Chair’s Report

Anne Pitcher, University of Michigan

African Politics Conference Group has completed its first year as an organized section of the American Political Science Association and so far, so good. We have mostly managed to integrate our accounting system with that of APSA and we have nearly adjusted our timetable for awards and elections to that of APSA. Over the next year or two, our awards and any incoming officers will be announced in PS: Political Science and Politics, the journal of record for the profession which comes out quarterly.

Our visibility at APSA is also high thanks to the hard work of this year’s APCG selection committee for APSA, which consisted of Leo Arriola (Chair), Carl LeVan, and Martha Johnson. The committee did a wonderful job working with other organized section committees to enable APCG to co-sponsor as many as eight panels at this year’s APSA! Jen Brass, our secretary, has already sent out an electronic announcement notifying you of the themes of the eight panels and when and where they will take place. I encourage all of you to attend as many panels as possible. Our yearly panel allocation is heavily dependent on panel attendance from the previous year.

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Features

Symposium: Climate Change in Africa

In March of 2015 the United Nations will hold its 21st annual Climate Change Conference in Paris. On the agenda for this meeting is the ambitious goal of finally arriving at a binding treaty on climate change that will establish a legal framework for action and spell out responsibilities for each nation across the globe. Given the increasing attention that will be directed toward this conference in the months ahead the editors thought it timely to “take the temperature” of climate change politics across the continent.

The following contributions by APCG members offer a refreshing take on climate change as they eschew the usual crisis or conflict themes and instead focus on questions of governance, institutions and energy policy. As a whole, the collected essays demonstrate that African governments are not uniformly passive actors in the international climate change debate. Instead they reflect a complex set of interests and motivations that in some cases might help grapple with the worst effects of climate change while in other instances, could very well contribute to them.

-Editors

Climate change affects infrastructure and aging of equipment in Calabar, Cross River State, Nigeria.

Photo courtesy of Cara E. Jones
Climate Change Unlikely to make a Political Difference

Goran Hyden
University of Florida

Africa is at the center of the global climate change debate portrayed as the region to be hardest hit. Rising sea levels will adversely affect low-lying areas of West Africa and the Nile Delta. Increasingly severe droughts will reduce the production of grains in both southern and northern parts of the continent. Large numbers of people will be displaced. The number of catastrophic predictions is virtually endless. It is important that all these predictions come from studies made by scientists from outside Africa. Because climate change is a global phenomenon it is a discourse that remains distant to Africans. Even though the scientific consensus has begun to penetrate the policy community, its principal drivers are still international organizations like the World Bank and various U.N. agencies. As in the case of so many other international policy contexts, African governments are at the receiving end. If there is anything that ought to have been learnt from fifty years of international development efforts it is that policies do not get adopted and acted upon unless there is a national or local ownership of the issue and the process driving it. Scientific data are not enough nor are forward-looking policies. Politics is what matters: the will of governments or the activism of civil society. When examining the climate change issue in its African context, it is clear that it fails to heat up the political debate. It remains buried in the scientific domain and attempts by African Ministers of Environment to turn it into a burning policy issue have led nowhere. Should we be surprised?

