and development in Africa. *International Affairs*. November 2007. 83(6): 1155-1170 (with Renwick, N. and Porto, J.G.)

Chris Alden is currently a reader at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). The primary source for information on Alden was his CV (Alden, 2010), which was forwarded on request, with secondary sources his staff profile on the LSE (2009) website as well as the South African Institute of International Affairs' website (SAIIA, 2008). Information from this source was found to be outdated once the CV was available for comparison, however. His research interests include conflict and security in Southern Africa, foreign policy decision-making in transitional states and foreign policy analysis (Alden, 2010). Alternative formulations stress his interest in conflict, peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction (LSE, 2009). With seven articles, Chris Alden is fifth:

History and identity in the construction of China's Africa policy. *Review of African Political Economy*. March 2008. 35(115): 43-58 (with Alves, C.)

South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy: from reconciliation to ambiguity. *Review of African Political Economy*. June 2004. 31(100): 283-297 (with Le Pere, G.)

South Africa's economic relations with Africa: hegemony and its discontents. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. September 2005. 43(3): 367-392 (with Soko, M.)

The new diplomacy of the South: South Africa, Brazil, India and trilateralism. *Third World Quarterly*. October 2005. 26(7): 1077-1095 (with Vieira, M.A.)

From neglect to 'virtual engagement': the United States and its new paradigm for Africa. *African Affairs*. July 2000. 99(396): 355-371.

The chrysanthemum and the protea: reinventing Japanese-South African relations after apartheid. *African Affairs*. July 2002. 101(404): 365-386.

Let them eat cyberspace: Africa, the G8 and the digital divide. *Millennium*. December 2003. 43(3): 457-476.

4.1.3. NETWORKING AND AFFILIATION

The prevalence of co-authorship provides ample reason to view networking as an important feature of scholarship in IR, because collaboration is noted between scholars working at different academic institutions, often in different countries. Considering only those articles included in the study, table 10 provides a summary of author-collaboration among the top five. Note that the table does not mention Dunn or Thies, as they did not co-author any articles relevant to the study. However, Dunn is in fact among the most prolific co-authors and most active networkers, as will become clear in the subsequent sections.

Table 11: Summary of co-authors per author

IAN TAYLOR	NANA POKU	CHRIS ALDEN
S. Breslin	J. Freedman	C. Alves
P. Williams (2)	A. Whiteside	G. le Pere
P. Nel (2)	N. Renwick	M. Soko
J. van der Westhuizen	J.G. Porto	M.A. Vieira
F. Söderbaum		
G. Mokhawa		

4.1.3.1. ACADEMIC AFFILIATION

Table 11, 12 and 13 provide summaries of academic affiliation, professional affiliation and journal affiliation. Table 11 – academic affiliation – shows shared affiliations in grey, but reveals no particularly central academic institutions for networking purposes. Both Ian Taylor and Kevin Dunn have been affiliated to Dalhousie State University in Canada where Dunn completed his M.A. while employed as a teaching fellow at the institution for the period 1990-1991. Taylor taught a module called ‘Africa in the New Millennium’ to third/fourth year B.A. students in 2003 and also attended a workshop there in 2000. Taylor and Dunn also share affiliations with Mbarara State University of Science and Technology in Uganda where they both held/hold positions of Visiting Professor – Dunn currently and Taylor from 2005-2007. Taylor now remains a Friend of the Faculty. Dunn and Taylor also share affiliation with St. Andrews where Taylor is currently lecturing and Dunn joined their School of International Relations as a visiting scholar in 2009.

Another shared affiliation is between Dunn and Alden of Tufts University. Alden completed both his M.A. (1987) and Ph.D. (1993) through Tufts while Dunn was Adjunct Professor there five years later only (in 1998). Additionally, the two share affiliation with the University of London. Alden has been a board member at the Centre for African Studies of the University of London since 2002. Dunn has been invited for a talk by the Institute of Commonwealth Studies at the University of London

(2003). However, it is far more likely that this would have been through his co-editor for *Africa's Challenge to International Relations Theory*, Timothy Shaw, who was Director of the Institute for Common Wealth Studies at the time.

Of the top five, only Taylor, Alden and Dunn to an extent (visiting professor) have direct ties with African universities. The affiliation of both Dunn and Taylor with Mbarara has been mentioned. In addition, Taylor is currently Professor Extraordinary at the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa and has also lectured at the University of Botswana. Dunn has no further academic ties with African academic institutions. Neither Thies nor Poku have known academic affiliations with African institutions, but Chris Alden lectured at the University of Witwatersrand, SA between 1990 and 1999 and remains Research Associate to the University of Pretoria.

Table 12: Academic affiliation

	IAN TAYLOR	KEVIN DUNN	CAMERON THIES	NANA POKU	CHRIS ALDEN
WEST (US)	Dalhousie State University, Canada	Dalhousie State University, Canada	University of Iowa, US University of Missouri-Columbia, US		Tufts University, US
		Tufts University, US			Harvard University, US
		Davidson College, US Hobart and William Smith Colleges, US	Louisiana State University, US		Reed College, US
		Hartwick College, US	Arizona State University, US University of Nebraska-Lincoln, US		Cambridge University, US
		Boston University, US			Emmanuel College, US
AFRICA	University of Botswana	Boston College, US			
	University of Stellenbosch, SA Mbarara State University of Science and Technology, Uganda	Appalachian State University, US Mbarara State University of Science and Technology, Uganda			University of Pretoria, SA Witwatersrand University, SA
WEST (UK/EU)	University of Glasgow, UK	University of London, UK		University of Bradford, UK	University of London, UK
	University of St. Andrews, UK	University of St. Andrews, UK		Southampton University, UK	LSE, UK Ecole Normale Superieure (Cachan), France
	De Montfort University, UK University of Gøthenburg, Sweden	College of the Holy Cross, UK St. Anselm College, UK Fafo University, Norway			
		Université Paris, France Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium			
EAST	University of Hong Kong, China Chinese University of Hong Kong Renmin University of China Zhejiang Normal University, China				University of Tokyo, Japan Ritsumeikan University, Japan

4.1.3.2. SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS

Once again, the top three share affiliations in professional societal membership (see table 12). The ISA is confirmed as the alleged flagship organisation of the discipline, with three of the top five belonging thereto. In addition, Dunn and Thies share memberships in the American Political Science Association; Dunn and Taylor in the British International Studies Association; and Chris Alden joins in with shared affiliation with Taylor to the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA).

In general, membership to African societies and organisations are more common than academic affiliation. However, this is only true of the three authors identified in the previous section as having ties with African universities at all. Nana Poku holds no known memberships to societies or associations whatsoever, and Thies only holds memberships to US-based organisations. Apart from Alden and Taylor's SAIIA memberships, no further shared memberships are noted.

What Poku lacks in memberships, he atones for in political affiliation. He is affiliated with the United Nations (UN) through the ECA, the UNDP and the UN-CHGA. This affiliation he shares with Taylor, who also worked for the UN as part of the UN-HCR prior to his career in academia. Poku is also affiliated with the EU (shared with Alden), the World Bank, the OECD and the World Health Organisation, to all of which he relates in advisory capacity. He is also associated with DFID's five-year research grants programs. Other political affiliation includes that of Taylor with the Jiangsu Province of China as Advisor on African Affairs. A similar affiliation exists between Poku and the government of Ghana to whom he is Special Advisor on PRSP and health issues.

Table 13: Professional Affiliation

	IAN TAYLOR	KEVIN DUNN	CAMERON THIES	NANA POKU	CHRIS ALDEN
ASSOCIATIONS, SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS	International Studies Association (ISA)	International Studies Association (ISA)	International Studies Association (ISA)		
		American Political Science Association	American Political Science Association		
	British International Studies Association	British International Studies Association			
	South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)				South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA)
	African Association of Political Science	International Political Science Association	Southern Political Science Association		African-Asian Society
	Royal African Society	Society for Women in International Political Economy	Midwest Political Science Association		Harvard Institute for International Development
	Botswana Society	Association of Concerned Africa Scholars	Peace Science Society		International Institute for Strategic Studies
	Scottish Church Theology Society	Association of Third World Studies	International Society of Political Psychology		Royal Institute for International Affairs, Chatham House
	Africa Institute	African Studies Association			LSE IDEAS Africa Programme
	Organisation for Social Sciences Research in Eastern and Southern Africa	Norwegian Institute of International Affairs			
	AEGIS: Africa-Europe Group for Interdisciplinary Studies				
POLITICAL AFFILIATION	Advisor on African affairs to the Jiangsu Provincial Government, China			Special Advisor to the government of Ghana on PRSP and health issues	UK Parliament (Lords) Select Committee on the European Union on EU-China-Africa
	Advisory Board of Frontier Strategy Group			World Bank OECD World Health Organisation	UK Parliamentary (Commons) Select Committee on Africa
				EU	EU Development Commission
	UN (UNHCR)			UN (ECA; UNDP; UN-CHGA)	

4.1.3.3. JOURNAL AFFILIATION

The number of journals with which the authors have been affiliated, either as editor (Ed.), guest editor (G.Ed.), advisor (Adv.) or article reviewer (AR) seems to roughly correspond to their ranking within the top five. Taylor's number of affiliations is by far superior with 45, followed by Thies with 23 and Dunn with 15 (see table 13). Poku and Alden were not included in the table for space purposes, but they have three and two affiliations consecutively – Alden with the *Journal of Identity, Culture and Society* (Adv.) and the *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* (Adv.)

However, more interesting is the case of Poku in his affiliation with *Journal of International Affairs* (G.Ed.), *Third World Quarterly* (G.Ed.) and *Journal of International Relations* (G.Ed.) in which the benefit of affiliation is clearly illustrated. He published articles in all three of these journals while acting as guest editor for these publications. *Journal of International Relations* was not included in the survey, but in the *Third World Quarterly* (23(2), 2002) which he edited in collaboration with Alan Whiteside, he published two articles and another one in *International Affairs* (82(2), 2006), also co-edited with Whiteside. Whiteside was born in Kenya, later moved to Swaziland and is currently a Professor at the University of Kwazulu-Natal, SA. In their frequent collaboration, Whiteside thus serves as another link between Poku and Africa.

4.1.3.4. RESEARCH FUNDING

Table 14 provides a summary of affiliation with funding organisations per author. Affiliation was only listed if the author was understood to be involved in awarding grants, either as a grant proposal reviewer (GPR) or in an advisory role (Adv.) As such, Dunn is not included in the summary, since despite having received various research grants, his CV does not mention any granting capacity. Chris Alden's CV is entirely silent on the matter. Once again, Taylor is in the lead, affiliated to ten foundations or organisations as GPR. Thies, also as GPR, is affiliated with two, and Poku acts as Advisor to the Department for International Development in the UK for their five year research grant program, Addressing the Balance of AIDS (ABBA).

It follows from the above that the highest ranking authors are in fact also the gatekeepers. As such, it becomes appropriate to place their affiliation in the broader context of publishing in the field. The next section will consider ownership of media and the resulting codes of conduct governing standards for academic contribution in the field of IR with specific reference to the journals relevant to the current study.

Table 14: Journal Affiliation

IAN TAYLOR		KEVIN DUNN	CAMERON THIES
African Security (Ed.)	Global Governance (AR)	Journal of Small States (Ed.)	Political Psychology (Ed.)
Review of International Studies (Ed.)	International Affairs (AR)	African Security (Ed.)	Foreign Policy Analysis (Ed.)
Botswana Notes and Records (Ed.)	International Journal (AR)	International Studies Quarterly (Ed.)	Journal of Politics (Ed.)
ECPR Third World Politics Standing Group Newsletter (Adv.)	International Studies Quarterly (AR)	International Studies Review (AR)	American Political Science Review (AR)
Journal of Contemporary African Studies (Adv.)	International Studies Review (AR)	International Political Sociology (AR)	American Journal of Political Science (AR)
Millennium (Adv.)	Issues and Studies (AR)	Millennium (AR)	Journal of Politics (AR)
SPIRIT (Adv.)	Journal of Chinese-African Studies (AR)	Foreign Policy Analysis (AR)	Political Research Quarterly (AR)
Comparative Regional Integration (Adv.)	Journal of European Integration (AR)	New Political Economy (AR)	World Politics (AR)
Studese, Chinese Book Series (Adv.)	Journal of International Relations and Development (AR)	African Studies Review (AR)	Comparative Political Studies (AR)
Journal of Global Analysis (Adv.)	Journal of Peace Research (AR)	Peace and Change (AR)	International Studies Quarterly (AR)
Africa Development (AR)	New Political Economy (AR)	Review of International Studies (AR)	International Interactions (AR)
Africa Today (AR)	Pacific Review (AR)	African Security (AR)	Studies in Comparative International Development (AR)
African Journal of International Affairs (AR)	Policy and Politics (AR)	Colombia Internacional (AR)	Foreign Policy Analysis (AR)
African Sociological Review (AR)	Pula: Botswana Journal of Political Science (AR)	Global Society (AR)	International Studies Perspectives (AR)
Afrika Spectrum (AR)	Review of African Political Economy (AR)	Space and Culture (AR)	Conflict Management and Peace Science (AR)
Cambridge Review of International Affairs (AR)	Review of Political Economy (AR)		Journal of Political Science Education (AR)
China Aktuell (AR)	Review of International Studies (AR)		Journal of Common Market Studies (AR)
China Journal (AR)	Round Table (AR)		European Journal of Political Science (AR)
Democratization (AR)	Scientia Militaria (AR)		Armed Forces & Society (AR)
Disaster Medicine and Public Health Preparedness (AR)	Terrorism and Political Violence (AR)		Qualitative Sociology (AR)
Foreign Policy Analysis (AR)	21 st Century Society (AR)		Food, Culture and Society (AR)
Geography Compass (AR)	World Development (AR)		Africa Today (AR)
Geopolitics (AR)			Journal of the Scientific Study of Religion (AR)

Table 15: Affiliation with funding organisations

IAN TAYLOR
National Research Foundation, SA (GPR)
Economic and Social Research Council, UK (GPR)
Bertelsmann Stiftung, Germany (GPR)
Research Grants Council, Hong Kong (GPR)
Funds for Scientific Research – Flanders, Belgium (GPR)
Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ Research Committee for Development (GPR)
British Academy (GPR)
Swiss National Science Foundation (GPR)
Royal Society, UK (GPR)
Centre for Advanced Study, Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters (GPR)
CAMERON THIES
National Science Foundation (GPR)
University of Missouri System, Research Board Grant (GPR)
NANA POKU
DFID – Addressing the Balance of AIDS (Adv.)

4.2. PUBLISHING IN IR

4.2.1. OWNERSHIP

To calculate publisher dominance, the TRIP-rank was substituted for the Thomson Reuters Journal Citation Report impact factor. Where this was not available, an average of the available scores for journals by that publisher was used as substitute. In the case of the Association of Third World Studies which publishes only the *JTWS*, the impact factor of *TWQ* – the other journal from the Third World journal tier – was used to substitute. The subsequent list of impact factors was added to produce cumulative impact factor per publisher, which was used to rank the journals. The results of these calculations and publisher rank are displayed in table 15. For a specific indication of which journals are owned by which publishers, see appendix A.

Table 16: Publisher rank by cumulative impact factor

RANK	PUBLISHER	TOTAL JOURNALS	CUMULATIVE IF
1	Cambridge University Press	6	11, 33
2	Wiley-Blackwell	5	9, 002
3	Sage Publications	4	5, 87
4	Taylor & Francis Group	4	4, 878
5	MIT Press	1	3, 243
6	Oxford University Press	1	1, 66
7	Association of Third World Studies	1	0, 92
8	Comparative Politics	1	0, 646
9	Academy of Political Science	1	0, 524
10	Lynne Rienner Publishers	1	0, 429

Ownership is concentrated in a few prominent institutions or publishing houses. The three African journals are all owned by non-African institutions. *JMAS* is published by Cambridge University Press while Oxford University Press owns the rights to *AA*. *ROAPE* is part of the Taylor & Francis Group, along with its international equivalent, *Review of International Political Economy*. The Taylor & Francis Group also owns *TWQ* making it the dominant publisher in the Third World and African journal tiers.

Two of the top five publishers are British – ranking first and fourth – and the other three are US-based. Cambridge University Press is the publishing business of the University of Cambridge, a highly acclaimed British academic institution. Established in 1584, it is the oldest publisher and printer in the world. It boasts branches, offices and agents across the globe, but the organisation’s mission statement clearly shows its ongoing loyalty towards British headquarters, “We aim to further, through publication and printing, the University of Cambridge’s own objective of advancing learning, knowledge and research worldwide,” (Cambridge University Press, 2010). Though not associated with an academic institution, Taylor & Francis Group is a British-based international academic publisher and a subdivision of Informa PLC – a UK-based global information provider to academic, professional and commercial markets (Taylor & Francis Group, 2010a).

From the US, Wiley-Blackwell was formed in 2007 through a merger of Blackwell Publishing and Wiley’s Global Scientific, Technical, and Medical Business. They form part of the Wiley Group, a US-based multinational corporation specialising in scientific, technical and medical publications and electronic products (Wiley, 2010). Sage Publications is a multinational publishing company specialising in academic literature and media. Established in 1965, it has branches in Britain, India and Singapore, but headquarters remains in California (Sage, 2010a). The fifth place is held by US-based Massachusetts Institute of Technology, or MITPress (2010). Despite the fact that they own only one publication, *International Security*, this publication is the single highest ranking publication according to the JCR impact factor – 3,243 – in the IR subject category.

The findings correspond to existing literature regarding centralisation of media ownership in the West. However, monopoly over Third World literature is predominantly British, and thus supports the TRIP report’s correlation between British and South African academic preferences (Jordan *et al.*, 2009: 50). This is probably because the quantitative economic focus of the US towards IR does not sit as well with the socio-economic detriment faced by most of the Third World as does the social justice orientation of the British school. Western ownership of the relevant journals supports the hypothesis of this study; even more so as even the African journals are owned by British organisations. The African intellectual community is not only part of the international intellectual community, but is in fact owned by its Westerncentric hegemons.

4.2.2. CODES OF CONDUCT

The official websites to each of the journals provide a link to publishing criteria and style requirements – each of which links to the standardised version of its publisher. The code of conduct remains very constant across the board as a result. Wiley-Blackwell for instance has a single guideline for contributors as well as technical style sheet for all its representative ISA journals (Wiley-Blackwell, 2010: 1). This again supports the supremacy of the ISA as flagship organisation in the field. The codes of conduct as stipulated by the guidelines for contributors to the journals of the highest ranking publisher, Cambridge University Press, is considered in the following section and supplemented with guidelines from other publishers. The guideline for the acclaimed journal, *International Organization (IO)*, as the TRIP-ranked most influential journal in the field of IR, will receive particular consideration.

Much emphasis is placed on bibliographical requirements with a large proportion of both style sheets and guidelines for contributors discussing the importance of citations. The guidelines for contributors provided by Cambridge University Press to publish in *IO*, ranked most influential by the TRIP-survey, support the contention of Mkandawire (1995) that African authors are less likely to be published due to their lack of access to literary resources, thus not grounding their work in theory, stating that

“[a]lthough we may publish a manuscript designed to propose a solution to a current world problem, we prefer to publish those that also apply theoretical ideas and findings or address general questions debated in scholarly publications,” (International Organization, 2010: 183).

Furthermore, the field is very competitive, with the same document stating that only 10 percent of submitted manuscripts are ultimately published, after undergoing an internal and external reviewing process. Of particular interest is the fact that due to increased demands on reviewers as a result of increased submissions, “the *IO* editors screen out approximately 20 percent of manuscripts as unsuitable for external review,” (International Organization, 2010: 183). The guidelines for the *Journal of Politics* states in agreement that “[m]anuscripts that the editors deem as failing to meet the particular intellectual goals of the journal, either in substance or style, will not be sent out for review,” (Journal of Politics, 2008). In addition, it states that the final decision is made jointly by the editors of the journal “upon the advice of their reviewers and members of the editorial board”. This places immense control over content in the hands of a few editors who, as highlighted by Mittelman (2007: 358-368), do not have to provide reasons for their decisions. This again supports existing contentions about the power dynamics of gate keeping in academia (Neuman, 2006: 106-113; Mouton, 2006: 43; Nyamnjoh, 2004: 335).

Most guidelines place emphasis on the anonymity of the process, suggesting an additional measure to disguise identity, such as omitting self-references (International Organization, 2010: 184; World Politics, 2009; Journal of Politics, 2008). Technically, however, this could act as much as a means of

identification for particularly prolific authors – particularly since the article reviewers are likely to be quite knowledgeable about scholarship in the field. An obvious alternative would be to deal with self-references as with any other references (this is indeed suggested by the guideline for contributors to the *Journal of Politics* (2008). The *IO* guideline further states that “[i]f fuller information might bear significantly on the manuscript’s acceptability, mention such information in separate comments to the editors,” (International Organization, 2010: 184). Judging by the power in the hands of editors and the community of dominant scholars within the field, this clause is far more likely to propagate the hegemony of the better-known Western authors in the accepted 10 percent than allow admittance of alternative voices.

4.3. SUMMARY

Power is highly centralised in the field, with ownership of the vehicles of knowledge dissemination also in the hands of American or British multinational corporations. The decision over what is published and what is discarded is centered in the hands of a few editors. Submission of articles for publication in journals is anonymous, stressing the importance of adherence to codes of conduct. In this context thus, the information gathered on the five higher ranking authors lead to the following insights: publishing in IR is very much a question of who you know. Networks are not established via electronic resources, although it does act to enhance their efficacy. Networking occurs on an international scale, as illustrated by the scope and distance of co-authorship, through channels centered primarily in academic institutions, but also professional societies and organisations. In terms of the issue of gate keeping, it would seem that the current higher ranking authors are such, because they *are* the gatekeepers, sitting on grant review committees and acting as article reviewers for journals. This in itself constitutes a powerful networking activity which further consolidates their status within the international intellectual community. The following chapter elaborates on these insights.

Chapter 5: CONCLUSION

This chapter will provide a summary of the main findings of the study and an evaluation of their implication for the ongoing discourse of Africa in IR, publishing about Africa in IR, as well as Africans publishing in IR. The chapter will conclude with suggestions for further research.

5.1. PUBLISHING AFRICA IN IR

5.1.1. THEMES

Prevalent themes in the literature include governance, intervention, conflict and development. The relative prominence varies between international journals, those focusing on Third World content, and those with an African focus. Whereas governance, and governance in combination with other themes, is a uniform primary concern, conflict is only particularly prevalent in the international literature as opposed to intervention in Africa-specific journals and development in the Third World tier.

There seems to be continual contradiction in international stances on involvement in Africa. On the one hand intervention is a significant phenomenon on the continent, noted as such in the literature – specifically in terms of conflict resolution or peacebuilding activities. But simultaneously the unwillingness of the international community to deal with the problem of Africa or acknowledge the root causes of the problem introduces covert agendas to the debate. The patterns and motivations of interventionism is a suggested area for further study. Interests of the international in Africa and the relative willingness to intervene as well as the form of such intervention are likely correlates. It is also important for the future of Africa's independence to identify imperialist or extractive agendas masked as philanthropy. Admittedly Africa's current detriment constrains the extent to which it can choose between benefactors, but knowledge is power. Relating to Anyaoku's (1999) depiction of the failure of African diplomacy in establishing a new world order, strategically Africa needs all the leverage it can get.

5.1.2. AUTHORSHIP AND AFFILIATION

Mkandawire's observation that Africanist scholars are more likely to be published than African scholars is supported by the results of the top five authors in the current study as well as the top 25. The top five includes two Englishmen (Ian Taylor and Chris Alden), two Americans (Kevin C. Dunn and Cameron G. Thies) and a diasporic African (Nana K. Poku) currently lecturing at Bradford University in the UK. The constitution of the top 25 is much the same. Authors are predominantly American or British, with the exception of Emmanuel Akyeampong who, like Poku, is a diasporic African working at Harvard University in the US. The only African still lecturing at an African institution is Scarlett Cornelissen at the University of Stellenbosch in SA. The only other Africanist among the top 25

teaching at an African institution is American born Loren B. Landau, currently lecturing at the University of Witwatersrand, also in SA.

The explanation for the deficit of African representatives on the topic of Africa is concluded by this study to involve a combination of factors acting to maintain the Western hegemony within the intellectual community. The factors most saliently enforcing the status quo power dynamic involves the extent to which authors from alternative world regions have access to the most important networking sites – which double as the most important sites of assimilation; and gatekeeping as reinforcing of the codes of conduct held as benchmarks towards which assimilated recruits must aspire. This is aggravated by the delapidated state of the African intellectual community, including lacking access to knowledge resources, lack of literary cultural base of African ideas upon which to build subsequent non-Western ideas and the myriad of socioeconomic and psychological factors perpetuating the brain drain and feeding the diaspora of African intellectuals.

5.1.2.1. GATEKEEPING

Falk (2007) confirms how small the international intellectual community truly is in his lament about the 101 most dangerous scholars list. The fact that it is at all possible, considering the world population, to indicate 101 most influential scholars – eight of which are members of the ISA – is troublesome. The article defends intellectual freedom, but with such centralisation of power, ruling opinions are likely very homogenous and envious of their status. Peer review in this sense is highly eclectic making it far easier to exclude certain ideas and elevate others; and likewise to favour the contributions of colleagues.

Judging by the identified networks of affiliation in chapter 4 in combination with the observation that high ranking authors tend to collaborate; that high ranking authors tend to sit on the editorial boards of journals; and that the relatively low number of key players among the Africanists make for a very tight clique within the broader intellectual community, it is highly unlikely that anonymity at the submission level of the process is anything more than a token. If not it would be interesting to know how often articles are forwarded to their own authors for review. Regardless, most submission guidelines stress anonymity, thus overtly emphasising codes of conduct.

Documents are subject to high levels of scrutiny for technical care and citations. Adjudication on the grounds of codes of conduct most prominently resides with editors as the first line of gatekeepers. As highlighted in chapter 4, and informed by the literature review, editors as well as article reviewers are predominantly from a Western background and have exclusively been educated through Western-oriented academic institutions. As such, most non-Western contributions are probably disqualified before ever reaching an external reviewer to be judged on content. If it does pass through to this stage,

it is unlikely that the reviewer would respond kindly to a document of which the content is not organised in a way typical of Western academic writing.

Research on the experiences of international students writing for US-based academic institutions highlight that there is a very distinct logic in the way Western authors approach academic writing and in what is understood as appropriate academic style (Writing Across Borders, 2007). Structure, argumentation and style are informed by cultural norms. The purpose is always to convey meaning, but the ways in which different cultures would accept and understand a message varies. One interviewee points to the primacy of the introduction in English writing specifically. Every theme to be dealt with must be included and organised among the others in the introduction. These themes are then restated and developed throughout the essay. For native English speakers there is no confusion as to how this is achieved or why it is considered desirable (*ibid.*) This method is in fact unique to the culture and thus by no means the only technique of academic writing, but it is the only acceptable one if the aim is to publish.

5.1.2.2. NETWORKING AND STRATEGIC AUTHORSHIP

The study negates the relevance of the internet as a prominent networking tool in IR. None of the authors are represented in any of the biographical resource databases available through the University of Stellenbosch e-databases. In fact, the top 25 authors were all represented on the internet exclusively because each of them are affiliated to a university. The university invariably provided academic information regarding publications authored or edited and such. However, the comprehensiveness of staff profiles vary amongst universities and Africanists seem disinclined to remedy the situation. As mentioned, the only author enjoying marginally decent internet exposure is Ian Taylor due to his willingness to market himself.

It is significant that Ian Taylor is the only author to advertise himself adequately. The observation has dual implications: firstly, it re-emphasises the age-old truth that it pays to advertise. What the internet has perhaps not achieved in terms of establishing networks in IR, it atones for in enhancing such networks. The Academia.edu networking site to which Taylor belongs, for instance, provides a platform from which to broadcast research. The techniques are perhaps not as aggressive as many other forms of advertising and it is unlikely that such a tool will generate a following in and of its own accord, but it is a relatively effortless way to stay familiar with the work of former colleagues or co-authors – especially considering the international scope of the intellectual community today. Most of the individuals following Ian Taylor, as well as the ones he follows, are also academics and as such potential future collaborators. A more tentative suggestion as to the value of such a tool: these individuals, like Taylor, are the ones who sit on editorial boards and act as article reviewers for journals. Prior introduction to ideas or research on a common platform provides the necessary

opportunity for academia to become accustomed and for ideas to become recognisable, again questioning the legitimacy or value of anonymous submission.

The second lesson to be taken from Ian Taylor's example, deriving purely from his massive output rate, is that *quantity* of output more than quality determines publication frequency. This is an irregular conclusion to draw of academic publishing patterns, and should not be understood as reflecting on the relative quality of Taylor's work. But intuitively it does make sense. If no articles are submitted for publication review, no article can be reviewed or published. In fact, this observation is absolutely in accordance with standard publishing patterns. Mlodinow (2008: 10) provides ample examples of prolific authors or important works of literature of which the first attempts at publication were highly unsuccessful, including George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter*, and *The Diary of a Young Girl* by Anne Frank.

Returning to the contention that the internet aids to enhance rather than establish academic networks, the establishment of such networks must occur elsewhere. The findings are inconclusive with regards to the specific hubs for academic networking. For instance, drawing conclusions based on the two authors active in SA about SA's relatively dominant position in the African intellectual community would perhaps not be an erroneous claim. However, generalising thus to identify Ghana as another African intellectual hub because both diasporic African scholars on the top 25 are affiliated with the country might be causation assumed of pure correlation without due consideration of other elements. However, the findings do provide grounds for some solid speculation:

Important academic networking sites seem to remain universities and other institutions of tertiary education, however societal membership also deserves some consideration. Not only are universities the source of stable income for most publishing authors of non-fiction, thereby necessarily establishing contact among them to a degree, but they also provide venues for conferences and workshops. Judging by the CVs considered by the research, conferences constitutes an important activity in academia. Insights with regards to this more social component of networking can be drawn from the example of Kevin Dunn: attendance is key. His conference attendance record along with his attendance records for official compendiums or meetings of the societies to which he is a member, equals if not overshadows his teaching record. It would seem that he also regards them of equal importance, listing these gatherings with his invited lectures/talks. In addition to attendance, however, establishing presence is an important factor. His willingness to contribute at these and other public events – regardless of whether (or perhaps especially if) such contribution is controversial – has made him a darling with the media, receiving far more popular press coverage than any of the other higher ranking authors.

High attendance is something that Kevin Dunn and Cameron G. Thies have in common. However, the most prominent networking strength of Thies is his ability to establish and maintain prominent contacts as well as his apparent administrative and organisational skills. In terms of the prominence of contacts, it would seem that this is precisely because he is not the traditional Africanist. Memberships are very US-oriented. Interestingly he also has not taught outside of the US, which is something all the other authors have in common. This suggests that location matters, and that Thies has found his niche, though not in a sense that determines content as much as political clout or influence.

Nana K. Poku, on the other hand, has found a niche content-wise in HIV/AIDS, due to his former collaboration with the UN where the pandemic formed his research focus. Poku illustrates the gains of opportunism. He boosted his publishing rate significantly through only three guest editorships of journals (of which only two were considered in the survey). The amount of opportunity is far overshadowed by the extent to which the former authors are involved with influential journals. However, he is the only one so prominently gaining from the experience.

Along with Ian Taylor, Chris Alden is the most loyal Africanist in terms of content. His work is focused exclusively on Southern Africa and he has also taught at the University of the Witwatersrand, lending credibility to his work in terms of positionality. Like Poku, he has found his niche in terms of subject material, but also in terms of the journals he targets for publishing. Only one of the seven articles considered in the survey was published in an international journal (*Millennium*) and another in a Third World journal (*Third World Quarterly*) while the rest were all drawn from the African journal tier. Despite his unvarying geographic orientation, he varies greatly in terms of subject focus, apparently adapting in accordance to the fashionable/publishable topics of the time. This is a strategy that he shares with Taylor, while another shared characteristic is sheer quantity of output, again establishing that the more you produce the more you publish.

5.2. WHY NO AFRICANS?

5.2.1. AFRICAN INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY

Perhaps the reason why Africa fails to produce literature is a basic numbers issue - there simply are not as many African people who know how to write. Western intellectual output follows the same strategy as production in China: bulk, and the excess is shipped off and dumped elsewhere. The Western content in African academic institutions as a result negates the relevance of indigenous ideas and approaches. In addition, the current state of primary and secondary education in Africa is highly detrimental to the tertiary education system which is dependent on the quality of output produced by these institutions for its own intellectual cadre. Lack of funding for research facilities, university libraries, infrastructure and internet facilities contribute to inferior quality education as well as scholarship. Specifically also lack of research funding results in systematically lower quality research,

forced to use cheap, often outdated methods of data-collection and analysis which impacts negatively on the reliability of datasets. Furthermore, the lacking theoretical resources and access to the existing body of knowledge results in excessive focus on descriptive research, leaving the evaluation for theoretical implications up to Africanists or their diasporic equivalents.

Perhaps not the most successful networking tool in IR, the severe lack of internet access in Africa does have dire implications for African access to knowledge resources. Even more perturbing, however, is the extent to which internet access does in fact award information access. My experience of accessing journals via internet supports suspicious critics of internet's proliferation of knowledge and bringer of equality. My browser was incompatible with some University of Stellenbosch's database functions, though I did not realise this was the problem at first. Hopeful, I tried to bridge this problem by accessing the journals directly. Often not even the index was available free of charge while abstracting and indexing databases invariably required subscription fees.

Google Scholar (or Google if the former produced more of the same) was helpful in providing reviews or critiques; mostly badly written by presumably, but often admittedly, students – post-graduate only if luck would have it – with insufficient citation details and creditability highly suspect, regardless. Without fail I would return to the convenience of the university memberships. In light of this, the picture for non-affiliated knowledge-seeking individuals becomes very bleak.

This raises another concern, considering the alleged diffusion function of universities in service of Western hegemony: no scholarship from Africa has even a marginal chance of adherence to intellectual standards for publication if an individual is not affiliated and thus by default under the influence. If affiliated scholars claim a hard time publishing, the odds for independent publishing are close to zero. African grass roots level ideas are disqualified from the game before the potatoes have been distributed. And judging by the current forecasts for proceeds on publication (see Nyamnjoh, 2004), the potato is probably what they came for in the first place.

The problem is further aggravated by the poverty of intellectual capital facing Africa. Decades of Westerncentric academic scrutiny with the discriminatory stance of the West towards Africans in general, has resulted in the prolonged absence of African ideas to reference. European ideas remain necessary substantiation of any type of scholarly argument, pointing to a deepseated bias in the field, and the academy at large. Theory itself is a Eurocentric concept over which ownership is jealously guarded by current powerholders. The nexus between theory and knowledge, and then between knowledge and reality-formation or 'truth' is not a universal understanding. The root of current academia – rationality and individuality – is at odds with conceptions of the matter prevalent in vast areas of the world, including Africa. Expecting Africa to produce theory if such theory will be subject to Western definition, thus ultimately renders the quest for African knowledge bunk.

The expectation of Africa to produce *IR* theory, however, is particularly unrealistic and highly unfair. IR has no disciplinary specific theories to begin with. It is a loan-discipline – from Economics, Sociology, Psychology and History to an extent, but most basically from Political Philosophy as the principle exponent of political theory. Expecting Africa thus to make theoretical contributions in order to overcome its marginalisation from the international, provides a justification for African marginalisation based on criteria that have in fact not been met by any ‘worthy’ members of the international system.

5.2.2. INTERNATIONAL DYNAMIC

The fact that IR scholars are reluctant to advertise themselves, is telling about the esteem of the field and its authors at large and corresponds to the findings of the TRIP-study. Question 52 asks respondents to state what discipline’s academics have the most influence on the policy-making process. The uniform answer was ‘Economics’. Consequently, question 53 tests for IR scholar’s perception of their own importance in the policy-making process. More than half of the respondents indicated that they have no impact at all (Jordan *et al*, 2009: 62-63). The general low self-esteem of IR scholars in relation to other disciplines amounts to a triple source of low self-esteem for African IR scholars. They are disregarded among the disciplines as a relevant field of enquiry; they are disregarded by the field of enquiry as relevant subject material; and they are disregarded by academics for the inferior quality of research associated with the continent.

A perhaps unintentional, but stark reminder of this, is that Africanists are not at all forthcoming about their nationalities. In the absence of biographical information, the divide between the African and Africanist authors becomes racialised, necessarily reminding of the ongoing discourse concerning African intellectual inferiority and the unwillingness of scholars to associate with ‘black’ or ‘African’ scholarship. As such, the validity of contributions of those few authors that can be regarded as African, are also open for debate, due to their necessary level of assimilation. Both Poku and Akyeampong completed their post-graduate degrees at foreign institutions and never returned to Africa and are both currently teaching Europeans about Africa’s problems. But it would be defeatist to conclude that no one with a voice to speak has the *right* to speak on behalf of Africa. The contribution of the African diaspora to African development and also African intellectual development, is perhaps not a theme often visited, but certainly a theme incessantly revisited. It is unfortunate that, contrary to Mkandawire’s (1995) positive observation that the academic generation of the time were returning to Africa after studying abroad unlike the generation before them, the brain drain seems to be escalating in the absence of African opportunities for Africans.

Valuable as the Africanist contribution may be to the inclusion of Africa to international relations as well as International Relations, it is important to understand what it is not. It is not contribution from Africa; it is contribution *about* Africa. If what the discipline needs, as Tickner (2003a: 325) aptly

states, are alternative narratives, speaking about those alternative narratives cannot be seen as a substitute. Even more importantly, if the 'speaking about' is in fact hampering the extent to which African voices can enter the discourse, Africanists are facing serious disciplinary nihilism. Their own actions are defeating the cause. Having Africanist scholars dominate the literary field excludes Africans from the literary profits of the topic of itself. In addition, the illusion of Africa talking that this creates further marginalises Africa from the literary resource of itself by filling the little space there might have been for an African voice with European opinions. Assuming of course this space would have existed were it not for the European connections of the publishing authors.

If not for the Africanist contribution it is unclear to what extent even the idea of Africa would enter mainstream discourse. The possibility exists that the marginalisation currently facing the continent could develop into virtual invisibility. African researchers do not have the funding and are less likely to be published than their Africanist counterparts. But Africanists simply do not have the lived experience. There is something ironic about Kevin Dunn's use of 'imagining' in his publication titles, because it is perhaps the single most honest observation among those made by Africanist contributors: they can only imagine. In the acknowledgements to his book, *Imagining the Congo: the International Relations of Identity*, he graciously thanks miscellaneous people, stating that he is "deeply indebted to the various teachers who have helped educate [him] about Africa" (Dunn, 2003: ix), but who then are those teachers²¹ if Kevin Dunn is doing most of the writing? Africa in IR is facing progressive fictionalisation. The continent is no longer relevant to its own discourse. Abstract concepts, abstract scholarship and ultimately an abstraction of reality become progressively removed from any grounding in an African truth or relevance. What the IR discipline needs to achieve is a balance between the quest for Africa, the conquest of Africa and the truth of Africa. For this purpose it is imperative to delineate between literature *imagining* the continent and literature originating upon it.

Verstehen is valuable and 'talking about' often achieves insights to which the insiders were blinded by their own subjectivities. But currently both the insider and outsider component of world understanding is biased towards the West and disabled by it. No one outside is talking - either about themselves or about the West. Such critical evaluation of a field of such scope can only be facilitated by worldwide involvement, the lack of which renders current IR lame: it cannot adequately see itself or others. IR will continue this one-eyed perspective of the world until real voices speaking from real places not within the geographic and intellectual confines of current IR scholarship, are given the opportunity to speak and a platform from which to be heard.

²¹ Ironically, the people he continues to list are also Africanist scholars - Edouard Bustin (US), Timothy Shaw (UK) and J. Harris Proctor (US).

The conclusion to be drawn is that Africa has not failed to contribute, because Africa is still not allowed in the game. Africa has not failed to produce theories, because if they had the intellectual community would have no way of knowing about it. They would not know, because Africa has not been talking. What this debate amounts to is intellectuals partaking in what can only be described as literary gossip. What the discourse on Africa is faced by currently, are Africanists citing Africanists on ideas about Africa that were developed citing Europeans. Africans are unlikely to produce new theoretical insights to the field of IR, because the field of IR is unlikely to accept or air them. The codes of conduct and standards for validity in the humanities as a whole are too subjective, biased towards standards for academic conduct and sources of substantiation that simply do not exist for African ideas.

5.3. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

A comprehensive assessment of the implications of the dominant authors' networking activities was simply beyond the scope of this study. The insights derived are superficial as a result, but it does introduce an area for future research – specifically in as far as the social component of networking remains an illusive factor (for instance religious or other social interaction or the image/reputation thereof). Particularly interesting is the fact that networking does not seem to occur over the internet to a noteworthy extent. It would be interesting to determine to what extent the prolific authors in various fields in fact feel about the rather impersonal networking activity that the internet offers. Regardless, in a global information age, it is almost inevitable that this networking tool will gain ground in the near future, also amongst IR scholars other than Ian Taylor.