Not really. To begin with, climate change is slow-moving and even if there is an increased frequency of extreme weather events around the world, the agenda appears distant to the public and policy-makers alike in all regions of the world. Many do not want to hear about it and reject it as a result of political preferences, Republicans in the U.S. being a blatant case in point. Insufficient political ownership of the issue, therefore, is not confined to Africa. It is evident also in otherwise enlightened policy environments. The reasons for the failure of the climate change agenda to get traction in Africa, however, are quite different from those in the U.S. or other developed countries. First of all, African countries are poor and are preoccupied with more immediate and urgent issues whether it is promoting public health and public education or building roads and other infrastructure. With donors cutting down their aid and African government leaders wanting to reduce their aid dependence, finding money to fund all these national programs and projects will likely make these governments even more narrowly focused on the present. The fact that many African countries may become middle-income countries in the years to come is a second reason why climate change will be in the shadow of other political priorities. As they finally show signs of moving out of the poverty trap, these governments do not want to hear calls for reducing CO2 emissions and related global obligations. A “rising” Africa will give priority to growth and like other middle-income countries faced with the issue find excuses for not adhering to the global agenda. At a time when the Western world has lost much of its clout in the global arena, it will most likely be easier rather than more difficult to get away with such behavior. The third reason is that scientific evidence tends to play a rather limited role when it comes to implementing policy in African countries. Policies are typically produced by experts, often external consultants, but the final decision lies with politicians for whom “objectivity” or “evidence-based” criteria have far less significance than subjective power considerations. Implementation, therefore, finds its own track contrary to formal budgetary commitments. This is not a new scenario but has been exacerbated by the presence of multi-party politics in the last couple of decades. Contrary to what so many comparativists assumed – and many believed – in the 1990s, democracy does not necessarily promote development more effectively than autocracies. It is no coincidence that the top performers in Africa – Ethiopia and Rwanda – are both “development states” taking their lead from Asia rather than the West. The point is that there is little value in separating scientific policy discourse from political realities. The political economy of climate change in Africa leaves little prospect of the issue becoming a harbinger of change. This does not mean that African governments will decline from participating in future global discussions to tackle the issue. Much money is at stake and perceived as a major victim, the region’s governments are in a strong position to negotiate increased funding from external sources. Climate change is such a broad – and politically generous – issue that it can be linked with most
Climate Change Unlikely (Hyden), continued from page 3

As climate change continues to negatively impact African ecosystems, the rural poor will be most negatively affected. Rural people in general are more exposed and vulnerable to climate change than urban dwellers but the poor rely much more on extracting natural resources such as wild foods, game, and firewood to earn their livings. Yet, as something of a double impact, the same rural poor also rely more heavily on purchased food to make up for inadequate crop production due to lack of access to land and fertilizer. This reliance on markets exposes the rural poor to the food price spikes commonly associated with urban areas but without the income opportunities of the city.

Whither African governments and their development partners vis-à-vis this growing challenge? Most sub-Saharan governments are—to put it mildly—poorly equipped to assist the rural poor in adapting to new climate conditions. In Francophone West Africa, where some of the poorest and most vulnerable people live, national governments lost their credibility in the countryside decades ago through corrupt and oppressive politics, often in the name of environmental conservation. One might be tempted to think this was mitigated by democratization in the 1990s but not so much. Natural resource management and forestry in particular have

The political climate in Africa must warm up to the issue before the perceived climatic changes in the weather conditions will become a true part of the region’s development agenda.
largely remained bastions of graft and abuse by appointees of the national government.

Political decentralization is chipping away at this dysfunctional system, which, if anything, reduces readiness to adapt to climate change in rural areas. This year, a group of Malian pastoralists—long a prime target of greedy foresters—were given a chance to air their grievances to the national assembly. They described abusive policing and astronomical fines for imaginary violations of forestry laws. The reality is that cattle herders have always been preyed upon because their animals can be quickly turned into cash and, as semi-nomadic peoples, have historically lacked local political patrons who could protect them from predatory officials.

Decentralization is creating political space for pastoralists and others to change their relationships with both local and national authorities as well as other rural residents, namely farmers with whom they must share access to natural resources. As the Malian example demonstrates, pastoralists can use transparency as a weapon of the weak against foresters and look to municipal authorities as a new guarantor that fines are commensurate with rule violations. In short, pastoralist cattle herders should pay up if they are caught cutting down protected tree species but not simply for carrying an axe. Such equitable governance is essential to resource-based livelihoods under 21st Century climate conditions.

Pastoralists must also cooperate with farmers to work out new forms of resource governance as the needs of both groups change. Namely, arable land is becoming scarcer for farmers and the mobility patterns of livestock are changing as rainfall patterns become more erratic and grazing lands are lost. This increased resource competition requires collective action that is made easier by democratic local governance.

But local democracy is not enough for rural Africans to adapt to climate change. Take the example of maize. Maize is critical to rural food security because it matures earlier than other crops and can be consumed at a time of year when grain stores are often precariously low or empty altogether. In dryland areas, climate change is impacting rainfall at just the time of year when maize must receive adequate moisture or the crop is lost. The Gates Foundation and other development partners have been developing drought-resistant maize varieties but scaling them up across the continent will require resources and capacity that far exceed those of local governments or their NGO partners. National agricultural ministries and extension agencies—many of which are shadows of their former selves—must play a central role in this process.