The variation in theme prevalence among journal tiers is also an interesting area for further research. Specifically since the authors writing for the different tiers are rather homogenous in their scholarly orientation. As it was determined that the dominant scholars double as the gatekeepers in many instances, certainly then they would not feel the need to tailor their writing to the taste of the target audience if there is no markedly perceived difference.

The specific themes also leave some ground to be covered. As mentioned above, specifically intervention in Africa seems to have a strange dynamic attached to it, at least in the scholarship publishing in the African tier. A more in-depth, qualitative content analysis of even just the articles drawn for this study could facilitate interesting insights into the moral imaginary surrounding the quest for/conquest of Africa.

Lastly, criminality and the shadow economy in Africa is potentially a highly intriguing area for further investigation. As mentioned in chapter 3, there seems to be some inconsistency with regards to the ability of Africans to build an economy if they have proved so capable of manipulating the shadow economy. I suspect that a correlation exists between the extent to which Africans can, considering

there should be quite powerful gatekeepers to this sphere as well, actively take part in the legitimate economy and the growth rate of shadow networks. It is also highly likely that the non-state politically effective actors are generating revenue by default disregarded as laundering or corruption. Further assessment of the current methodology hinging economic performance on GDP-based indicators would likely lead to a related concern as would the intracontinental and international migratory patterns of Africans.

5.4. CONCLUSION

For reasons discussed at length in this thesis, it is possible to conclude that the most lucrative source of African IR ideas is unlikely to be found in specialised academic journals. What the discourse on Africa is faced by currently, are Africanists citing Africanists on ideas about Africa that were developed citing Europeans. Africans are unlikely to produce new theoretical insights to the field of IR, because the field of IR is unlikely to accept or air them. The codes of conduct and standards for validity in the humanities as a whole are too subjective, biased towards standards for academic conduct and sources of substantiation that simply do not exist for African ideas. I suggest that African theoretical contribution is more likely to be accepted by the more objective disciplines, such as physical science or engineering. The problem is that Africa is locked in a perpetual vicious cycle. For achievement in these disciplines, social problems need to be dealt with, but for this Africa needs social scientists and social scientific theories capable of understanding and providing solutions to the African problematique. Africanist scholarship is just another form of extractive colonialism – ownership of the ideas about Africa are not with Africans.

REFERENCES

- Academia.edu. 2010a. [Online]. Available: <http://www.academia.edu/about> (21 September 2010).
- Academia.edu. 2010b. *Ian Taylor*. [Online]. Available: <http://st-andrews.academia.edu/IanTaylor> (24 August 2010).
- Adams, J., King, C. & Hook, D. 2010. *Global Research Report: Africa*. Leeds: Evidence.
- Adi, H. 2002. The African diaspora, 'development' and modern African political theory. *Review of African Political Economy*. 29(92):237-251.
- Alden, J.C. 2010. *Curriculum Vitae*. Personal Communication. [E-mail]. 21 October 2010. Britain.
- Anyaoku, E. 1999. Lessons from over four decades of African diplomacy. Speech delivered at the Conference on African Diplomacy in the 21st Century held in London, UK.
- Anyidoho, N.A. 2008. Identity and knowledge production in the fourth generation. *Africa Development*. 33(1):25-39.
- Appiah, K.A. 2003. *Thinking it Through: an Introduction to Contemporary Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aydinli, E. & Mathews, J. 2000. Are the core and the periphery irreconcilable? The curious world of publishing in contemporary international relations. *International Studies Perspectives*. 1:289-303.
- Bangura, A.K. & Fenyo, M.D. 2000. Articles on Africa in the *Journal of Third World Studies*: a content analysis and an annotated bibliography. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 17(2):131-154.
- Barnett, M. 2008. Social Constructivism. Baylis, J. and Smith, S. (eds.) *The Globalisation of World Politics: an introduction to international relations (fourth edition)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 160-193.
- Bayart, J.F. 2000. Africa in the world: a history of extraversion. *African Affairs*. 99:217-267.
- Bilgin, P. 2008. Thinking past 'Western' IR? *Third World Quarterly*. 29(1):5-23.
- Bless, C. & Higson-Smith, C. 1995. *Fundamentals of Social Research Methods: An African Perspective (Second Edition)*. Lusaka: Juta & Co, Ltd.

- Brown, C. with Ainley, K. 2005. *Understanding International Relations (third edition)*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brown, W. 2006. Africa and international relations: a comment on IR theory, anarchy and statehood. *Review of International Studies*. 32(1):119-143.
- Brysk, A., Parsons, C. & Sandholtz, W. 2002. After empire: national identity and post-colonial families of nations. *European Journal of International Relations*. 8(2):267-305.
- Burchill, S. & Linklater, A. 2005. Introduction. Burchill, S. (et al. eds.) *Theories of International Relations*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cambridge University Press. 2010. [Online]. Available: <http://www.cambridge.org/about/> (10 August 2010).
- Carpenter, W.S. 1924. Introduction to Locke, J. *Two Treatises of Government*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons. v-xv.
- Christian, R., Mokutu, M. & Rankoe, M. 2002. Black students' experience of training at a 'white' institution. Swartz, L., Gibson, K. & Gelman, T. (eds.) *Reflective Practice*. Cape Town: The Human Science Research Council.
- Cohen, B.J., Higgot, R. & Watson, M. 2008. *The Future of IPE*. [Mp3]. UK: The Department of Politics and International Studies at the University of Warwick. [Online]. Available: <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pals/research/ipe/rippedebates/2008/> [2008, 13 August].
- ColorQWorld. 2006. *Emmanuel Akyeampong – Harvard professor aims to transfer public broadcasting in Africa*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.colorq.org/PetSins/article.asp?y=2006&m=11&x=akyeampong> (22 October 2010).
- Council on Foreign Affairs. 2010. About *Foreign Affairs*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/about-us> (16 August 2010).
- Cranston, M. 1973. *What are Human Rights?* London: Bodley Head.
- Denemarke, R.A. 2007. The *ISA Compendium Project*: cumulating the uncumulatable. *International Studies Perspectives*. The International Studies Association.
- Dugard, J. 2007. *International Law: A South African Perspective*. Lansdowne: Juta & Co, Ltd.
- Dukor, M. 1993. *African Philosophy: The Great Debate on Deconstruction, Reconstruction and Cognition of African Philosophy*. Ph.D.diss. Lagos: Lagos State University.

- Dunn, K.C. 2000. Tales from the dark side: Africa's challenge to international relations theory. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 17(1):61-90.
- Dunn, K.C. 2001a. Introduction: Africa and International Relations Theory. Dunn, K.C. & Shaw, T.M. (eds.) *Africa's Challenge to International Relations*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave. 1-10.
- Dunn, K.C. 2001b. MadLib #32: The (Blank) African State: Rethinking the Sovereign State in International Relations Theory. Dunn, K.C. & Shaw, T.M. (eds.) *Africa's Challenge to International Relations Theory*. London: Palgrave. 46-63.
- Dunn, K.C. 2003. *Imagining the Congo: the international relations of identity*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dunn, K.C. 2008. Never mind the bollocks: the punk rock politics of global communication. *Review of International Studies*. 34:193-210.
- Englebert, P. & Tull, D.M. 2008. Postconflict reconstruction in Africa: flawed ideas about failed states. *International Security*. 32(4):106-139.
- Facebook. 2010. [Online]. Available at: <http://www.facebook.com/> (22 October 2010).
- Falk, R. 2007. Academic freedom under siege. *International Studies Perspectives*. 8:369-375.
- Grovogui, S.N. 2001a. Come to Africa: a hermeneutics of race in international theory. *Alternatives*. 26:425-448.
- Grovogui, S.N. 2001b. Sovereignty in Africa: quasi-statehood and other myths in international theory. Dunn, K.C. & Shaw (eds.) *Africa's challenge to international relations theory*. Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave. 29-45.
- Harzing, A.W. 2010. *Publish or Perish*, version 3. [Online]. Available: www.harzing.com/pop.htm (27 August 2010).
- Hayworth, A. 2004. *Understanding the Political Philosophers: from ancient to modern times*. London: Routledge.
- Hill, C. 2003. *The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Hobart and William Smith Colleges. 2007a. *Kevin Dunn: Studies in African Politics – Foreign Relations*. [Online]. Available: <http://web.hws.edu/news/experts/displayexpert.asp?expertid=22> (27 August 2010).
- Hobart and William Smith Colleges. 2007b. *Kevin Dunn: Associate Professor of Political Science*. [Online]. Available: https://www.hws.edu/academics/fac_meet.aspx (27 August 2010).
- Hobbes, T. 1962. *Leviathan*. Glasgow: William Collins & Sons.
- Horowitz, D.L. 2000. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. California: University of California Press.
- Howard, R.G. 1990. Group versus individual identity in the African debate on human rights. An-Na'im, A.A. and Deng, F.M. (eds.) *Human rights in Africa: cross-cultural perspectives*. Washington: the Brookings Institute. 159-183.
- Howell, D.C. 2004. *Fundamental Statistics for the Behavioural Sciences*. Belmont, USA: Brooks/Cole-Thomson Learning.
- International Organization. 2010. *Guidelines for contributors*. 183-187. [Online]. Available: <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayMoreInfo?jid=INO&type=ifc> (10 August 2010).
- Jacoby, T. 2005. Cultural determinism, Western hegemony and the efficacy of defective states. *Review of African Political Economy*. 104(5):215-233.
- Dunn, K.C. 2010. *Curriculum Vitae*. Personal correspondence. [E-mail]. 21 October 2010. New York, USA.
- Jarvis, D.S. 2000. *International Relations and the Challenge of Postmodernism: Defending the Discipline*. South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press.
- Jerven, M. 2009. The relativity of poverty and income: how reliable are African economic statistics. *African Affairs*. 109(434):77-96.
- Jones, B.G. 2005. Africa and the poverty of international relations. *Third World Quarterly*. 26(6):987-1003.
- Jordan, R., Maliniak, D., Oakes, A., Peterson, S. & Tierney, M.J. 2009. One discipline or many? TRIP survey of International Relations faculty in ten countries. Teaching, Research, and International Policy (TRIP) Project, the Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations. Williamsburg, Virginia: The College of William and Mary.

- Journal of Politics. 2008. *Author information*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.journalofpolitics.org/instructions-to-authors> (22 August 2010).
- Kayaoglu, T. 2010. Westphalian Eurocentrism in International Relations Theory. *International Studies Review*. 12: 193-217.
- Kukreja, S. 1996. The two faces of development. Balaam & Veseth (eds.) *Introduction to International Political Economy (Second Edition)*. Uppersaddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall. 320-345.
- Lebow, R.N. 2009a. *A Cultural Theory of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lebow, R.N. 2009b. Culture in international relations: the culture of international relations. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*. 38(1): 153-159.
- Leftwich, A. 2000. *States of Development: On the Primacy of Politics in Development*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Lemke, D. 2003. African lessons for international relations research. *World Politics*. 56(1): 114-138.
- LinkedIn. 2010. [Online]. Available at: <http://www.linkedin.com/nhome/> (22 October 2010).
- Litonjua, M.D. 2010. Third World/Global South: from development to globalization to imperial project. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 27(1):107-134.
- Locke, J. 1924. *Two Treatises of Government*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons.
- LSE Research and Expertise. 2009. *Alden, Christopher*. [Online]. Available: <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/researchAndExpertise/Experts/j.c.alden@lse.ac.uk> (19 August 2010).
- Lumumba-Kasongo, T. 2005. International interventionism, democracy, and peace-building in the Great Lakes of Africa: a regional perspective to the challenges. *African and Asian Studies*. 4:21-50.
- Malaquias, A. 2001. Reformulating International Relations Theory: African Insights and Challenges. Dunn, K.C. & Shaw, T.M. (eds.) *Africa's Challenge to International Relations Theory*. London: Palgrave. 11-28.
- Malaquias, A. 2002. Peace operations in Africa: preserving the brittle state? *Journal of International Affairs*. 55(2):415-440.
- Mamdani, M. 2005. *Political identity, citizenship and ethnicity in post-colonial Africa*. Draft working paper produced for the Arusha Conference on "New Frontiers of Social Policy: Development in a Globalising World, held 12-15 December.

- Marwood, J. (ed.) 1995. *The Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary: Latin-English, English-Latin*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mazrui, A.A. 2009. Preface. Jidefor Adibe (ed.) *Who is an African? Identity, Citizenship and the Making of the African-Nation*. London: Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd. xi-xv.
- Mbembe, A. 2001. Ways of seeing: beyond the new nativism. *African Studies Review*. 44(2):1-14.
- McGowan, P.J. & Nel, P. (eds.) 2002. *Power, Wealth and Global Equity: An International Relations Textbook for Africa (Second Edition)*. Lansdowne: UCT Press.
- MIT Press Journals. 2010. *International Security*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.mitpressjournals.org/loi/isec> (16 August 2010).
- Mittelman, J.H. 2007. Who governs academic freedom in International Studies? *International Studies Perspectives*. 8:358-368.
- Mkandawire, T. 1995. Three generations of African academics: a note. *Transformations*. 28:75-83.
- Mlodinow, L. 2008. *The Drunkard's Walk: How Randomness Rules our Lives*. New York: Pantheon Books, Inc.
- Mouton, J. 2006. *Understanding social research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Mwenda, K.K. 2000. Deconstructing the Concept of Human Rights in Africa. *Africa Economic Analysis*. 9 September. <<http://www.afbis.com/analysis/human%20right.htm>> (29 May 2009).
- Neuman, S.G. (ed.) 1998. *International relations theory and the Third World*. London: Macmillan.
- Neuman, W.L. 2006. *Social research methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches (Sixth Edition)*. Boston: Pearson.
- Nkiwane, T.C. 2001a. Africa and international relations: regional lessons for a global discourse. *International Political Science Review*. 22(3):279-290.
- Nkiwane, T.C. 2001b. The end of history? African challenges to liberalism in international relations. Dunn, K.C. & Shaw, T.M. (eds.) *Africa's Challenge to International Relations Theory*. London: Palgrave. 103-111.
- Nyamnjoh, F.B. & Nantang, B.J. 2002. African universities in crisis and the promotion of a democratic culture: the political economy of violence in African educational systems. *African Studies Review*. 45(2):1-26.

- Nyamnjoh, F.B. 2004. From publish or perish to publish and perish: what 'Africa's 100 Best Books' tell us about publishing Africa. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. 39(5):331-355.
- Nye, J.S. 2004. *Soft Power: the means to success in world politics*. New York: Public Affairs.
- O'Brien, R. & Williams, M. 2007. *Global Political Economy: Evolution and Dynamics (Second Edition)*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Olukoshi, A. 2006. African scholars and African studies. *Development in Practice*. 16(6):533-544.
- Palgrave Macmillan. 2010. *Global Health and Governance*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.palgrave.com/products/title.aspx?pid=268177> (21 October 2010).
- Pheko, M. 1999. 'Road to Pan-Africanism' in *The Sowetan*. 15 November. <<http://www.panafricanperspective.com/pheko.htm>> (9 May 2009).
- Plamenatz, J.J. 1962. Introduction to Hobbes, T. *Leviathan*. Glasgow: William Collins & Sons. 6-45.
- Ramose, M.B. 2002. *Logos and Justice in Africa's International Relations. Dialogue and Universalism*. 1(2): 27-38.
- Reus-Smith, C. 2005. Constructivism. Burchill, S. (et al.) *Theories of international relations*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan. 188-212.
- Reynolds, R.R. 2002. An African brain drain: Igbo decisions to immigrate to the US. *Review of African Political Economy*. 29(92): 273-284.
- Sage. 2010a. *Sage Publications/The Company*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.sagepub.com/aboutCompany.nav> (10 August 2010).
- SAIIA. 2008. *Chris Alden*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.saiia.org.za/expertise-directory/chris-alDEN.html> (19 August 2010).
- Saul, J.S. 2006. Africa: the struggle, intellectual and political, continues... *Review of African Political Economy*. 33(109): 561-576.
- Schlee, G. 2003. Redrawing the map of the horn: the politics of difference. *Africa*. 73(3): 343-368.
- Smith, K. 2008. Has Africa got anything to say? African contributions to the intellectual development of International Relations: a preliminary investigation.
- Smith, K. 2009. Has Africa got anything to say? African contributions to the theoretical development of International Relations. *The Round Table*. 98(402):269-284.

Smith, S. 2002. The United States and the discipline of International Relations: 'hegemonic country, hegemonic discipline.' *Review of International Studies*. 4(2):364-379.

Taylor & Francis Group. 2010a. *Building on Two Centuries of Experience*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.taylorandfrancisgroup.com/> (10 August 2010).

Taylor & Francis Group. 2010b. *Journal details: Review of International Political Economy*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/journal.asp?issn=0969-2290&linktype=1> (19 August 2010).

Taylor, I. 2010. *Curriculum Vitae*. [Online]. Available: <http://st-andrews.academia.edu/IanTaylor/CurriculumVitae> (24 August 2010).

Thies, C.G. 2010. *Curriculum Vitae*. [Online]. Available: http://works.bepress.com/cameron_thies/cv.pdf (27 August 2010).

Thies, C.G. 2004. State building, interstate and intrastate rivalry: a study of post-colonial developing country extractive efforts, 1975-2000. *International Studies Quarterly*. 48:53-72.

Thomas, C. & Wilkin, P. 2004. Still waiting after all these years: 'The Third World' on the Periphery of International Relations. *British Journal of Politics & International Relations*. 6:241-258.

Thomson Reuters. 2010. *The Thomson Reuters Impact Factor*. [Online]. Available: http://thomsonreuters.com/products_services/science/free/essays/impact_factor/ (28 August 2010).

Tickner, A. 2003a. "Hearing Latin American Voices in International Relations Studies" in *International Studies Perspectives*. 4:325-350.

University of Bradford. 2007. *Professors [sic] Nana Poku – Staff Profile*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.brad.ac.uk/peace/staff/academic/ProfessorNanaPoku/> (11 August 2010).

University of Iowa. 2008. *Cameron G. Thies*. [Online]. Available: <http://international.uiowa.edu/international-studies/students/mentor-detail.asp?ContactID=559> (24 August 2010).

University of Iowa. 2010. *Selected Works of Cameron G. Thies*. [Online]. Available: http://works.bepress.com/cameron_thies/ (24 August 2010).

University of Oxford. 2010. *Professor Ngairé Woods BA (Econ), LLB (Hons), M.Phil (IR), D.Phil.* [Online]. Available: <http://www.politics.ox.ac.uk/about/staff/staff.asp?action=show&person=58> (22 October 2010).

- University of Stellenbosch. 2010. *Department of Political Science – Staff Profile Scarlett Cornelissen*. [Online]. Available: http://sun025.sun.ac.za/portal/page/portal/Arts/Departments/political_science/staff/scornelissen (30 October 2010).
- University of the Witwatersrand. S.a. *FMSP - Loren Landau*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.migration.org.za/person/loren-landau> (22 October 2010).
- USAID. 2007. “African Global Competitiveness initiative (AGCI): country membership in major economic organizations by regional groupings”. KSA-AGCI brief. 5 October.
- Van der Westhuizen, J. 2001. Marketing the ‘Rainbow Nation’: the power of the South African music, film and sport industry. Dunn, K.C. & Shaw, T.M. (eds.) *Africa’s Challenge to International Relations Theory*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave. 64-84.
- Viljoen, H.G. 2008. African Perspectives. Meyer, W.F., Moore, C. & Viljoen, H.G. (eds.) *Personology: from individual to ecosystem*. Sandton: Heinemann Publishers. 535-563.
- Vinci, A. 2007. ‘Like worms in the entrails of a natural man’: a conceptual analysis of warlords. *Review of African Political Economy*. 34(112):313-331.
- Waltz, K.N. 1979. *Theory of International Politics*. New York: Random House.
- Wiley. 2010. *Wiley-Blackwell*. [Online]. Available: <http://eu.wiley.com/WileyCDA/Brand/id-35.html> (10 August 2010).
- Wiley-Blackwell. 2010. [Online]. Available: http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/pdf/GEAN_TechnicalStyleSheet.pdf (18 August 2010).
- Writing Across Borders*. 2007. [Documentary]. Oregon: The Center for Writing and Learning & the Writing Intensive Curriculum at Oregon State University.
- Yuni. 2006. Latin Quotes and Latin Phrases. *Words of Wisdom*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.yuni.com/library/latin.html> (6 October 2010).
- Zegeye, A. & Vambe, M. 2006. Knowledge production and publishing in Africa. *Development Southern Africa*. 23(3):332-349.