The alarm has been sounded about the impacts of climate change in Africa and substantial resources are being devoted to mostly technical research and outreach. However, the realities on the ground in the most climate vulnerable parts of the continent clearly demonstrate the centrality of institutions and governance at all levels to long-term adaptation.

There does not have to be anything wrong about asking such questions. Many of us do that in our own work. But there are at least two real problems that can arise when students ask such questions. First, I find this often masks their ignorance of the diversity that exists within the continent. Second, there is not really much of a chance that they can address such broad questions in a substantive way as part of a course research paper. We cannot expect our students to grasp the entire continent within a single term, and in most cases it just is not a good idea to lump all of these countries together.
Gas Flaring and Climate Change in Africa
Scott Pegg
Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis

Africans are typically portrayed as victims of global climate change – people who will suffer greatly from problems largely created by others: the rich, industrialized countries and rapidly growing emerging economies like China or India. This essay examines one specific component of global climate change – the flaring of natural gas – where Africa is both a victim and a leading producer of greenhouse gas emissions.

When oil is produced, you also get natural gas. Such gas is typically called “associated” gas because it is a by-product associated with oil production and not a separate or distinct natural gas field. Ideally, the associated natural gas is separated from the oil, processed and sold as an energy source. In some cases, associated natural gas is reinjected into the ground to help maintain pressure in the oil well. In other cases, the natural gas is not economically viable to process and ship due to small volumes, remote locations and/or a lack of pipeline connections. In these cases, the associated natural gas is typically flared or burned in a process that one Canadian report described as resembling “a Bunsen burner in a science lab but on a much larger scale” (see photo). Such gas flaring takes place 24 hours a day, 7 days a week and can continue for decades (the first flare site I visited in Nigeria started burning in 1958 and is still burning today).

Locally, in addition to the constant heat, light and noise (imagine 800 vacuum cleaners running at the same time), gas flaring emits a toxic mix of chemicals referred to as particulate matter that includes sulphur dioxide, nitrogen dioxides, hydrogen sulfide, benzene, toluene and hundreds of other toxins. Residents living in close proximity to gas flares (one estimate is that more than 30,000 people in the Niger Delta live within one kilometer of a gas flare) complain of respiratory problems, skin rashes, asthma, chronic bronchitis, eye irritations and other ailments. They also suffer from declining agricultural productivity and damage to their corrugated zinc roofs from flare-induced acid rain.

Globally, the World Bank’s Global Gas Flaring Reduction Partnership estimates that 140 billion cubic meters (bcm) of gas are flared annually. Despite having about 15% of the world’s population and accounting for only 10-11% of global oil production, Africa accounts for about 32% of all gas flared globally (45 bcm). This is approximately equal to all the flaring done in the Middle East (30 bcm), Central and South America (10 bcm) and Europe (3 bcm) put together. In 2010, Nigeria was the second largest flaring country after continued on page 7
Russia and Nigerian gas flaring alone accounts for about 10% of all global flaring.

What accounts for the disproportionate amount of African gas flaring? Depending where you are on the African politics spectrum, one can find both systemic/externally-based explanations and domestically-derived explanations. Systemic or externally-based explanations include powerful transnational corporations that ignore court rulings (as Shell has done with a 2005 Nigerian court ruling ordering it to stop gas flaring in Iwherekan, Delta State in 2006 which was later extended to 2007); what many Nigerians refer to as “environmental racism” – companies using antiquated equipment and tolerating conditions that would never be acceptable in the US, Canada or Norway; and the “environmental outsourcing” of oil production to poorer countries by western countries who want to protect their coastlines and national parks. The recent shale oil boom in the US is a partial exception here which has resulted in US gas flaring more than tripling from 2.2 bcm in 2007 to 7.1 bcm in 2011.

Domestically, the prevalence of “Big Man” politics where a tiny number of elites siphon off billions of dollars of oil revenues in Abuja, Khartoum or Luanda while not caring at all about the plight of the environment or the other 99.9% of their population provides the most general explanation. In the Nigerian case (as is the situation with oil spills), the problem is not so much a lack of regulation or poorly designed regulation as the fundamental incapacity and/or unwillingness of the state to enforce its existing legislation. 2014 marks the 30th anniversary of the 1984 Nigerian legislation that declared gas flaring illegal without field-specific ministerial consent. Political deadlines set for the ending of gas flaring have included 2004, 2008, 2010, 2012 and presumably many more to come. Nigeria has also set fines for gas flaring so low that it is cheaper for companies to pay them (or ignore them) than it is to stop flaring.