APPENDIX A: JOURNAL DETAILS

Table 17: Journal selection with TRIP-ranking and Thomson Reuters JCR impact factor

PUBLISHER	JOURNALS	TRIP	JCR
Cambridge University Press	International Organization	1	2.000
	The American Political Science Review	4	3.207
	World Politics	5	2.114
	Review of International Studies	8	1.145
	Journal of Politics	17	1.805
	Journal of Modern African Studies	N/A	1.060
Wiley-Blackwell	International Studies Quarterly	3	1.625
	American Journal of Political Science	10	2.554
	International Affairs	12	1.222
	International Studies Review	14	N/A
	International Studies Perspectives	18	N/A
Sage Publications	Journal of Conflict Resolution	6	1.507
	European Journal of International Relations	7	1.432
	Millennium	9	0.463
	Journal of Peace Research	12	2.468
Routledge/Taylor & Francis	Review of International Political Economy	13	1.288
	Security Studies	11	0.870
	Third World Quarterly	N/A	0.920
	Review of African Political Economy	N/A	N/A
MIT Press	International Security	2	3.243
Lynne Rienner Publishers	Global Governance	19	0.429
Academy of Political Science	Political Science Quarterly	16	0.524
Comparative Politics	Comparative Politics	20	0.646
Association of Third World Studies	Journal of Third World Studies	N/A	N/A
Oxford University Press	African Affairs	N/A	1.660

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION	
Publisher	Cambridge University Press
Publication frequency	Seasonal
Official description	<i>“International Organization (IO) is a leading peer-reviewed journal that covers the entire field of international affairs. Subject areas include: foreign policies, international relations, international and comparative political economy, security policies, environmental disputes and resolutions, regional integration, alliance patterns and war, bargaining and conflict resolution, economic development and adjustment, and international capital movements.”</i>
Reference	<i>Cambridge Journals Online</i> . 2010. “International Organization.” [Online]. Available: http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=INO (16 August 2010).

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY	
Publisher	Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press
Publication frequency	Seasonal
Official description	<i>“International Security publishes lucid, well-documented essays on all</i>

	aspects of contemporary security issues. Its articles address traditional topics such as war and peace, as well as more recent dimensions of security, including the growing importance of environmental, demographic, and humanitarian issues, and the rise of global terrorist networks.”
Reference	<i>MIT Press Journals</i> . 2010. “International Security”. [Online]. Available: http://www.mitpressjournals.org/loi/isec (16 August 2010).

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES QUARTERLY	
Publisher	Wiley-Blackwell
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	“ <i>International Studies Quarterly</i> , the official journal of the International Studies Association, seeks to acquaint a broad audience of readers with the best work being done in the variety of intellectual traditions included under the rubric of international studies.”
Reference	Wiley-Blackwell. 2010. “International Studies Quarterly.” [Online]. Available: http://www.wiley.com/bw/journal.asp?ref=0020-8833 (19 August 2010).

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW	
Publisher	Cambridge University Press
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	“ <i>American Political Science Review</i> is political science’s premier scholarly research journal, providing peer-reviewed articles and review essays from subfields throughout the discipline. Areas covered include political theory, American politics, public policy, public administration, comparative politics, and international relations. <i>APSR</i> has published continuously since 1906.”
Reference	Cambridge Journals Online. 2010. “The American Political Science Review”. [Online]. Available: http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=PSR (16 August 2010).

WORLD POLITICS	
Publisher	Cambridge University Press
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	“World Politics, founded in 1948, is a quarterly journal of political science that publishes theoretical and empirical contributions to problems in international relations and comparative politics. It is one of the premier journals in the field.”
Reference	Princeton University. 2003. “Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies”. [Online]. Available: http://www.princeton.edu/~piirs/publications/ (16 August 2010).

JOURNAL OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION	
Publisher	Sage Publications
Publication frequency	Bimonthly (2010 editions: 4)
Official description	“The Journal of Conflict Resolution is an interdisciplinary journal of social scientific research and theory on human conflict. The journal focuses largely on international conflict, but also explores a variety of national, intergroup and interpersonal conflicts.”
Reference	Sage Journals Online. 2010. <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> . [Online].

Available:
<http://www.uk.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal200764&crossRegion=africa> (16 August 2010).

EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	
Publisher	Sage Publications
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	<p>European Journal of International Relations is the journal of the Standing Group on International Relations (SGIR) of the European Consortium for Political Research. The Journal's remit is to represent the wide range of interests encompassed by the Standing Group, covering the whole of International Relations. Building on its European base, the peer-reviewed content of the journal has evolved during its first decade to reflect global subjects and cutting edge theory debates that address and reflect the whole of the International Relations community wherever located. EJIR has become a major independent voice in the worldwide scholarly debates about international relations. The Journal represents no particular school or approach, nor is it restricted to any particular methodology. Instead, it seeks to foster an awareness of methodological and epistemological questions in the study of International Relations, and to reflect research and developments of a conceptual, normative and empirical nature in all the major sub-areas of the field. The Journal also seeks to strengthen ties with cognate areas in social science and beyond, in particular with international history, international law and international economics. Its purpose is to stimulate and disseminate theory-aware research and scholarship in International Relations throughout the international academic community."</p>
Reference	<p>Sage Journals Online. 2010. "European Journal of International Relations". [Online]. Available: http://www.uk.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal200942&crossRegion=africa (16 August 2010).</p>

REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES	
Publisher	Cambridge University Press
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	<p><i>Review of International Studies</i> serves the needs of scholars in international relations and related fields such as politics, history, law, and sociology. The <i>Review</i> publishes a significant number of high quality research articles, review articles which survey new contributions to the field, a forum section to accommodate debates and replies, and occasional interviews with leading scholars."</p>
Reference	<p>Cambridge Journals Online. 2010. "Review of International Studies". [Online]. Available: http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal? (16 August 2010).</p>

MILLENNIUM	
Publisher	Sage Publications
Publication frequency	Tri-annually
Official description	<p>Millennium: Journal of International Studies aims to publish the most innovative articles from the discipline of international studies, as well as original thinking from elsewhere in the social sciences with an international dimension."</p>

Reference	Sage. 2010. "Millennium: Journal of International Studies". [Online]. Available: http://www.sagepub.com/journalsProdDesc.nav?prodId=Journal201893 (19 August 2010).
------------------	--

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	
Publisher	Wiley-Blackwell
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	" <i>The American Journal of Political Science</i> is committed to significant advances in knowledge and understanding of citizenship, governance, and politics, and to the public value of political science research. AJPS is the official journal of the Midwest Political Science Association."
Reference	RICE University. 2009. "American Journal of Political Science" [Online]. http://www.ajps.org/ (19 August 2010).

SECURITY STUDIES	
Publisher	Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	" <i>Security Studies</i> has firmly established itself as a leading journal on international security issues. The journal publishes theoretical, historical, and policy-oriented articles on the causes and consequences of war, and the sources and conditions of peace. The journal has published articles on balancing vs. bandwagoning, deterrence in enduring rivalries, the Domino theory, nuclear weapons proliferation, civil-military relations, political reforms in China, strategic culture in Asia and the Pacific, neorealism vs. neoliberalism on the future of NATO, Israel's military doctrine, regional vs. universal organizations in peacekeeping, the three waves of nuclear debate, the sources and conduct of alliances, strategic bombing, violence interaction capacity, mass killings of civilians, ethnic conflicts and their resolution, epidemics and national security, democracy and foreign-policy decision making, and the future of security studies."
Reference	Taylor & Francis Group. 2010. "Journal details: Security Studies" [Online]. Available: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/09636412.asp (19 August 2010).

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
Publisher	Wiley-Blackwell
Publication frequency	Bimonthly
Official description	" <i>International Affairs</i> is Britain's leading journal of international relations. Founded by and edited at Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, it has not only developed a much valued insight into European policy debates but has also become renowned for its coverage of global policy issues."
Reference	Wiley-Blackwell. 2010. "International Affairs" [Online]. Available: http://www.wiley.com/bw/journal.asp?ref=0020-5850 (19 August 2010).

REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY	
Publisher	Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group
Publication frequency	5 issues/year
Official description	"The <i>Review of International Political Economy</i> (RIPE) has

	successfully established itself as a leading international journal dedicated to the systematic exploration of the international political economy from a plurality of perspectives.”
Reference	Taylor & Francis Group. 2010. “Journal details: Review of International Political Economy” [Online]. Available: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/journal.asp?issn=0969-2290&linktype=1 (19 August 2010).

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES REVIEW	
Publisher	Wiley-Blackwell
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	“The <i>International Studies Review (ISR)</i> provides a window on current trends and research in international studies worldwide. Published four times a year, <i>ISR</i> is intended to help: (a) scholars engage in the kind of dialogue and debate that will shape the field of international studies in the future, (b) graduate and undergraduate students understand major issues in international studies and identify promising opportunities for research, and (c) educators keep up with new ideas and research. To achieve these objectives, <i>ISR</i> includes analytical essays, reviews of new books, and a forum in each issue. Essays integrate scholarship, clarify debates, provide new perspectives on research, identify new directions for the field, and present insights into scholarship in various parts of the world. Book reviews focus on books published within the past year that contribute conceptually and empirically to international studies. The books reviewed are from across the globe. The Forum provides an outlet for debates over concepts, theories, methods, and the state of current research as well as reactions to pieces published in <i>ISR</i> .”
Reference	Wiley-Blackwell. 2010. “International Studies Review” [Online]. Available: http://www.blackwellpublishing.com/journal.asp?ref=1521-9488&site=1 (20 August 2010).

JOURNAL OF PEACE RESEARCH	
Publisher	Sage Publications
Publication frequency	Bimonthly
Official description	“ <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> is an interdisciplinary and international bimonthly, covering scholarly work in peace research. It strives for a global perspective on peace and peacemaking, with particular focus on the causes of violence and conflict resolution. <i>JPR</i> is edited by Nils Petter Gleditsch in collaboration with eight associate editors.”
Reference	PRIO. 2007. “Journal of Peace Research (JPR)” [Online]. Available: http://www.prio.no/Research-and-Publications/Journal-of-Peace-Research (22 August 2010).

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE	
Publisher	Lynne Rienner Publishers
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	“ <i>Global Governance</i> showcases the expertise of leading scholars and practitioners concerned with the processes of international cooperation and multilateralism. The result is a provocative exploration of the most pressing transnational challenges of our time—issues of peace and security, development, human rights, the environment, and health among

	them—presenting groundbreaking research, opinion pieces, and book reviews.”
Reference	Lynne Rienner Publishers. 2010. “Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations” [Online]. Available: http://www.rienner.com/title/Global_Governance_A_Review_of_Multilateralism_and_International_Organizations (22 August 2010).

JOURNAL OF POLITICS	
Publisher	Cambridge University Press
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	“ <i>The Journal of Politics</i> , a leading general interest journal in political science, publishes theoretically innovative and methodologically diverse research in all subfields of the discipline including, but not limited to, American politics, comparative politics, formal theory, international relations, methodology, political theory, public administration and public policy. Our conception of both theory and method is both broad and encompassing, and we welcome contributions from scholars around the world.”
Reference	JOP: The Journal of Politics. 2009. [Online]. Available: http://www.journalofpolitics.org/ (22 August 2010).

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES PERSPECTIVES	
Publisher	Wiley-Blackwell
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	“ <i>International Studies Perspectives (ISP)</i> publishes peer-reviewed articles that bridge the interests of researchers, teachers, and practitioners working within any and all subfields of international studies.”
Reference	Wiley-Blackwell. 2010. “International Studies Perspectives”. [Online]. Available: http://www.wiley.com/bw/journal.asp?ref=1528-3577 (18 August 2010).

POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY	
Publisher	The Academy of Political Science
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	Published continuously since 1886, Political Science Quarterly or PSQ is the most widely read and accessible scholarly journal covering government, politics and policy. A nonpartisan journal, PSQ is edited for both political scientists and general readers with a keen interest in public and foreign affairs. Each article is based on objective evidence and is fully refereed.
Reference	<i>Political Science Quarterly</i> . 2009. [Online]. Available: http://www.psqonline.org/ (22 August 2010).

COMPARATIVE POLITICS	
Publisher	City University of New York
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	“ Comparative Politics is an international journal that publishes scholarly articles devoted to the comparative analysis of political institutions and behavior. Comparative Politics communicates new ideas and research findings to social scientists, scholars, and students. The journal is indispensable to experts, in research organizations, foundations,

	consulates, and embassies throughout the world.”
Reference	City University of New York. S.a. “Comparative Politics” [Online]. Available: http://web.gc.cuny.edu/jcp/ABOUT.HTM (8 August 2010).

THIRD WORLD QUARTERLY	
Publisher	Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group
Publication frequency	Bi-Quarterly
Official description	“ <i>Third World Quarterly (TWQ)</i> is the leading journal of scholarship and policy in the field of international studies. For three decades it has set the agenda on development discourses of the global debate. As the most influential academic journal covering the emerging worlds, <i>TWQ</i> is at the forefront of analysis and commentary on fundamental issues of global concern.”
Reference	Taylor & Francis Group. 2010. “Journal details: Third World Quarterly” [Online]. Available: http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/01436597.asp (22 August 2010).

JOURNAL OF THIRD WORLD STUDIES	
Publisher	Association of Third World Studies (ATWS)
Publication frequency	Bi-annually
Official description	“A scholarly and provocative periodical on Third World problems and issues, the pioneering effort in Third World Studies.”
Reference	Association of Third World Studies. 2010. “Journal of Third World Studies” [Online]. Available: http://gsw.edu/~atws/journal.htm (22 August 2010).

AFRICAN AFFAIRS	
Publisher	Oxford University Press
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	“ <i>African Affairs</i> is published on behalf of the Royal African Society. It publishes articles on recent political, social and economic developments in sub-Saharan countries. Also included are historical studies that illuminate current events in the continent.”
Reference	Oxford Journals. 2010. <i>African Affairs</i> . [Online]. Available: http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/ (8 August 2010).

JOURNAL OF MODERN AFRICAN STUDIES (JMAS)	
Publisher	Cambridge University Press
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	“ <i>The Journal of Modern African Studies</i> offers a quarterly survey of developments in modern African politics and society. Its main emphasis is on current issues in African politics, economies, societies and international relations. It is intended not only for students and academic specialists, but also for general readers and practitioners with a concern for modern Africa, living and working both inside and outside the continent. Editorial policy avoids commitment to any political viewpoint or ideology, but aims at a fair examination of controversial issues in order to promote a deeper understanding of what is happening in Africa today. The journal also includes an invaluable book review section.”
Reference	Cambridge Journals. S.a. “Journal of Modern African Studies” [Online].

Available:
<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal;jsessionid=1829108DB4877B4901AF5B6D570901.tomcat1?jid=MOA> (10 August 2010).

REVIEW OF AFRICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY (ROAPE)	
Publisher	Taylor & Francis Group
Publication frequency	Quarterly
Official description	“Since 1974, ROAPE has provided radical analysis of trends, issues and social processes in Africa. It pays particular attention to the political economy of inequality, exploitation and oppression, whether driven by global forces or local ones such as class, race, ethnicity and gender), and to broadly materialist interpretations of change. It sustains a critical analysis of the nature of power and the state in Africa in the context of capitalist globalisation.”
Reference	Review of African Political Economy. 2010. [Online]. Available: http://www.roape.org/ (10 August 2010).

APPENDIX B: LIST OF ARTICLES

- Abdul-Korah, G.B. 2007. 'Where is not home?': Dagaaba migrants in the Brong Ahafo region, 1980 to the present. *African Affairs*. 106(422). January. 71-94.
- Abebanwi, W. *see* Obadare, E.
- Abrahams, C. 2010. Transforming the region: supermarkets and the local food economy in *African Affairs*. 109(434). January. 115-134.
- Abrahamsen, R. 2003. African studies and the postcolonial challenge. *African Affairs*. 102(407). April. 189-210.
- Abrahamsen, R. 2004. A breeding ground for terrorists? Africa and Britain's 'war on terrorism'. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(102). December. 677-684.
- Abrahamsen, R. 2004. The power of partnerships in global governance. *Third World Quarterly*. 25(8). December. 1453-1467.
- Addison, L. *see* Rutherford, B.
- Adegoke, A.O. *see* Okeagu, J.E.
- Adi, H. 2002. The African diaspora, 'development' and modern African political theory. *Review of African Political Economy*. 29(92). June. 237-251.
- Ahmida, A.A. 2009. Beyond orientalist, colonial and nationalist models: a critical mapping of Maghribi studies (1951-2000). *Third World Quarterly*. 30(6). September. 1227-1236.
- Ajulu, R. 2001. Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance in a globalising world economy: the struggle for the soul of the continent. *Review of African Political Economy*. 28(87). March. 27-42.
- Akyeampong, E. 2000. Africans in the diaspora: the diaspora and Africa. *African Affairs*. 99(395). April. 183-215.
- Akyeampong, E. 2005. Diaspora and drug trafficking in West Africa: a case study of Ghana. *African Affairs*. 104(416). July. 429-447.
- Akyeampong, E. 2010. 'Diasporas,' mobility and the social imaginary: getting ahead in West Africa. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 27(1). Spring. 25-42.
- Albaugh, E.A. 2009. The Colonial Image Reversed: Language Preferences and Policy Outcomes in African Education. *International Studies Quarterly*. 53(2). June. 389-420.
- Alden, C. & Alves, C. 2008. History and identity in the construction of China's Africa policy. *Review of African Political Economy*. 35(115). March. 43-58.
- Alden, C. & Le Pere, G. 2004. South Africa's post-apartheid foreign policy: from reconciliation to ambiguity. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(100). June. 283-297.
- Alden, C. & Soko, M. 2005. South Africa's economic relations with Africa: hegemony and its discontents. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 43(3). September. 367-392.
- Alden, C. & Vieira, M.A. 2005. The new diplomacy of the South: South Africa, Brazil, India and trilateralism. *Third World Quarterly*. 26(7). October. 1077-1095.
- Alden, C. 2000. From neglect to 'virtual engagement': the United States and its new paradigm for Africa. *African Affairs*. 99(396). July. 355-371.
- Alden, C. 2002. The chrysanthemum and the protea: reinventing Japanese-South African relations after apartheid. *African Affairs*. 101(404). July. 365-386.

- Alden, C. 2003. Let them eat cyberspace: Africa, the G8 and the digital divide. *Millennium*. 43(3). December. 457-476.
- Alence, R. 2004. Political institutions and developmental governance in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 42(2). June. 163-187.
- Alves, C. *see* Alden, C.
- Ampiah, K. 2005. Japan and the development of Africa: a preliminary evaluation of the Tokyo International Conference on African Development. *African Affairs*. 104(414). January. 997-115.
- Amselle, J.L. 2002. Globalization and the future of Anthropology. *African Affairs*. 101(403). April. 213-229.
- Andersson, J.A. 2006. Informal moves, informal markets: international migrants and traders from Mzimba District, Malawi. *African Affairs*. 105(420). July. 375-397.
- Andreasson, S. 2005. Orientalism and African development studies: the 'reductive repetition' motif in theories of African underdevelopment in *Third World Quarterly*. 26(6). September. 971-986.
- Aning, E.K. 2003. Regulating illicit trade in natural resources: the role of regional actors in West Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(95). March. 99-107.
- Aning, K., Jaye, T. & Atuobi, S. 2008. The role of private military companies in US-Africa policy. *Review of African Political Economy*. 35(118). December. 613-628.
- Antkiewicz, A. *see* Cooper, A.F.
- Antkiewicz, A. *see* Shaw, T.M.
- Athow, B. & Blanton, R.G. 2002. Colonial style and colonial legacies: trade patterns in British and French America. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 19(2). Fall. 219-241.
- Atuobi, S. *see* Aning, K.
- Auriat, N. *see* Bonneuil, N.
- Autesserre, S. 2007. D.R. Congo: explaining peace building failures, 2003-2006. *Review of African Political Economy*. 34(113). September. 423-441.
- Avant, D. 2004. Conserving nature in the State of Nature: the politics of INGO policy. *Review of International Studies*. 30(3). July. 361-382.
- Ayers, A.J. 2006. Demystifying democratisation: the global constitution of (neo)liberal polities in Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 27(2). March. 321-338.
- Ayers, A.J. 2010. Sudan's uncivil war: the global-historical constitution of political violence. *Review of African Political Economy*. 37(124). June. 153-171.
- Azam, J.P. 2001. The redistributive state and conflicts in Africa. *Journal of Peace Research*. 38(4). July. 429-444.
- Azam, J.P. 2002. Looting and conflict between ethnoregional groups: lessons for state formation in Africa. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 46(1). February. 131-153.
- Baab, M. *see* Ponte, S.
- Babou, C.A. 2002. Brotherhood solidarity, education and migration: the role of the *Dahiras* among the Murid muslim community of New York. *African Affairs*. 101(403). April. 151-170.
- Bachelard, J.Y. 2010. The Anglo-leasing corruption scandal in Kenya: the politics of international and domestic pressures and counter-pressures. *Review of African Political Economy*. 37(124). June. 187-200.