The World Bank, oil companies and others loudly trumpet all the progress that has been made toward eliminating gas flaring. As scholars of African politics, we need to be skeptical of such claims. In Nigeria, claims of progress are often framed in terms of the percentage of total gas production that is flared which has dropped from more than 40% in 2005 to a claimed 21% today. Yet, much of this is due to big, new non-associated natural gas production starting which has sharply increased the overall volume of gas produced while the volume of gas flared has declined much more gradually. Nigeria flared 16.3 bcm of gas in 2007 and 14.6 bcm in 2011 – a decline of less than 11% which doesn’t sound nearly as impressive as the halving figure for the percentage of total gas flared. Shell claims that the two biggest impediments to further reductions in gas flaring are the security situation in the Niger Delta and the failure of its government partner to provide its joint venture equity share of funding for flare reduction efforts. Yet, as many Nigerian activists note, such problems seem not to impede new oil exploration and production efforts to nearly the same degree that they impair flare reduction efforts. Sadly, Africa will continue disproportionately to produce and to suffer from gas flaring for many years to come.

Photo courtesy of Scott Pegg.
Climate change is at the heart of many energy policy discussions in Europe and the United States. Specifically at issue in these debates is whether or how developed countries can reduce their carbon emissions and mitigate the effects of climate change. These concerns have led developed countries to put in place policies that promote the exploitation of renewable resources for the purpose of generating electricity.

They are not alone in this regard. Countries throughout Sub-Saharan Africa are also working aggressively to develop these resources. However, the rationale for focusing on the development of these resources is dramatically different in Africa than it is in the Global North. Rather than seeking to mitigate the effects of climate change—a problem which Africa did little to cause but which may nonetheless inflict substantial damage on the continent—energy policy in many African states is driven by the need to adjust to ongoing changes in the domestic and international policy environment.

Adapting to growing demand

In the domestic arena, continued economic growth and social transformation hinges on the ability of African governments to generate enough electricity to feed their increasingly power-hungry urban centers. It also requires that these countries extend access to electricity—currently less than a third of Africans south of the Sahara use electricity—in order to catalyze increase rural productivity and catalyze local industry.

In order to meet the demands of their populations, African leaders are occasionally promoting “distributed generation” or “off-grid” forms of electrification. Rather than hooking communities into the national grid, African governments and donor partners are experimenting with a variety of policy tools to promote access to electricity in rural areas. These include waiving tariffs on imported solar technologies, subsidizing the sale of solar lamps or home systems, and even offering tenders to sell power to isolated communities on small-scale “mini-grids” that connect dozens of households at a time or help power small local industries. While the scale and support for off-grid initiatives varies a great deal across the continent, the underlying reality is that Africa’s dispersed populations and rugged terrain often make grid extension challenging. Distributed generation thus represents a potential adaptation to meeting demand for power that is an important hallmark of Africa’s energy sector.

Adapting to the international environment

While it would be possible to increase generating capacity swiftly by using thermal (diesel) generation, African leaders appear to be rejecting this in favor of longer-term, capital-intensive renewable energy projects. These projects include traditional grid-connected hydroelectric dams—Ghana recently installed a 400 MW hydropower station at its Bui dam, and Ethiopia is embroiled in diplomatic conflict with Egypt over its plans to generate several thousand megawatts of power by damming the Nile River. However, these efforts also include a variety of less traditional, technologically innovative projects. In Rwanda alone, the government is actively exploring potential geothermal sites, bringing online a grid-scale solar plant, and offering small independent hydropower producers a standardized hydroelectric feed-in tariff that encourages them to increase generation capacity several megawatts at a time. Even more audacious projects include Rwanda’s attempts to convert methane from Lake Kivu into electricity and Kenya’s quest to build a 300MW wind power plant near Lake Turkana in remote Marsabit County.