- Bachmann, J. & Hönke, J. 2010. 'Peace and security' as counterterrorism? The political effects of liberal interventions in Kenya. *African Affairs*. 109(434). January. 97-114.
- Bah, A.M.S. *see* Ramsbotham, A.
- Bahry, D. *see* Young, H.K.
- Bakewell, O. 2008. 'Keeping them in their place': the ambivalent relationship between development and migration in Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 29(7). October. 1341-1358.
- Bakonyi, J. & Stuvøy, K. 2005. Violence and social order beyond the state: Somalia and Angola. *Review of African Political Economy*. 32(104/105). June. 359-382.
- Baldwin-Edwards, M. 2006. 'Between a rock and a hard place': North Africa as a region of emigration, immigration and transit migration. *Review of African Political Economy*. 33(108). June. 311-324.
- Banégas, R. 2006. Côte d'Ivoire: patriotism, ethnonationalism and other African modes of self-writing. *African Affairs*. 105(421). October. 535-552.
- Bangura, A.K. & Fenyo, M.D. 2000. Articles on Africa in the *Journal of Third World Studies*: a content analysis and an annotated bibliography. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 17(2). Fall. 131-154.
- Bangura, A.K. 2009. A time series analysis of the African Growth and Opportunities Act: testing the efficacy of transnationalism. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 26(2). Fall. 31-50.
- Bank, A. & Van Heur, B. 2007. Transnational conflicts and the politics of scalar networks: evidence from Northern Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 28(3). April. 593-612.
- Barber, J. 2005. The new South Africa's foreign policy: principles and practice. *International Affairs*. 81(5). October. 1079-1096.
- Barkan, J.D., Densham, P.J. & Rushton, G. 2006. Space matters: designing better electoral systems for emerging democracies. *American Journal of Political Science*. 50(4). October. 926-939.
- Barnes, S.T. 2005. Global flows: terror, oil and strategic philanthropy. *Review of African Political Economy*. 32(104/105). June. 235-252.
- Barnett, T. 2006. A long-wave event. HIV/AIDS, politics, governance and 'security': sundering the intergenerational bond?. *International Affairs*. 82(2). March. 297-313.
- Barnett, T. 2008. Influencing tourism at the grassroots level: the role of NGO Tourism Concern. *Third World Quarterly*. 29(5). July. 995-1002.
- Bartlett, D. 2001. Human rights, democracy and the donors: the first MMD government in Zambia. *Review of African Political Economy*. 28(87). March. 83-91.
- Bayart, J.F. 2000. Africa in the world: a history of extraversion. *African Affairs*. 99(395). April. 217-267.
- Baylies, C. 2000. Overview: HIV/AIDS in Africa: global and local inequalities and responsibilities. *Review of African Political Economy*. 27(86). December. 487-500.
- Bayliss, K. 2003. Utility privatisation in sub-Saharan Africa: a case study of water. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 41(4). December. 507-531.
- Beinart, W., Brown, K. & Gilfoyle, D. 2009. Experts and expertise in colonial Africa reconsidered: science and the interpretation of knowledge. *African Affairs*. 108(432). July. 413-433.
- Berger, M.T. 2004. After the Third World? History, destiny and the fate of Third Worldism. *Third World Quarterly*. 25(1). February. 9-39.
- Bernault, F. 2010. Colonial bones: the 2006 burial of Savorgnan de Brazza in the Congo. *African Affairs*. 109(436). July. 367-390.

- Bernstein, H. 2003. Land reform in Southern Africa in world-historical perspective. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(96). June. 203-226.
- Betts, A. 2008. North-South cooperation in the refugee regime: the role of linkages. *Global Governance*. 14(2). April/June. 157-178.
- Bhavnani, R. *see* Snyder, R.
- Biel, R. 2003. Imperialism and international governance: the case of US policy towards Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(95). March. 77-88.
- Blanton, R. *see* Athow, B.
- Blanton, R., Mason, T.D. & Athow, B. 2001. Colonial style and post-colonial ethnic conflict in Africa. *Journal of Peace Research*. 38(4). July. 473-491.
- Boafo-Arthur, K. 2003. Tackling Africa's development dilemmas: is globalization the answer?. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 20(1). Spring. 27-54.
- Bøås, M. 2001. Liberia and Sierra Leone – dead ringers? The logic of neopatrimonial rule. *Third World Quarterly*. 22(5). October. 697-723.
- Bob-Milliar, G.M. 2009. Chieftaincy, diaspora, and development: the institution of *Nkɔsuohene* in Ghana. *African Affairs*. 108(433). October. 541-558.
- Bobo, B.F. 2006. A research agenda for the NEPAD initiative: a note. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 23(1). Spring. 75-86.
- Bond, P. 2001. South Africa's agenda in 21st century global governance. *Review of African Political Economy*. 28(89). September. 415-428.
- Bond, P. 2004. The ANC's 'left turn' and South African sub-imperialism. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(102). December. 599-616.
- Bonneuil, N. & Auriat, N. 2000. Fifty years of ethnic conflict and cohesion: 1945-94. *Journal of Peace Research*. 37(5). September. 563-581.
- Boone, C. 2005. State, capital, and the politics of banking reform in sub-Saharan Africa. *Comparative Politics*. 37(4). July. 401-420.
- Boone, C. 2007. Property and constitutional order: land tenure reform and the future of the African state. *African Affairs*. 106(425). October. 557-586.
- Boone, C. 2009. Electoral populism where property rights are weak: land politics in sub-Saharan Africa. *Comparative Politics*. 41(2). January. 183-201.
- Botea, R. *see* Taylor, B.D.
- Boyer, M.A., Gordon, D., Haluani, M., Kasimovskaya, E.N., Kim, K., Šabič, Z., McGowan, P.J. & Nel, P. 2002. Teaching International Studies from a regional perspective: an ISP symposium on Power, Wealth and Global Order: An International Textbook for Africa. *International Studies Perspectives*. 3(3). August. 235-257.
- Bracking, S. 2000. The uncertain future of bilateralism or, 'it takes two fingers to kill a louse'. *Review of African Political Economy*. 27(86). December. 559-575.
- Bracking, S. 2003. Regulating capital in accumulation: negotiating the imperial 'frontier'. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(95). March. 11-32.
- Bracking, S. 2004. Neoclassical and structural analysis of poverty: winning the 'Economic Kingdom' for the poor in Southern Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 25(5). July. 887-901.
- Bradley, M.T. 2005. 'The other': precursory African conceptions of democracy. *International Studies Review*. 7(3). September. 407-431.

- Brand, L.A. 2007. Middle East studies and academic freedom: challenges at home and abroad. *International Studies Perspectives*. 8(4). November. 384-395.
- Brass, J.N. 2008. Djibouti's unusual resource curse. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 46(4). December. 523-545.
- Bratton, M. *see* Mattes, R.
- Bräutigam, D. 2003. Close encounters: Chinese business networks as industrial catalysts in sub-Saharan Africa. *African Affairs*. 102(408). July. 447-467.
- Bräutigam, D., Rakner, L. & Taylor, S. 2002. Business associations and growth coalitions in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 40(4). December. 519-547.
- Breslin, S. & Taylor, I. 2008. Explaining the rise of 'human rights' in analyses of Sino-African relations. *Review of African Political Economy*. 35(115). March. 59-71.
- Brown, K. *see* Beinart, W.
- Brown, M.B. 2007. 'Fair trade' with Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 34(112). June. 267-277.
- Brown, O., Hammill, A. & McLeman, R. 2007. Climate change as the 'new' security threat: implications for Africa. *International Affairs*. 83(6). November. 1141-1154.
- Brown, W. 2000. Restructuring North-South relations: ACP-EU development co-operation in a liberal international order. *Review of African Political Economy*. 27(85). September. 367-383.
- Brown, W. 2006. Africa and International Relations: a comment on IR theory, anarchy and statehood. *Review of International Studies*. 32(1). January. 119-143.
- Brown, W. 2006. The Commission for Africa: results and prospects for the West's Africa policy. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 44(3). September. 349-374.
- Brown, W. 2007. Debating the Year of Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 34(111). March. 11-27.
- Brundtland, G.H. 2003. Global health and international security. *Global Governance*. 9(4). October/December. 417-423.
- Brysk, A., Parsons, C. & Sandholtz, W. 2002. After empire: national identity and post-colonial families of nations. *European Journal of International Relations*. 8(2). June. 267-305.
- Bujra, J. 2006. Class relations: AIDS and socioeconomic privilege in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 33(107). March. 113-129.
- Buscher, B. 2010. Derivative nature: interrogating the value of conservation in 'Boundless Southern Africa'. *Third World Quarterly*. 31(2). March. 259-276.
- Buscher, B. *see* Van Amerom, M.
- Bussman, M., Schneider, G. & Wiesehomeier, N. 2005. Foreign economic liberalization and peace: the case of sub-Saharan Africa. *European Journal of International Relations*. 11(4). December. 551-579.
- Cain, A. 2001. Humanitarian and development actors as peacebuilders?. *Review of African Political Economy*. 28(90). December. 577-586.
- Calder, F. *see* Ramsbotham, A.
- Cameron, G. 2001. Taking stock of pastoralist NGOs in Tanzania. *Review of African Political Economy*. 28(87). March. 55-72.
- Campbell, B. 2001. Governance, institutional reform and the state: international financial institutions and political transition in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 28(88). June. 155-176.

- Campbell, B. 2008. Regulation and legitimacy in the mining industry in Africa: where does Canada stand?. *Review of African Political Economy*. 35(117). September. 367-385.
- Campbell, H. 2008. China in Africa: challenging US global hegemony. *Third World Quarterly*. 29(1). February. 89-105.
- Campos, A. 2008. Oil, sovereignty and self-determination: Equatorial Guinea and Western Sahara. *Review of African Political Economy*. 35(117). September. 435-447.
- Cantrell, P.A. 2007. The Anglican church in Rwanda: domestic agendas and international linkages. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 45(3). September. 333-354.
- Carey, S.C. 2007. Rebellion in Africa: disaggregating the effect of political regimes. *Journal of Peace Research*. 44(1). January. 47-64.
- Carotenuto, M. & Luongo, K. 2009. *Dala* or diaspora? Obama and the Luo community of Kenya. *African Affairs*. 108(431). April. 197-219.
- Cassidy, R. & Leach, M. 2009. Science, politics, and the presidential AIDS 'cure'. *African Affairs*. 108(433). October. 559-580.
- Cederman, L.E. & Girardin, L. 2010. Beyond fractionalization: mapping ethnicity onto nationalist insurgencies. *The American Political Science Review*. 101(1). February. 173-185.
- Chabal, P. 2002. The quest for good government and development in Africa: is NEPAD the answer?. *International Affairs*. 78(3). July. 447-462.
- Chafer, T. 2002. Franco-African relations: no longer so exceptional?. *African Affairs*. 101(404). July. 343-363.
- Cheru, F. 2000. Debt relief and social investment: linking the HIPC initiative to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Africa: the case of Zambia. *Review of African Political Economy*. 27(86). December. 519-535.
- Cheru, F. 2002. Debt, adjustment and the politics of effective response to HIV/AIDS in Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 23(2). April. 299-312.
- Christiansen, K. *see* Maxwell, S.
- Clark, J.F. 2001. Explaining Ugandan intervention in Congo: evidence and interpretations. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 39(2). June. 261-287.
- Clark, J.F. 2002. The neo-colonial context of the democratic experiment of Congo-Brazzaville. *African Affairs*. 101(403). April. 171-192.
- Clifford, M.J. *see* Hilson, G.
- Cogburn, D.L. & Levinson, N.S. 2003. US-Africa virtual collaboration in globalization studies: success factors for complex cross-national learning teams. *International Studies Perspectives*. 4(1). February. 34-52.
- Collier, P. & Hoeffler, A. 2002. On the incidence of civil war in Africa. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 46(1). February. 13-28.
- Collin, J. *see* Patel, P.
- Cooper, A.D. 2007. Reparations for the Herero genocide: defining the limits of international litigation. *African Affairs*. 106(422). January. 113-126.
- Cooper, A.F. *see* Shaw, T.M.
- Cooper, A.F., Antkiewicz, A. & Shaw, T.M. 2007. Lessons from/for BRICSAM about South-North relations at the start of the 21st century: economic size trumps all else?. *International Studies Review*. 9(4). December. 673-689.

- Cooper, F. 2001. What is the concept of globalization good for? An African historian's perspective. *African Affairs*. 100(399). April. 189-213.
- Cooper, S. 2007. Why doesn't regional monetary cooperation follow trade cooperation?. *Review of International Political Economy*. 14(4). October. 626-652.
- Coplan, D.B. 2001. A river runs through it: the meaning of the Lesotho-Free State border. *African Affairs*. 100(398). January. 81-116.
- Cornelissen, S. 2004. 'It's Africa's turn!' The narratives and legitimations surrounding the Moroccan and South African bids for the 2006 and 2010 FIFA finals. *Third World Quarterly*. 25(7). October. 1293-1309.
- Cornelissen, S. 2005. Producing and imaging 'place' and 'people': the political economy of South African international tourist representation. *Review of International Political Economy*. 12(4). October. 674-699.
- Cotula, L. & Vermeulen, S. 2009. Deal or no deal: the outlook for agricultural land investment in Africa. *International Affairs*. 85(6). November. 1233-1247.
- Cox, K.R. & Negi, R. 2010. The state and the question of development in sub-Saharan Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 37(123). March. 71-85.
- Craft, C. & Smaldone, J.P. 2002. The arms trade and the incidence of political violence in sub-Saharan Africa, 1967-97. *Journal of Peace Research*. 39(6). November. 693-710.
- Curran, D. & Woodhouse, T. 2007. Cosmopolitan peacekeeping and peacebuilding in Sierra Leone: what can Africa contribute?. *International Affairs*. 83(6). November. 1055-1070.
- Dal Bó, E. & Powell, R. 2009. A model of spoils politics. *American Journal of Political Science*. 53(1). January. 207-222.
- Dansereau, S. 2005. Win-win or new imperialism? Public-private partnerships in Africa mining. *Review of African Political Economy*. 32(103). March. 47-62.
- De Bruijn, M. & Van Dijk, H. 2003. Changing population mobility in West Africa: Fulbe pastoralists in Central and South Mali. *African Affairs*. 102(407). April. 285-307.
- De Waal, A. 2003. How will HIV/AIDS transform African governance?. *African Affairs*. 102(406). January. 1-23.
- De Waal, A. 2005. Who are the Darfurians? Arab and African identities, violence and external engagement. *African Affairs*. 104(415). April. 181-205.
- De Waal, A. 2009. Mission without end? Peacekeeping in the African political marketplace. *International Affairs*. 85(1). January. 99-113.
- De Waal, A. *see* Whiteside, A.
- Debos, M. 2008. Fluid loyalties in a regional crisis: Chadian 'ex-liberators' in the Central African Republic. *African Affairs*. 107(427). April. 225-241.
- Densham, P.J. *see* Barkan, J.D.
- Dickovick, J.T. 2008. Legacies of leftism: ideology, ethnicity and democracy in Benin, Ghana and Mali. *Third World Quarterly*. 29(6). September. 1119-1137.
- Dikirr, P. *see* Ostergard Jr., R.L.
- Dougherty, B.K. *see* Saideman, S.M.
- Duffield, M. 2002. Aid and complicity: the case of war-displaced Southerners in the Northern Sudan. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 40(1). March. 83-104.

- Duffy, R. 2007. Gemstone mining in Madagascar: transnational networks, criminalisation and global integration. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 45(2). June. 185-206.
- Dunn, K.C. 2000. Tales from the dark side: Africa's challenge to international relations theory. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 17(1). Spring. 61-90.
- Dunn, K.C. 2001. Imagining Mobutu's Zaïre: the production and consumption of identity in international relations. *Millennium*. 30(2). June. 235-258.
- Dunn, K.C. 2004. Fear of a black planet: anarchy anxieties and postcolonial travel to Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 25(3). April. 489-499.
- Dunn, K.C. 2009. 'Sons of the soil' and contemporary state making: autochthony, uncertainty and political violence in Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 30(1). February. 113-127.
- Dunn, K.C. 2009. Contested state spaces: African national parks and the state. *European Journal of International Relations*. 15(3). September. 423-446.
- Dzinesa, G.A. 2007. Postconflict disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of former combatants in Southern Africa. *International Studies Perspectives*. 8(1). February. 73-89.
- Eaton, D. 2008. The business of peace: raiding and peace work along the Kenya-Uganda border (Part I). *African Affairs*. 107(426). January. 89-110.
- Eaton, D. 2008. The business of peace: raiding and peace work along the Kenya-Uganda Border (Part II). *African Affairs*. 107(427). April. 243-259.
- Eifert, B., Miguel, E. & Posner, D.N. 2010. Political competition and ethnic identification in Africa. *American Journal of Political Science*. 54(2). April. 494-510.
- El-Affendi, A. 2001. The impasse in the Igad peace process for Sudan: the limits of regional peacemaking?. *African Affairs*. 100(401). October. 581-599.
- Elbe, S. 2002. HIV/AIDS and the changing landscape of war in Africa. *International Security*. 27(2). Fall. 159-157.
- Ellis, S. 2009. West Africa's international drug trade. *African Affairs*. 108(431). April. 171-196.
- Emizet, K.N.F. 2000. The massacre of refugees in Congo: a case of UN peacekeeping failure and international law. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 38(2). June. 163-202.
- Englebert, P. & Hummel, R. 2005. Let's stick together: understanding Africa's secessionist deficit. *African Affairs*. 104(416). July. 399-427.
- Englebert, P. & Ron, J. 2004. Primary commodities and war: Congo-Brazzaville's ambivalent resource curse. *Comparative Politics*. 37(1). October. 61-81.
- Englebert, P. & Tull, D.M. 2008. Postconflict reconstruction in Africa: flawed ideas about failed states. *International Security*. 32(4). Spring. 106-139.
- Eriksen, S.S. 2005. The Congo war and the prospects for state formation: Rwanda and Uganda compared. *Third World Quarterly*. 26(7). October. 1097-1113.
- Fenyo, M.D. *see* Bangura, A.K.
- Firmin-Sellers, K. 2000. Institutions, context, and outcomes: explaining French and British rule in West Africa. *Comparative Politics*. 32(3). April. 253-272.
- Firmin-Sellers, K. 2001. The reconstruction of society: understanding the indigenous response to French and British rule in Cameroun. *Comparative Politics*. 34(1). October. 43-62.
- Fjeldstad, O.H. & Moore, M. 2009. Revenue authorities and public authority in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 47(1). March. 1-17.

- Fjeldstad, O.H. 2001. Taxation, coercion and donors: local government tax enforcement in Tanzania. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 39(2). June. 289-307.
- Flint, A. 2009. The end of a 'special relationship'? The new EU-ACP Economic Partnership Agreements. *Review of African Political Economy*. 36(119). March. 79-92.
- Fourati, K. 2009. Half full or half empty? The contribution of information and communication technologies to development. *Global Governance*. 15(1). January/March. 37-42.
- Francis, D.J. 2007. 'Paper protection' mechanisms: child soldiers and the international protection of children in Africa's conflict zones. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 45(2). June. 207-231.
- Fraser, A. 2005. Poverty reduction strategy papers: now who calls the shots?. *Review of African Political Economy*. 32(104/105). June. 317-340.
- Freedman, J. & Poku, N.K. 2005. The socioeconomic context of Africa's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. *Review of International Studies*. 31(4). October. 665-686.
- Frost, D. 2002. Diasporan West African communities: the Kru in Freetown and Liverpool. *Review of African Political Economy*. 29(92). June. 285-300.
- Frynas, J.G. & Paulo, M. 2006. A new scramble for African oil? Historical, political, and business perspectives. *African Affairs*. 106(423). October. 229-251.
- Frynas, J.G. & Wood, G. 2001. Oil and war in Angola. *Review of African Political Economy*. 28(90). December. 587-606.
- Frynas, J.G. 2004. Social and environmental litigation against transnational firms in Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 42(3). September. 363-388.
- Frynas, J.G. 2004. The oil boom in Equatorial Guinea. *African Affairs*. 103(413). October. 527-546.
- Frynas, J.G., Wood, G. & Soares de Oliveira, R.M.S. 2003. Business and politics in São Tomé e Príncipe: from cocoa monoculture to petro-state. *African Affairs*. 102(406). January. 51-80.
- Galich, G. *see* Mozaffar, S.
- Gallagher, J. 2009. Healing the scar? Idealizing Britain in Africa, 1997-2007. *African Affairs*. 108(432). July. 435-451.
- Gebre-Tensae, T. *see* Whiteside, A.
- Geenen, S. *see* Marysse, S.
- Gershoni, Y. 2001. Common goals, different ways: the UNIA and the NCBWA in West Africa – 1920-1930. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 18(2). Fall. 171-185.
- Gibb, R. 2004. Developing countries and market access: the bitter-sweet taste of the European Union's sugar policy in Southern Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 42(4). December. 563-588.
- Gibb, R. 2009. Regional integration and Africa's development trajectory: meta-theories, expectations and reality. *Third World Quarterly*. 30(4). June. 701-721.
- Gibbon, P. 2002. Present-day capitalism, the new international trade regime and Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 29(91). March. 95-112.
- Gibbs, D.N. 2000. The United Nations, international peacekeeping and the question of 'impartiality': revisiting the Congo operation of 1960. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 38(3). September. 359-382.
- Gilfoyle, D. *see* Beinart, W.
- Girardin, L. *see* Cederman, L.E.
- Githens-Mazer, J. 2009. The blowback of repression and the dynamics of North African radicalization. *International Affairs*. 85(5). September. 1015-1029.

- Glasius, M. 2009. 'We ourselves, we are part of the functioning': the ICC, victims, and civil society in the Central African Republic. *African Affairs*. 108(430). January. 49-67.
- Godzala, A.W. 2010. From formal- to informal-sector employment: examining the Chinese presence in Zambia. *Review of African Political Economy*. 37(123). March. 41-59.
- Goldsmith, A.A. 2000. Sizing up the African state. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 38(1). March. 1-19.
- Goldsmith, A.A. 2001. Donors, dictators and democrats in Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 39(3). September. 411-436.
- Goldsmith, A.A. 2001. Foreign aid and statehood in Africa. *International Organization*. 55(1). Winter. 311-339.
- Gonzales, D. 2000. Cuban-African relations: nationalist roots of an internationalist policy. *Review of African Political Economy*. 27(84). June. 317-323.
- Good, K. & Hughes, S. 2002. Globalization and diversification: two cases in Southern Africa. *African Affairs*. 101(402). January. 39-59.
- Goodison, P. 2005. Six months on: what shift is there in the EU approach to EPA negotiations?. *Review of African Political Economy*. 32(104/105). June. 295-308.
- Goodison, P. 2007. EU trade policy and the future of Africa's trade relationship with the EU. *Review of African Political Economy*. 34(112). June. 247-266.
- Goodison, P. 2007. The future of Africa's trade with Europe: 'New' EU trade policy. *Review of African Political Economy*. 34(111). March. 129-151.
- Goodison, P. 2007. What is the future for EU-Africa agricultural trade after CAP reform?. *Review of African Political Economy*. 34(112). June. 279-295.
- Gordon, M.A. *see* Boyer, M.A.
- Gray, C. 2005. Peacekeeping and enforcement action in Africa: the role of Europe and the obligations of multilateralism. *Review of International Studies*. 31(S1). December. 207-223.
- Graybill, L.S. 2004. Pardon, punishment and amnesia: three African post-conflict methods. *Third World Quarterly*. 25(6). September. 1117-1130.
- Gregory, S. 2000. The French military in Africa: past and present. *African Affairs*. 99(396). July. 435-448.
- Grovogui, S.N. 2002. Regimes of sovereignty: international morality and the African condition. *European Journal of International Relations*. 8(3). September. 315-338.
- Guseh, J.S. & Oritsejafor, E. 2005. Democracy and economic growth in Africa: the cases of Ghana and South Africa. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 22(2). Fall. 121-137.
- Haacke, J. & Williams, P.D. 2008. Regional arrangements, securitization, and transnational security challenges: the African Union and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations compared. *Security Studies*. 17(4). October. 775-809.
- Haglund, D. 2008. Regulating FDI in weak African states: a case study of Chinese copper mining in Zambia. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 46(4). December. 547-575.
- Haluani, M. *see* Boyer, M.A.
- Hammerstad, A. 2005. Domestic threats, regional solutions? The challenge of security integration in Southern Africa. *Review of International Studies*. 31(1). January. 69-87.
- Hammill, A. *see* Brown, O.

- Hanlon, J. 2000. Power without responsibility: the World Bank and Mozambican cashew nuts. *Review of African Political Economy*. 27(83). March. 29-45.
- Hanlon, J. 2004. Do donors promote corruption? The case of Mozambique. *Third World Quarterly*. 25(4). June. 747-763.
- Harman, S. 2007. The World Bank: failing the Multi-Country AIDS Program, failing HIV/AIDS. *Global Governance*. 13(4). October/December. 485-492.
- Harman, S. 2009. Fighting HIV and AIDS: reconfiguring the state?. *Review of African Political Economy*. 36(121). September. 353-367.
- Harnischfeger, J. 2004. Sharia and control over territory: conflicts between 'settlers' and 'indigenes' in Nigeria. *African Affairs*. 103(412). July. 431-452.
- Harrington, J.A. & Manji, A. 2003. The emergence of African Law as an academic discipline in Britain. *African Affairs*. 102(406). January. 109-134.
- Harris, K. 2005. Still relevant: Claude Ake's challenge to mainstream discourse on African politics and development. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 22(2). Fall. 73-88.
- Harrison, G. 2001. Administering market friendly growth? Liberal populism and the World Bank's involvement in administrative reform in sub-Saharan Africa. *Review of International Political Economy*. 8(3). August. 528-547.
- Harrison, G. 2001. Bringing political struggle back in: African politics, power and resistance. *Review of African Political Economy*. 28(89). September. 387-402.
- Harrison, G. 2005. Economic faith, social project and a misreading of African society: the travails of neoliberalism in Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 26(8). 1303-1320.
- Harrison, G. 2010. The Africanization of poverty: a retrospective on 'make poverty history.' *African Affairs*. 109(436). July. 391-408.
- Head, W.P. 2004. Where do we go from here? Let our past be our guide to the future. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 21(1). Spring. 13-16.
- Hearn, J. 2000. Aiding democracy? Donors and civil society in South Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 21(5). October. 815-830.
- Hearn, J. 2001. The 'uses and abuses' of civil society in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 28(87). March. 43-53.
- Heinisch, E.L. 2006. West Africa versus the United States on cotton subsidies: how, why and what next?. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 44(2). June. 251-274.
- Henderson, E.A. & Singer, J.D. 2000. Civil war in the post-colonial world, 1946-92. *Journal of Peace Research*. 37(3). May. 275-299.
- Hentz, J.J. 2005. South Africa and the political economy of regional cooperation in Southern Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 43(1). March. 21-51.
- Hentz, J.J. 2009. The Southern African security order: regional economic integration and security among developing states. *Review of International Studies*. 35(S1). February. 189-213.
- Herbst, J. 2003. Analyzing apartheid: how accurate were US intelligence estimates of South Africa, 1948-94?. *African Affairs*. 102(406). January. 81-107.
- Herbst, J. 2004. African militaries and rebellion: the political economy of threat and combat effectiveness. *Journal of Peace Research*. 41(3). May. 357-369.
- Hills, A. 2006. Trojan horses? USAID, counter-terrorism and Africa's police. *Third World Quarterly*. 27(4). June. 629-643.

- Hills, A. 2007. Police commissioners, presidents and the governance of security. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 45(3). September. 403-423.
- Hilson, G. & Clifford, M.J. 2010. A 'Kimberley protest': diamond mining, export sanctions, and poverty in Akwatia, Ghana. *African Affairs*. 109(436). July. 431-450.
- Hoeffler, A. *see* Collier, P.
- Hoffman, D. 2004. The civilian target in Sierra Leone and Liberia: political power, military strategy, and humanitarian intervention. *African Affairs*. 103(411). April. 211-226.
- Höglund, K. & Söderberg Kovacs, M. 2010. Beyond the absence of war: the diversity of peace in post-settlement societies. *Review of International Studies*. 36(2). April. 367-390.
- Höhn, S. 2010. International justice and reconciliation in Namibia: the ICC submission and public memory. *African Affairs*. 109(436). July. 471-488.
- Holland, J. *see* Mohan, G.
- Holtom, D. 2005. Reconsidering the power of the IFIs: Tanzania and the World Bank, 1978-1985. *Review of African Political Economy*. 32(106). December. 549-568.
- Holvoet, N. & Rombouts, H. 2008. The challenge of monitoring and evaluation under the new aid modalities: experiences from Rwanda. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 46(4). December. 577-602.
- Hönke, J. *see* Bachmann, J.
- Honyi, H.L. 2007. China's oil diplomacy: is it a global security threat?. *Third World Quarterly*. 28(3). April. 519-537.
- Hope, K.R. 2002. From crisis to renewal: towards a successful implementation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development. *African Affairs*. 101(404). July. 387-402.
- Hopkins, A.G. 2000. Quasi-states, weak states and the partition of Africa. *Review of International Studies*. 26(2). April. 311-320.
- Horning, N.R. 2008. Strong support for weak performance: donor competition in Madagascar. *African Affairs*. 107(428). July. 405-431.
- Houle, C. 2009. Inequality and democracy: why inequality harms consolidation but does not affect democratization. *World Politics*. 61(4). October. 589-622.
- Hughes, B. *see* Patel, P.
- Hughes, S. *see* Good, K.
- Huliaras, A. 2001. Qadhafi's comeback: Libya and sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s. *African Affairs*. 100(398). January. 5-25.
- Hummel, R. *see* Englebert, P.
- Igoe, J. 2006. Becoming indigenous peoples: difference, inequality, and the globalization of East African identity politics. *African Affairs*. 105(420). July. 399-420.
- Iheduru, O.C. 2008. Why 'Anglo licks the ANC's boots': globalization and state-capital relations in South Africa. *African Affairs*. 107(428). July. 333-360.
- Ikelegbe, A. 2001. Civil society, oil and conflict in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria: ramifications of civil society for a regional resource struggle. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 39(3). September. 437-472.
- Ingram, A. 2007. HIV/AIDS, security and the geopolitics of US-Nigerian relations. *Review of International Political Economy*. 14(3). August. 510-534.

- Iqbal, Z. & Zorn, C. 2010. Violent conflict and the spread of HIV/AIDS in Africa. *Journal of Politics*. 72(1). January. 149-162.
- Iroge, K. 2005. Globalization and the development of underdevelopment of the Third World. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 22(1). Spring. 41-68.
- Iye, A.M. 2003. The betrayal of the intellectuals. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(97). September. 363-368.
- Iyob, R. 2000. The Ethiopian-Eritrean conflict: diasporic vs. hegemonic states in the Horn of Africa, 1991-2000. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 38(4). December. 659-682.
- Jacobsen, K. 2002. Can refugees benefit the state? Refugee resources and African statebuilding. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 40(4). December. 577-597.
- Jacoby, T. 2005. Cultural determinism, Western hegemony and the efficacy of defective states. *Review of African Political Economy*. 32(104/105). June. 215-233.
- Jaye, T. *see* Aning, K.
- Jenne, E.K. *see* Saideman, S.M.
- Joff, G. 2009. Political dynamics in North Africa. *International Affairs*. 85(5). September. 931-949.
- John, N. 2000. The campaign against British bank involvement in apartheid South Africa. *African Affairs*. 99(396). July. 415-433.
- Johnson, D.H. 2008. Why Abyei matters: the breaking point of Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement?. *African Affairs*. 107(426). January. 1-19.
- Johnston, P. 2004. Timber booms, state busts: the political economy of Liberian timber. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(101). September. 441-456.
- Johnston, P. 2008. The geography of insurgent organization and its consequences for civil wars: evidence from Liberia and Sierra Leone. *Security Studies*. 17(1). January. 107-137.
- Jones, B.G. 2003. The civilised horrors of over-work: Marxism imperialism and development of Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(95). March. 33-44.
- Jones, B.G. 2005. Africa and the poverty of international relations. *Third World Quarterly*. 26(6). September. 987-1003.
- Jones, B.G. 2008. The global political economy of social crisis: towards a critique of the 'failed state' ideology. *Review of International Political Economy*. 15(2). May. 180-205.
- Jones, P.S. 2004. When 'development' devastates: donor discourse, access to HIV/AIDS treatment in Africa and rethinking the landscape of development. *Third World Quarterly*. 25(2). March. 385-404.
- Jones, S. 2006. A political ecology of wildlife conservation in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 33(109). September. 483-495.
- Jourde, C. 2005. 'The president is coming to visit!': Dramas and the hijack of democratization in the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. *Comparative Politics*. 37(4). July. 421-440.
- Kandeh, J.D. 2008. Rogue incumbents, donor assistance and Sierra Leone's second post-conflict elections of 2007. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 46(4). December. 603-635.
- Kasara, K. 2007. Tax me if you can: ethnic geography, democracy, and the taxation of agriculture in Africa. *The American Political Science Review*. 101(1). February. 159-173.
- Kasimovskaya, E.N. *see* Boyer, M.A.
- Kausch, K. & Youngs, R. 2009. The end of the 'Euro-Mediterranean vision'. *International Affairs*. 85(5). September. 963-975.

- Kayaoglu, T. 2010. Westphalian Eurocentrism in International Relations Theory. *International Studies Review*. 12(2). June. 193-217.
- Keenan, J. 2004. Terror in the Sahara: the implications of US imperialism for North and West Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(101). September. 475-496.
- Keenan, J.H. 2006. Security and insecurity in North Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 33(108). June. 269-296.
- Keene, E. 2007. A case study of the construction of international hierarchy: British treaty-making against the slave trade in the early nineteenth century. *International Organization*. 61(2). Spring. 123-148.
- Khan, S. *see* Willis, K.
- Kieh Jr., G.K. 2009. Reconstituting the neo-colonial state in Africa. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 26(1). Spring. 41-55.
- Kim, K. *see* Boyer, M.A.
- Klare, M. & Volman, D. 2006a. America, China and the scramble for Africa's oil. *Review of African Political Economy*. 33(108). June. 297-309.
- Klare, M. & Volman, D. 2006b. The African 'oil rush' and US national security. *Third World Quarterly*. 27(4). June. 609-628.
- Klotz, A. 2000. Migration after apartheid: deracialising South African foreign policy. *Third World Quarterly*. 21(5). October. 831-847.
- Kobia, R. 431-443. European Union commission policy in the DRC. *Review of African Political Economy*. 29(93/94). December. 431-443.
- Kohnert, D. 2003. Witchcraft and transnational social spaces: witchcraft violence, reconciliation and development in South Africa's transition process. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 41(2). June. 217-245.
- Kohnert, D. 2004. Election observation in Nigeria and Madagascar: diplomatic vs. technocratic bias. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(99). March. 83-101.
- Konings, P. 2005. The Anglophone Cameroon-Nigeria boundary: opportunities and conflicts. *African Affairs*. 104(415). April. 275-301.
- Kornprobst, M. 2002. The management of border disputes in African regional sub-systems: comparing West Africa and the Horn of Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 40(3). September. 369-393.
- Kragelund, P. 2009. Knocking on a wide-open door: Chinese investments in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 36(122). December. 479-497.
- Krahmann, E. 2003. National, regional, and global governance: one phenomenon or many?. *Global Governance*. 9(3). July/September. 323-346.
- Kraus, J. 2002. Capital, power and business associations in the African political economy: a tale of two countries, Ghana and Nigeria. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 40(3). September. 395-436.
- Kraxberger, B.M. 2007. Failed states: temporary obstacles to democratic diffusion or fundamental holes in the world political map?. *Third World Quarterly*. 28(6). September. 1055-1071.
- Krueger, J. & Selin, H. 2002. Governance for sound chemicals management: the need for a more comprehensive global strategy. *Global Governance*. 8(3). July/September. 323-342.
- Krueger, J. *see* Selin, H.
- Kyle, S. 2005. The political economy of Angolan growth: social and regional structure. *Review of African Political Economy*. 32(104/105). June. 269-293.

- La Branche, S. 2005. Abuse and Westernization: reflections on strategies of power. *Journal of Peace Research*. 42(2). March. 219-235.
- Laakso, L. 2002. The politics of international election observation: the case of Zimbabwe in 2000. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 40(3). September. 437-464.
- Landau, L.B. 2004. Challenge without transformation: refugees, aid and trade in Western Tanzania. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 42(1). March. 31-59.
- Landau, L.B. 2006. Immigration and the state of exception: security and sovereignty in East and Southern Africa. *Millennium*. 34(2). February. 325-348.
- Landau, L.B. 2010. Loving the alien? Citizenship, law, and the future in South Africa's demonic society. *African Affairs*. 109(435). April. 213-230.
- Large, D. 2008. Beyond 'dragon in the bush': the study of China-Africa relations. *African Affairs*. 107(426). January. 45-61.
- Large, D. 2008. China and the contradictions of 'non-interference' in Sudan. *Review of African Political Economy*. 35(115). March. 93-106.
- Lata, L. 2003. The Ethiopian-Eritrea war. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(97). September. 369-388.
- Lavelle, K.C. 2001. Ideas within a context of power: the African group in an evolving UNCTAD. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 39(1). March. 25-50.
- Lavelle, K.C. 2005. Moving in from the periphery: Africa and the study of International Political Economy. *Review of International Political Economy*. 12(2). May. 364-379.
- Lawson, G. 2005. Negotiated revolutions: the prospects for radical change in contemporary world politics. *Review of International Studies*. 31(3). July. 473-493.
- Lawson, L. 2009. The politics of anti-corruption reform in Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 47(1). March. 73-100.
- Le Billon, P. 2001. Angola's political economy of war: the role of oil and diamonds, 1975-2000. *African Affairs*. 100(398). January. 55-80.
- Le Billon, P. *see* Spiegel, S.J.
- Le Pere, G. *see* Alden, C.
- Leach, M. *see* Cassidy, R.
- Leenders, R. 2007. 'Regional conflict formations': is the Middle East next?. *Third World Quarterly*. 28(5). July. 959-982.
- Lemarchand, R. 2002. The tunnel at the end of the light. *Review of African Political Economy*. 29(93/94). December. 389-398.
- Lemke, D. 2003. African lessons for international relations research. *World Politics*. 56(1). October. 114-138.
- Lemke, D. 2003. Development and war. *International Studies Review*. 5(4). Winter. 55-63.
- Levinson, N.S. *see* Cogburn, D.L.
- Levitsky, S. & Way, L.A. 2006. Linkage versus leverage. Rethinking the international dimension of regime change. *Comparative Politics*. 38(4). July. 379-400.
- Leysens, A.J. 2006. Social forces in Southern Africa: transformation from below?. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 44(1). March. 31-58.

- Lieberman, P. 2001. The rise and fall of the South African bomb. *International Security*. 26(2). Fall. 45-87.
- Lieberfeld, D. 2002. Evaluating the contributions of track-two diplomacy to conflict termination in South Africa, 1984-90. *Journal of Peace Research*. 39(3). May. 355-372.
- Lincoln, D. 2006. Beyond the plantation: Mauritius in the global division of labour. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 44(1). March. 59-78.
- Lindell, I. 2010. Informality and collective organising: identities, alliances and transnational activism in Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 31(2). March. 207-222.
- Lindley, A. 2009. Between 'dirty money' and 'development capital': Somali money transfer infrastructure under global scrutiny. *African Affairs*. 108(433). October. 519-539.
- Litonjua, M.D. 2010. Third World/Global South: from development to globalization to imperial project. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 27(1). Spring. 107-134.
- Loftus, A. 2009. Rethinking political ecologies of water. *Third World Quarterly*. 30(5). July. 953-968.
- Love, R. 2004. HIV/AIDS in Africa: links, livelihoods and legacies. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(102). December. 639-648.
- Loxley, J. 2003. Imperialism and economic reform in Africa: what's new about the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)? *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(95). March. 119-128.
- Luongo, K. *see* Carotenuto, M.
- Lyons, T. 2009. The Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict and the search for peace in the Horn of Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 36(120). June. 167-180.
- MacDonald, P.K. 2009. Is imperial rule obsolete? Assessing the barriers to overseas adventurism. *Security Studies*. 18(1). January. 79-114.
- MacLean, S.J. 2002. Mugabe at war: the political economy of conflict in Zimbabwe. *Third World Quarterly*. 23(3). June. 513-528.
- Magbadelo, J.O. 2005. Westernism, Americanism, unipolarism, globalism and Africa's marginality. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 22(2). Fall. 89-101.
- Makoba, J.W. 2002. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and Third World development: an alternative approach to development. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 19(1). Spring. 53-63.
- Malaquias, A. 2001. Diamonds are a guerilla's best friend: the impact of illicit wealth on insurgency strategy. *Third World Quarterly*. 22(3). June. 311-325.
- Malaquias, A. 2001. Making war and lots of money: the political economy of protracted conflict in Angola. *Review of African Political Economy*. 28(90). December. 521-536.
- Malbrough, M. *see* Manning, C.
- Manji, A. 2001. Land reform in the shadow of the state: the implementation of new land laws in sub-Saharan Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 22(3). June. 327-342.
- Manji, A. 2003. Capital, labour and land relations in Africa: a gender analysis of the World Bank's Policy Research Report on Land Institutions and Land Policy. *Third World Quarterly*. 24(1). February. 97-114.
- Manji, A. *see* Harrington, J.A.
- Manji, F. & O'Coill, C. 2002. The missionary position: NGOs and development in Africa. *International Affairs*. 78(3). July. 567-583.
- Manning, C. & Malbrough, M. 2010. Bilateral donors and aid conditionality in post-conflict peacebuilding: the case of Mozambique. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 48(1). March. 143-169.

- Manzo, K. 2005. Modern slavery, global capitalism and deproletarianisation in West Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 32(106). December. 521-534.
- Marks, J. 2009. Nationalist policy-making and crony capitalism in the Maghreb: the old economics hinders the new. *International Affairs*. 85(5). September. 951-962.
- Marriage, Z. 2006. Defining morality: DFID and the Great Lakes. *Third World Quarterly*. 27(3). April. 477-490.
- Martin, G. 2005. The West, natural resources and population control policies in Africa in historical perspective. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 22(1). Spring. 69-107.
- Martin, W.G. 2004. Beyond Bush: the future of popular movements and US Africa policy. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(102). December. 585-597.
- Martin, W.G. 2008. Africa's futures: from North-South to East-South?. *Third World Quarterly*. 29(2). March. 339-356.
- Marysse, S. & Geenen, S. 2009. Win-win or unequal exchange? The case of the Sino-Congolese cooperation agreements. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 47(3). September. 371-396.
- Mason, T.D. *see* Blanton, R.
- Mattes, R. & Bratton, M. 2007. Learning about democracy in Africa: awareness, performance, and experience. *American Journal of Political Science*. 51(1). January. 192-217.
- Matthews, S. 2004. Investigating NEPAD's development assumptions. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(101). September. 497-511.
- Maxwell, S. & Christiansen, K. 2002. 'Negotiation as simultaneous equation': building a new partnership with Africa. *International Affairs*. 78(3). July. 477-491.
- Mazrui, A.A. 2002. Globalization between the market and the military: a Third World perspective. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 19(1). Spring. 13-24.
- Mazzitelli, A.L. 2007. Transnational organized crime in West Africa: the additional challenge. *International Affairs*. 83(6). November. 1071-1090.
- McCarthy, C. 2003. The Southern African Customs Union in transition. *African Affairs*. 102(409). October. 605-630.
- McCaskie, T.C. 2008. The United States, Ghana and oil: global and local perspectives. *African Affairs*. 107(428). July. 313-332.
- McCormick, D. 2008. China and India as Africa's new donors: the impact of aid on development. *Review of African Political Economy*. 35(115). March. 73-92.
- McFerson, H.M. 2009. Governance and hyper-corruption in resource-rich African countries. *Third World Quarterly*. 30(8). December. 1529-1547.
- McGowan, P.J. 2003. African military coups d'état, 1956-2001: frequency, trends and distribution. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 41(3). September. 339-370.
- McGowan, P.J. *see* Boyer, M.A.
- McLeman, R. *see* Brown, O.
- Meagher, K. 2003. A back door to globalisation? Structural adjustment, globalisation and transborder trade in West Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(95). March. 57-75.
- Mehler, A. *see* Tull, D.M.
- Melvern, L. & Williams, P. 2004. Britannia waived the rules: the major government and the 1994 Rwandan genocide. *African Affairs*. 103(410). January. 1-48.

- Menkhaus, K. 2009. Somalia: 'they created a desert and called it peace(building)'. *Review of African Political Economy*. 36(120). June. 223-233.
- Mercer, C. 2004. Engineering civil society: ICT in Tanzania. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(99). March. 49-64.
- Middleton, N. & O'Keefe, P. 2006. Politics, history and problems of humanitarian assistance in Sudan. *Review of African Political Economy*. 33(109). September. 543-559.
- Miguel, E. *see* Eifert, B.
- Miles, W.F.S. 2005. Development, not division: local versus external perceptions of the Niger-Nigeria boundary. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 43(2). June. 297-320.
- Mistry, P.S. 2000. Africa's record of regional co-operation and integration. *African Affairs*. 99(397). October. 553-573.
- Mkandawire, T. 2002. The terrible toll of post-colonial 'rebel movements' in Africa: towards an explanation of the violence against the peasantry. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 40(2). June. 181-215.
- Mkutu, K.A. 2007. Small arms and light weapons among pastoral groups in the Kenya-Uganda border area. *African Affairs*. 106(422). January. 47-70.
- Mohan, G. & Holland, J. 2001. Human rights and development in Africa: moral intrusion or empowering opportunity?. *Review of African Political Economy*. 28(88). June. 177-196.
- Mohan, G. & Power, M. 2008. New African choices? The politics of Chinese engagement. *Review of African Political Economy*. 35(115). March. 23-42.
- Mohan, G. & Zack-Williams, A.B. 2002. Globalisation from below: conceptualising the role of the African diasporas in Africa's development. *Review of African Political Economy*. 29(92). June. 211-236.
- Mokhawa, G. *see* Taylor, I.
- Moore, D. 2000. Levelling the playing fields and embedding illusions: 'post-conflict' discourse and neo-liberal 'development' in war-torn Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 27(83). March. 11-28.
- Moore, D. 2001. Neoliberal globalisation and the triple crisis of 'modernisation' in Africa: Zimbabwe, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and South Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 22(6). December. 909-929.
- Moore, M. *see* Fjeldstad, O.H.
- Moran, M.H. & Pitcher, M.A. 2004. The 'basket case' and the 'posterchild': explaining the end of civil conflicts in Liberia and Mozambique. *Third World Quarterly*. 25(3). April. 501-519.
- Mosoti, V. 2004. The legal implications of Sudan's accession to the World Trade Organization. *African Affairs*. 103(411). April. 269-282.
- Mozaffar, S., Scarritt, J.R. & Galaich, G. 2003. Electoral institutions, ethno-political cleavages, and party systems in Africa's emerging democracies. *The American Political Science Review*. 97(3). August. 379-391.
- Mundy, J. 2006. Autonomy and *Intifadah*: new horizons in Western Saharan nationalism. *Review of African Political Economy*. 33(108). June. 255-267.
- Mwenda, A.M. & Tangri, R. 2005. Patronage politics, donor reforms, and regime consolidation in Uganda. *African Affairs*. 104(416). July. 449-467.
- Mwenda, A.M. *see* Tangri, R.
- Nasong'o, S.W. 2004. From political dictatorship to authoritarian economism: plural politics and free market reforms in Africa. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 21(2). Fall. 107-125.

- Nathan, L. 2005. Consistency and inconsistencies in South African foreign policy. *International Affairs*. 81(2). March. 361-372.
- Negi, R. *see* Cox, K.R.
- Nel, P. 2003. Income inequality, economic growth, and political instability in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 41(4). December. 611-639.
- Nel, P. *see* Boyer, M.A.
- Nel, P. *see* Taylor, I.
- Nel, P., Taylor, I. & Van der Westhuizen, J. 2000. Multilateralism in South Africa's foreign policy: the search for a critical rationale. *Global Governance*. 6(1). January/March. 43-60.
- Nest, M. 2001. Ambitions, profits and loss: Zimbabwean economic involvement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. *African Affairs*. 100(400). July. 469-490.
- Njoh, A.J. & Rigos, P.N. 2003. Female participation in the formal sector and development in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 20(2). Fall. 93-111.
- Nmoma, V. 2006. Round 2 of the Liberian civil crisis: US and Liberia, presumed historical ties. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 23(1). Spring. 169-198.
- Nordas, R. *see* Østby, G.
- Nwozor, A. 2009. Echoes of divergence within: the politics and politicisation of Nigeria's debt relief. *Review of African Political Economy*. 36(119). March. 23-35.
- Nyamu-Musembi, C. 2006. Ruling out gender equality? The post-Cold War rule of law agenda in sub-Saharan Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 27(7). October. 1193-1207.
- Nyamu-Musembi, C. 2007. De Soto and land relations in rural Africa: breathing life into dead theories about property rights. *Third World Quarterly*. 28(8). December. 1457-1478.
- Nzongola-Ntalaja, G. 2004. Citizenship, political violence, and democratization in Africa. *Global Governance*. 10(4). October/December. 403-409.
- O'Brien, K.A. 2009. Managing national security and law enforcement intelligence in a globalised world. *Review of International Studies*. 35(4). October. 903-915.
- O'Coill, C. *see* Manji, F.
- O'Keefe, P. *see* Middleton, N.
- O'Sullivan, C. 2005. The United Nations, decolonization, and self-determination in Cold War sub-Saharan Africa, 1960-1994. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 22(2). Fall. 103-120.
- Obadare, E. & Abebanwi, W. 2009. Transnational resource flow and the paradoxes of belonging: redirecting the debate on transnationalism, remittances, state and citizenship in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 36(122). December. 499-517.
- Obi, C. 2000. Globalised images of environmental security in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 27(83). March. 47-62.
- Obi, C.I. 2008. Enter the dragon? Chinese oil companies and resistance in the Niger Delta. *Review of African Political Economy*. 35(117). September. 417-434.
- Okeagu, J.C. *see* Okeagu, J.E.
- Okeagu, J.E., Okeagu, J.C. and Adegoke, A.O. 2003. The impact on African societies of the standard hypothesis that HIV/AIDS originated in the continent. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 20(2). Fall. 113-124.
- Okehukwu, C.A. *see* Patel, P.

- Olivier, G. 2003. Is Thabo Mbeki Africa's saviour?. *International Affairs*. 79(4). July. 815-828.
- Olsen, G.R. 2001. European public opinion and aid to Africa: is there a link?. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 39(4). December. 645-674.
- Omach, P. 2000. The African Crisis Response Initiative: domestic politics and convergence of national interests. *African Affairs*. 99(394). January. 73-95.
- Orbie, J. 2007. The European Union and the commodity debate: from trade to aid. *Review of African Political Economy*. 34(112). June. 297-311.
- Oritsejafor, E. *see* Guseh, J.S.
- Osaghae, E.E. 2004. Political transitions and ethnic conflict in Africa. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 21(1). Spring. 221-240.
- Østby, G., Nordås, R. & Rød, J.K. 2009. Regional Inequalities and Civil Conflict in sub-Saharan Africa. *International Studies Quarterly*. 53(2). June. 301-324.
- Ostergard Jr., R.L. 2002. Politics in the hot zone: AIDS and national security in Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 23(2). April. 333-350.
- Ostergard Jr., R.L., Tubin, M.R. & Dikirr, P. 2006. Between the sacred and the secular: indigenous intellectual property, international markets and the modern African state. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 44(2). June. 309-333.
- Oyatambwe, W. *see* Smis, S.
- Pallotti, A. 2004. SADC: a development community without a development policy?. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(101). September. 513-531.
- Papasotiriou, H. *see* Pelagidis, T.
- Pargeter, A. 2009. Localism and radicalization in North Africa: local factors and the development of political Islam in Morocco, Tunisia and Libya. *International Affairs*. 85(5). September. 1031-1044.
- Paris, R. 2002. International Peacebuilding and the 'Mission Civilisatrice' in *Review of International Studies*. 28(4). October. 637-656.
- Parsons, C. *see* Brysk, A.
- Patel, P., Okehukwu, C.A., Collin, J. & Hughes, B. 2009. Bringing 'light, life and happiness': British American Tobacco and the music sponsorship in sub-Saharan Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 30(4). June. 685-700.
- Patey, L.A. 2009. Against the Asian tide: the Sudan divestment campaign. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 47(4). December. 551-573.
- Paulo, M. *see* Frynas, J.G.
- Pegg, S. 2006. Can policy intervention beat the resource curse? Evidence from the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project. *African Affairs*. 105(418). January. 1-25.
- Pelagidis, T. & Papasotiriou, H. 2002. Globalisation or regionalism? States, markets and the structure of international trade. *Review of International Studies*. 28(3). July. 519-535.
- Peterson, V.S. 2010. Informalization, inequalities and global insecurities. *International Studies Review*. 12(2). June. 244-270.
- Pfister, R. 2003. Gateway to international victory: the diplomacy of the African National Congress in Africa, 1960-1994. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 41(1). March. 51-73.
- Phimister, I. & Raftopoulos, B. 2004. Mugabe, Mbeki and the politics of anti-imperialism. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(101). September. 385-400.

- Pitcher, M.A. 2004. Conditions, commitments, and the politics of restructuring in Africa. *Comparative Politics*. 36(4). July. 379-398.
- Pitcher, M.A. *see* Moran, M.H.
- Poku, N.K. & Whiteside, A. 2002. Global health and the politics of governance: an introduction. *Third World Quarterly*. 23(2). April. 191-195.
- Poku, N.K. 2001. Africa's AIDS crisis in context: 'how the poor are dying'. *Third World Quarterly*. 22(2). April. 191-204.
- Poku, N.K. 2002. Poverty, debt and Africa's HIV/AIDS crisis. *International Affairs*. 78(3). July. 531-546.
- Poku, N.K. 2002. The global AIDS fund: context and opportunity. *Third World Quarterly*. 23(2). April. 283-298.
- Poku, N.K. 2006. HIV/AIDS financing: a case for improving the quality and quantity of aid. *International Affairs*. 82(2). March. 345-358.
- Poku, N.K. *see* Freedman, J.
- Poku, N.K., Renwick, N. & Porto, J.G. 2007. Human security and development in Africa. *International Affairs*. 83(6). November. 1155-1170.
- Ponte, S. 2004. The politics of ownership: Tanzanian coffee policy in the age of liberal reformism. *African Affairs*. 103(413). October. 615-633.
- Ponte, S. *see* Richey, L.A.
- Ponte, S., Richey, L.A. & Baab, M. 2009. Bono's product (RED) initiative: corporate social responsibility that solves the problems of 'distant others'. *Third World Quarterly*. 30(2). March. 301-317.
- Porteous, T. 2005. British government policy in sub-Saharan Africa under New Labour. *International Affairs*. 81(2). March. 281-297.
- Porto, J.G. *see* Poku, N.K.
- Posner, D.N. 2003. The colonial origins of ethnic cleavages: the case of linguistic divisions in Zambia. *Comparative Politics*. 35(2). January. 127-146.
- Posner, D.N. 2004. Measuring ethnic fractionalization in Africa. *American Journal of Political Science*. 48(4). October. 849-863.
- Posner, D.N. *see* Eifert, B.
- Powell, R. *see* Dal Bó, E.
- Power, M. *see* Mohan G.
- Power, R. 2008. What does the rise of China do for industrialisation in sub-Saharan Africa?. *Review of African Political Economy*. 35(115). March. 7-22.
- Prins, G. 2004. AIDS and global security. *International Affairs*. 80(5). October. 931-952.
- Prunier, G. 2004. Rebel movements and proxy warfare: Uganda, Sudan and the Congo (1986-99). *African Affairs*. 103(412). July. 359-383.
- Puplampu, K.P. & Wisdom, J.T. 2000. State-NGO relations in an era of globalisation: the implications for agricultural development in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 27(84). June. 251-272.
- Raeymaekers, T. *see* Vlassenroot, K.
- Raftopoulos, B. *see* Phimister, I.
- Rakner, L. *see* Bräutigam, D.

- Raleigh, C. 2010. Political marginalization, climate change, and conflict in African Sahel states. *International Studies Review*. 12(1). March. 69-86.
- Ramsamy, E. 2006. The World Bank and urban programmes in Zimbabwe: a critical appraisal. *Review of African Political Economy*. 33(109). September. 515-523.
- Ramsbotham, A., Bah, A.M.S. & Calder, F. 2005. Enhancing African peace and security capacity: a useful role for the UK and the G8?. *International Affairs*. 81(2). March. 325-339.
- Rasiah, R. 2000. Globalization and private capital movements. *Third World Quarterly*. 21(6). December. 943-961.
- Remmer, K.L. 2004. Does foreign aid promote the expansion of Government?. *American Journal of Political Science*. 48(1). January. 77-92.
- Reno, W. 2002. Uganda's politics of war and debt relief. *Review of International Political Economy*. 9(3). August. 415-435.
- Renwick, N. *see* Poku, N.K.
- Reynal-Querol, M. 2002. Ethnicity, political systems, and civil war. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 46(1). February. 29-54.
- Reynolds, R.R. 2002. An African brain drain: Igbo decisions to immigrate to the US. *Review of African Political Economy*. 29(92). June. 273-284.
- Reyntjens, F. 2005. The privatisation and criminalisation of public space in the geopolitics of the Great Lakes region. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 43(4). December. 587-607.
- Richey, L.A. & Ponte, S. 2008. Better (Red)[™] than dead? Celebrities, consumption and international aid. *Third World Quarterly*. 29(4). June. 711-729.
- Richey, L.A. *see* Ponte, S.
- Riddell, B. 2005. Sierra Leone: urban-elite bias, atrocity and debt. *Review of African Political Economy*. 32(103). March. 115-133.
- Rigos, P.N. *see* Njoh, A.J.
- Rimmer, D. 2003. Learning about economic development from Africa. *African Affairs*. 102(408). July. 469-491.
- Rød, J.K. *see* Østby, G.
- Roessler, P.G. 2005. Donor-induced democratization and the privatization of state violence in Kenya and Rwanda. *Comparative Politics*. 37(2). January. 207-227.
- Rombouts, H. *see* Holvoet, N.
- Ron, J. *see* Englebert, P.
- Ross, M. 2006. Is democracy good for the poor. *American Journal of Political Science*. 50(4). October. 860-874.
- Rugalema, G. 2000. Coping or struggling? A journey into the impact of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 27(86). December. 537-545.
- Rushton, G. *see* Barkan, J.D.
- Rutherford, B. & Addison, L. 2007. Zimbabwean farm workers in Northern South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 34(114). December. 619-635.
- Sachikonye, L.M. 2004. Solidarity and Africa in the new century. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(102). December. 649-656.

- Sagan, A. 2010. African criminals/African victims: the institutionalised production of cultural narratives in international criminal law. *Millennium*. 39(3). August. 3-21.
- Saha, S.C. 2010. sub-Saharan ethnic attachment and civil conflict: a methodological approach to state-building and ethnicity. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 27(1). Spring. 235-252.
- Saideman, S.M., Dougherty, B.K. & Jenne, E.K. 2005. Dilemmas of divorce: how secessionist identities cut both ways. *Security Studies*. 14(4). July. 607-636.
- Saitoti, G. 2003. Reflections on African development. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 20(2). Fall. 13-29.
- Samset, I. 2002. Conflict of interests or interest of conflict? Diamonds and war in the DRC. *Review of African Political Economy*. 29(93/94). December. 463-480.
- Sandholtz, W. *see* Brysk, A.
- Saul, J.S. 2003. Africa: the next liberation struggle?. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(96). June. 187-202.
- Saul, J.S. 2004. The hares, the hounds and the African National Congress: on joining the Third World in post-apartheid South Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 25(1). February. 73-86.
- Sawyer, A. 2004. Violent conflicts and governance challenges in West Africa: the case of the Mano River Basin area. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 42(3). September. 437-463.
- Scarritt, J.R. *see* Mozaffar, S.
- Schirm, S.A. 2010. Leaders in need of followers: emerging powers in global governance. *European Journal of International Relations*. 16(2). June. 297-221.
- Schneider, G. *see* Bussman, M.
- Schraeder, P. 2003. Sapphire anniversary reflections on the study of United States foreign policy towards Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 41(1). March. 139-152.
- Schraeder, P.J. 2000. Cold War to Cold Peace: explaining US-French competition in Francophone Africa. *Political Science Quarterly*. 115(3). Fall. 395-419.
- Schraeder, P.J. 2001. 'Forget the rhetoric and boost the geopolitics': emerging trends in the Bush administration's policy towards Africa, 2001. *African Affairs*. 100(400). July. 387-404.
- Scrase, T.J. 2003. Precarious production: globalisation and artisan labour in the Third World. *Third World Quarterly*. 24(3). June. 449-461.
- Seckinelgin, H. 2005. A global disease and its governance: HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan African and the agency of NGOs. *Global Governance*. 11(3). July/September. 351-368.
- Shaw, M. 2002. West African criminal networks in South and Southern Africa. *African Affairs*. 101(404). July. 291-316.
- Shaw, M. 2003. Strategy and slaughter. *Review of International Studies*. 29(2). April. 269-277.
- Shaw, T.M. 2010. Comparative commonwealth: an overlooked feature of global governance. *Third World Quarterly*. 31(2). March. 333-346.
- Shaw, T.M. *see* Cooper, A.F.
- Shaw, T.M., Cooper, A.F. & Antkiewicz, A. 2007. Global and/or regional development at the start of the 21st century? China, India and (South) Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 28(7). October. 1255-1270.
- Shaxson, N. 2007. Oil, corruption and the resource curse. *International Affairs*. 83(6). November. 1123-1140.
- Shen, S. 2009. A constructed (un)reality on China's re-entry into Africa: the Chinese online community perception of Africa (2006-2008). *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 47(3). September. 425-448.

- Shubin, V. & Tokarev, A. 2001. War in Angola: a Soviet dimension. *Review of African Political Economy*. 28(90). December. 607-618.
- Sidiropoulos, E. 2007. Toward more inclusive informal global governance: a view from South Africa. *Global Governance*. 13(3). July/September. 315-319.
- Simoes da Silva, T. 2005. Narrating a white Africa: autobiography, race and history. *Third World Quarterly*. 26(3). April. 471-478.
- Singer, J.D. *see* Henderson, E.A.
- Smaldone, J.P. *see* Craft, C.
- Smis, S. & Oyatambwe, W. 2002. Complex political emergencies, the international community and the Congo conflict. *Review of African Political Economy*. 29(93/94). December. 411-430.
- Smith Jr., D.F. 2006. US-Guinea relations during the rise and fall of Charles Taylor. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 44(3). September. 415-439.
- Smith, B. 2004. Oil, wealth and regime survival in the developing world, 1960-1999. *American Journal of Political Science*. 48(2). April. 232-246.
- Smith, Z.K. 2000. The impact of political liberalisation and democratisation on ethnic conflict in Africa: an empirical test of common assumptions. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 38(1). March. 21-29.
- Snyder, R. & Bhavnani, R. 2005. Diamonds, blood, and taxes: a revenue-centered framework for explaining political order. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 49(4). August. 563-597.
- Soares de Oliveira, R.M.S. *see* Frynas, J.G.
- Söderbaum, F. & Taylor, I. 2001. Transmission belt for transnational capital or facilitator for development? Problematizing the role of the state in the Maputo Development Corridor. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 39(4). December. 675-695.
- Söderbaum, F. 2004. Modes of regional governance in Africa: neoliberalism, sovereignty boosting, and shadow networks. *Global Governance*. 10(4). October/December. 419-436.
- Söderberg Kovacs, M. *see* Höglund, K.
- Soko, M. *see* Alden, C.
- Solomon, H. & Swart, G. 2005. Libya's foreign policy in flux. *African Affairs*. 104(416). July. 469-492.
- Sørbo, G.M. 2010. Local violence and international intervention in Sudan. *Review of African Political Economy*. 37(124). June. 173-186.
- Souaré, I.K. 2009. The International Criminal Court and African conflicts: the case of Uganda. *Review of African Political Economy*. 36(121). September. 369-388.
- Southall, R. 2003. Democracy in Southern Africa: moving beyond a difficult legacy. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(96). June. 255-272.
- Soyinka-Airewele, P. 2010. Emergent discourses of audacity and the revocation of marginality. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 27(1). Spring. 11-24.
- Spears, I.S. 2000. Understanding inclusive peace agreements in Africa: the problems of sharing power. *Third World Quarterly*. 21(1). February. 105-118.
- Spears, I.S. 2003. Reflections on Somaliland and Africa's territorial order. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(95). March. 89-98.
- Spencer, C. 2009. Introduction: North Africa and Britain. *International Affairs*. 85(5). September. 923-929.

- Spiegel, S.J. & Le Billon, P. 2009. China's weapons trade: from ships of shame to the ethics of global resistance. *International Affairs*. 85(2). March. 323-346.
- Stanislowski, B.H. 2008. Para-states, quasi-states, and black spots: perhaps not states, but not 'ungoverned territories,' either. *International Studies Review*. 10(2). June. 366-396.
- Stevens, C. 2006. The EU, Africa and Economic Partnership Agreements: unintended consequences of policy leverage. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 44(3). September. 441-458.
- Stokes, D. 2007. Blood for oil? Global capital counter-insurgency and the dual logic of American energy security. *Review of International Studies*. 33(2). April. 245-264.
- Stone, R.W. 2004. The political economy of IMF lending in Africa. *The American Political Science Review*. 98(4). November. 577-592.
- Stoneman, C. & Thompson, C. 2007. Trading partners or trading deals? The EU and US in Southern Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 34(112). June. 227-245.
- Storey, A. 2001. Structural adjustment, state power and genocide: the World Bank and Rwanda. *Review of African Political Economy*. 28(89). September. 365-385.
- Storm, L. 2009. The persistence of authoritarianism as a source of radicalization in North Africa. *International Affairs*. 85(5). September. 997-1013.
- Straker, J. 2007. Youth, globalisation, and millennial reflection in a Guinean forest town. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 45(2). June. 299-319.
- Stuvøy, K. *see* Bakonyi, J.
- Styan, D. 2007. The security of Africans beyond borders: migration, remittances and London's transnational entrepreneurs. *International Affairs*. 83(6). November. 1171-1191.
- Suganami, H. 2001. C.A.W. Manning and the study of international relations. *Review of International Studies*. 27(1). January. 91-107.
- Suzuki, S. 2009. Chinese soft power, insecurity studies, myopia and fantasy. *Third World Quarterly*. 30(4). June. 779-793.
- Swart, G. *see* Solomon, H.
- Swidler, A. 2006. Syncretism and subversion in AIDS governance: how locals cope with global demands. *International Affairs*. 82(2). March. 269-284.
- Sylvest, C. 2008. 'Our passion for legality': international law and imperialism in late nineteenth-century Britain. *Review of International Studies*. 34(3). July. 403-423.
- Szeftel, M. 2000. Between governance and under-development: accumulation and Africa's 'catastrophic corruption'. *Review of African Political Economy*. 27(84). June. 287-306.
- Szeftel, M. 2000. Clientelism, corruption and catastrophe. *Review of African Political Economy*. 27(85). September. 427-441.
- Tall, S.M. 2004. Senegalese émigrés: new information and communication technologies. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(99). March. 31-48.
- Tangri, R. & Mwenda, A.M. 2006. Politics, donors and the ineffectiveness of anti-corruption institutions in Uganda. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 44(1). March. 101-124.
- Tangri, R. *see* Mwenda, A.M.
- Taylor, B.D. & Botea, R. 2008. Tilly tally: war-making and state-making in the contemporary Third World. *International Studies Review*. 10(1). March. 27-56.

- Taylor, I. & Mokhawa, G. 2003. Not forever: Botswana, conflict diamonds and the Bushmen. *African Affairs*. 102(407). April. 261-283.
- Taylor, I. & Nel, P. 2002. 'New Africa', globalisation and the confines of elite reformism: 'Getting the rhetoric right', getting the strategy wrong. *Third World Quarterly*. 23(1). February. 163-180.
- Taylor, I. & Williams, P. 2001. South African foreign policy and the Great Lakes crisis: African Renaissance meets *Vagabondage Politique?*. *African Affairs*. 100(399). April. 265-286.
- Taylor, I. & Williams, P. 2002. The limits of engagement: British foreign policy and the crisis in Zimbabwe. *International Affairs*. 78(3). July. 547-565.
- Taylor, I. 2002. Commentary: the New Partnership for Africa's Development and the Zimbabwe elections: implications and prospects for the future. *African Affairs*. 101(404). July. 403-412.
- Taylor, I. 2003. Conflict in Central Africa: clandestine networks and regional/global configurations. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(95). March. 45-55.
- Taylor, I. 2003. Globalization and regionalization in Africa: reactions to attempts at neo-liberal regionalism. *Review of International Political Economy*. 10(2). May. 310-330.
- Taylor, I. 2004. Blind spots in analyzing Africa's place in world politics. *Global Governance*. 10(4). October/December. 411-417.
- Taylor, I. 2005. 'Advice is judged by results, not by intentions': why Gordon Brown is wrong about Africa. *International Affairs*. 81(2). March. 299-310.
- Taylor, I. 2005. Globalisation studies and the developing world: making international political economy truly global. *Third World Quarterly*. 26(7). October. 1025-1042.
- Taylor, I. 2006. China's oil diplomacy in Africa. *International Affairs*. 82(5). October. 937-959.
- Taylor, I. 2008. Sino-African relations and the problem of human rights. *African Affairs*. 107(426). January. 63-87.
- Taylor, I. 2010. Governance and relations between the European Union and Africa: the case of NEPAD. *Third World Quarterly*. 31(1). February. 51-67.
- Taylor, I. *see* Brislin, S.
- Taylor, I. *see* Nel, P.
- Taylor, I. *see* Söderbaum, F.
- Taylor, S. *see* Bräutigam, D.
- Taylor, S.D. 2006. Divergent politico-legal responses to past presidential corruption in Zambia and Kenya: catching the 'big fish', or letting him off the hook?. *Third World Quarterly*. 27(2). March. 281-301.
- Thies, C.G. 2004. State building, interstate and intrastate rivalry: a study of post-colonial developing country extractive efforts, 1975-2000. *International Studies Quarterly*. 48(1). March. 53-72.
- Thies, C.G. 2007. The political economy of state building in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Politics*. 69(3). August. 716-731.
- Thies, C.G. 2009. Explaining zones of negative peace in interstate relations: the construction of a West African Lockean culture of anarchy. *European Journal of International Relations*. 15(4). December. 391-415.
- Thies, C.G. 2009. National design and state building in sub-Saharan Africa. *World Politics*. 61(4). October. 623-669.
- Thompson, C. *see* Stoneman, C.

- Thompson, C.B. 2004. US trade with Africa: African growth and opportunity?. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(101). September. 457-474.
- Thompson, M. 2004. Discourse, 'development' and the 'digital divide': ICT and the World Bank. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(99). March. 103-123.
- Tieku, T.K. 2004. Explaining the clash and accommodation of interests of major actors in the creation of the African Union. *African Affairs*. 103(411). April. 249-267.
- Tokarev, A. *see* Shubin, V.
- Touray, O.A. 2005. The common African defence and security policy. *African Affairs*. 104(417). October. 635-656.
- Trimikliniotis, N., Gordon, S. & Zondo, B. 2008. Globalisation and migrant labour in a 'Rainbow Nation': a fortress South Africa?. *Third World Quarterly*. 29(7). October. 1323-1339.
- Tubin, M.R. *see* Ostergard Jr., R.L.
- Tull, D.M. & Mehler, A. 2005. The hidden costs of power-sharing: reproducing insurgent violence in Africa. *African Affairs*. 104(416). July. 375-398.
- Tull, D.M. 2006. China's engagement in Africa: scope, significance and consequences. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 44(3). September. 459-479.
- Tull, D.M. *see* Englebert, P.
- Turner, S. 2004. Under the gaze of the 'Big Nations': refugees, rumours and the international community in Tanzania. *African Affairs*. 103(411). April. 227-247.
- Uddhammar, E. 2006. Development, conservation and tourism: conflict or symbiosis?. *Review of International Political Economy*. 13(4). October. 656-678.
- Udogu, E.I. 2001. Human rights and minorities in Africa: a theoretical and conceptual overview. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 18(1). Spring. 87-104.
- Uduku, O. 2002. The socio-economic basis of a diaspora community: *Igbo bu ike*. *Review of African Political Economy*. 29(92). June. 301-311.
- Ugorji, E.C. 2001. Rethinking government economic activism in sub-Saharan Africa: some contending issues of the privatization strategy. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 18(1). Spring. 189-212.
- Utley, R. 2002. 'Not to do less but to do better...': French military policy in Africa. *International Affairs*. 78(1). January. 129-146.
- Van Amerom, M. & Buscher, B. 2005. Peace parks in Southern Africa: bringers of an African Renaissance?. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 43(2). June. 159-192.
- Van de Walle, N. 2003. Presidentialism and clientelism in Africa's emerging party systems. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 41(2). June. 297-321.
- Van de Walle, N. 2010. US policy towards Africa: the Bush legacy and the Obama administration. *African Affairs*. 109(434). January. 1-20.
- Van der Westhuizen, J. *see* Nel, P.
- Van Dijk, H. *see* De Bruijn, M.
- Van Donge, J.K. 2009. The plundering of Zambian resources by Frederick Chiluba and his friends: a case study of the interaction between national politics and the international drive towards good governance. *African Affairs*. 108(430). January. 69-90.
- Van Heur, B. *see* Bank, A.

- Van Leeuwen, M. 2008. Imagining the Great Lakes Region: discourses and practices of civil society regional approaches for peacebuilding in Rwanda, Burundi and DR Congo. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 46(3). September. 393-436.
- Vermeulen, S. *see* Cotula, L.
- Victor, J. 2010. African peacekeeping in Africa: warlord politics, defense economics, and state legitimacy. *Journal of Peace Research*. 47(2). March. 217-229.
- Vieira, M.A. *see* Alden, C.
- Villalón, L.A. 2010. From argument to negotiation: constructing democracy in African Muslim contexts. *Comparative Politics*. 42(4). July. 375-393.
- Vinci, A. 2007. 'Like worms in the entrails of a natural man': a conceptual analysis of warlords. *Review of African Political Economy*. 34(112). June. 313-331.
- Vines, A. 2005. Combating light weapons proliferation in West Africa. *International Affairs*. 81(2). March. 341-360.
- Vines, A. 2007. Can UN arms embargoes in Africa be effective?. *International Affairs*. 83(6). November. 1107-1121.
- Vlassenroot, K. & Raeymaekers, T. 2004. The politics of rebellion and intervention in Ituri: the emergence of a new political complex?. *African Affairs*. 103(412). July. 385-412.
- Volman, D. 2003. The Bush administration and African oil: the security implications of US energy policy. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(98). December. 573-584.
- Volman, D. *see* Klare, M. 2006a.
- Volman, D. *see* Klare, M. 2006b.
- Wa Muiu, M. 2002. *Fundi wa Africa*: a new paradigm of the African state. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 19(2). Fall. 23-42.
- Wa Muiu, M. 2008. 'Civilization' on trial: the colonial and postcolonial state in Africa. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 25(1). Spring. 73-93.
- Waal, A.D. 2002. What's new in the 'New Partnership for Africa's Development'?. *International Affairs*. 78(3). July. 463-476.
- Walldorf, Jr., C.W. 2010. Argument, institutional process, and human rights sanctions in democratic foreign policy. *European Journal of International Relations*. 16(1). March. 1-24.
- Warner, C.M. 2000. A reply to A.G. Hopkins. *Review of International Studies*. 26(2). April. 321-325.
- Warner, C.M. 2001. The rise of the state system in Africa. *Review of International Studies*. 27(5). December. 65-89.
- Way, L.A. *see* Levitsky, S.
- Western, J. 2002. Sources of humanitarian intervention: beliefs, information, and advocacy in the US decisions on Somalia and Bosnia. *International Security*. 26(4). Spring. 112-143.
- Whitaker, B.E. 2008. Reluctant partners, fighting terrorism and promoting democracy in Kenya. *International Studies Perspectives*. 9(3). August. 254-271.
- Whiteside, A. 2002. Poverty and HIV/AIDS in Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 23(2). April. 313-332.
- Whiteside, A. *see* Poku, N.K.
- Whiteside, A., De Waal, A. & Gebre-Tensae, T. 2006. AIDS, security and the military in Africa: a sober appraisal. *African Affairs*. 105(419). April. 201-218.
- Wiesehomeier, N. *see* Bussman, M.

- Willett, S. 2005. New barbarians at the gate: losing the liberal peace in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 32(106). December. 569-594.
- Willett, S. 2009. Defence expenditures, arms procurement and corruption in sub-Saharan Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 36(121). September. 335-351.
- Williams, G. 2004. Political economies and the study of Africa: critical considerations. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(102). December. 571-583.
- Williams, P. 2000. Aid and sovereignty: quasi-states and the International Financial Institutions. *Review of International Studies*. 26(4). October. 557-573.
- Williams, P. *see* Melvern, L.
- Williams, P. *see* Taylor, I. 2001.
- Williams, P. *see* Taylor, I. 2002.
- Williams, P.D. 2007. From non-intervention to non-indifference: the origins and development of the African Union's security culture. *African Affairs*. 106(425). October. 253-279.
- Williams, P.D. 2007. Thinking about security in Africa. *International Affairs*. 83(6). November. 1021-1038.
- Williams, P.D. 2009. The Peace and Security Council of the African Union: evaluating an embryonic international institution. *Journal of Modern African Studies*. 47(4). December. 603-626.
- Williams, P.D. *see* Haacke, J.
- Willis, K. & Khan, S. 2009. Health reform in Latin America and Africa: decentralisation, participation and inequalities. *Third World Quarterly*. 30(5). July. 991-1005.
- Wills, J. 2002. Bargaining for the space to organize in the global economy: a review of the Accor-IUF trade union rights agreement. *Review of International Political Economy*. 9(4). November. 675-700.
- Winters, M.S. 2010. Accountability, participation and foreign aid effectiveness. *International Studies Review*. 12(2). June. 218-243.
- Wisdom, J.T. *see* Puplampu, K.P.
- Wood, G. *see* Frynas, J.G. 2001.
- Wood, G. *see* Frynas, J.G. 2003.
- Woodhouse, T. *see* Curran, D.
- Woods, N. 2006. Understanding pathways through financial crises and the impact of the IMF: an introduction. *Global Governance*. 12(4). October/December. 373-393.
- Woods, N. 2008. Whose aid? Whose influence? China, emerging donors and the silent revolution in development assistance. *International Affairs*. 84(6). November. 1205-1221.
- Wright, G. 2001. The Clinton administration's policy toward Angola: an assessment. *Review of African Political Economy*. 28(90). December. 563-576.
- Wright, J. 2008. Do authoritarian institutions constrain? How legislatures affect economic growth and investment. *American Journal of Political Science*. 52(2). April. 322-343.
- Wright, J. 2009. How foreign aid can foster democratization in authoritarian regimes. *American Journal of Political Science*. 53(3). July. 552-571.
- Ya'u, Y.Z. 2004. The new imperialism and africa in the global electronic village. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(99). March. 11-29.
- Young, C. 2004. The end of the post-colonial state in Africa? Reflections on changing African political dynamics. *African Affairs*. 103(410). January. 23-49.

- Young, H.K. & Bahry, D. 2008. Interrupted presidencies in third wave democracies. *Journal of Politics*. 70(3). July. 807-822.
- Young, J. 2003. Sudan: liberation movements, regional armies, ethnic militias and peace. *Review of African Political Economy*. 30(97). September. 423-434.
- Youngs, R. *see* Kausch, K.
- Zack-Williams, A.B. 2001. No democracy, no development: reflections on democracy and development in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*. 28(88). June. 213-223.
- Zack-Williams, A.B. *see* Mohan, G.
- Zalanga, S. 2010. Religion, economic development and cultural change: the contradictory role of Pentecostal Christianity in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Third World Studies*. 27(1). Spring. 43-62.
- Zalik, A. 2004. The Niger Delta: 'petro violence' and 'partnership development'. *Review of African Political Economy*. 31(101). September. 401-424.
- Zeilig, L. 2009. The student-intelligentsia in sub-Saharan Africa: structural adjustment, activism and transformation. *Review of African Political Economy*. 36(119). March. 63-78.
- Zezeza, P.T. 2005. Rewriting the African diaspora: beyond the black Atlantic. *African Affairs*. 104(414). January. 35-68.
- Zerbe, N. 2001. Seeds of hope, seeds of despair: towards a political economy of the seed industry in Southern Africa. *Third World Quarterly*. 22(4). August. 657-673.
- Zorn, C. *see* Iqbal, Z.
- Zoubir, Y.H. 2009. The United States and Maghreb-Sahel security. *International Affairs*. 85(5). September. 977-995.