The choice to invest (or to promote private sector investment in) these renewable energy projects rather than carbon-heavy applications is not driven by concerns about climate change. Rather, African states are investing in renewable energy as a means of ensuring energy security. With few exceptions, African states lack significant petroleum (or coal) reserves that can support the continent’s electrification. The high cost of importing fossil fuels and the volatile price of these resources translates into incredibly high electricity tariffs and is spurring African states to look elsewhere for power to fund their national development. Although not absent from energy policy discussions in Europe or the United States, the priority of energy security for African governments reflects the continent’s historical vulnerability to high and volatile oil prices. Given Africa’s experience during the oil shock and subsequent debt crisis of the late 1970s and 1980s, it is perhaps not surprising that the current generation of African leaders would so heavily prioritize energy security in their quest to develop their economies.

In many ways there is a harmony between the policies of African regimes and those of their traditional donor partners in Europe and the United States. As these states seek to mitigate the effects of climate change, they are keen to support projects that reflect these priorities.

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Energy and Climate Change (Harris), continued from page 8

The opportunity to gain access to carbon credits through the UNFCC Clean Development Mechanism provides an additional incentive to invest in renewable energy projects.

*African energy policy is diverse*

Finally, it is worth pointing out that the above trends, while very real, mask significant amount of variation between countries. Why do some states encourage the expansion of “distributed generation” systems while others eschew this and prioritize massive grid extension efforts? Why do some countries build giant hydroelectric dams while others increase generation capacity using many small projects? What explains the varying levels of public support for private investment in the energy sector? Why do countries prioritize one resource over another? Finally, how do these choices impact the livelihoods of African citizens, who are the ultimate consumers of energy resources? These questions are as meaningful as they are difficult to answer. As Africa’s energy sector continues to grow, it will be extremely interesting to see the different choices that the continent’s leaders make. It is likely that these choices will continue to be as diverse as the countries on the continent themselves.

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Data Reviews Sought

If you are a graduate student and would like to write such a review for inclusion in later editions of the APCG Newsletter, please send an email to Lauren M. Maclean, macleanl@indiana.edu.

The data source may be a large-n, cross-national quantitative data, a qualitative depository or more localized archive. The data source review provides insights as to the scope of the data available to scholars; the accessibility and rules of entrée; the strengths and weaknesses of the data source; and any potential issues or challenges that Africanists might consider in using the data.
Africa is arguably the continent most vulnerable to the impending consequences of global climate change. This vulnerability is due partly to exposure to climate-related hazards such as increased rainfall variability, increased temperatures, and rising sea level. It is, however, driven more by lack of resilience and adaptive capacity stemming from low levels of development and poor governance. Africa is also the most rapidly urbanizing continent. Rapid growth in African cities combined with poor urban planning and gaps in public services and infrastructure leads to increased settlement in marginal and hazard-prone areas, which further exacerbates vulnerabilities in urban areas.

Given the vulnerability of Africa to global climate change, considerable efforts and funds are being directed toward adaptation for rural areas and populations. Less attention, however, has been given to potential effects of climate change in urban areas. The Least Developed Country Fund (LDCF) of the UNFCCC was established to provide funds for adaptation to climate change in countries designated by the UN as a Least Developed in Least Developed Countries. To be eligible for funding from this fund an LDC is required to submit a National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPA) to the UNFCCC. Since the funds operationalization following the COP11 in 2005, 47 LDCs have submitted NAPAs, including 33 from the African continent. A recent survey of five of these NAPAs found that they gave little or no attention to adaptation in urban areas. For example, none of the top 15 priorities identified by Angola’s NAPA address urban adaptation, and Luanda is not included among the five regions addressed by the country’s NAPA vulnerability assessment. Tanzania’s NAPA emphasizes the risks faced by the country’s interior (water scarcity, drought, and food insecurity) but pays little attention to urban coastal areas. In Uganda, all NAPA pilot projects currently underway are located in rural areas, and none are being implemented in Kampala. The national government of Mozambique has focused its efforts on rural and agricultural adaptation and urban climate change concerns are largely ignored. National prioritization of rural climate change issues, as observed in the NAPAs, partially explains the relatively modest adaptation efforts found in the five cities in LDCs, Dakar, Dar es Salaam, Kampala, Luanda, and Maputo, a finding further discussed below.

Chapter 8 of Working Group II’s contribution to the Fifth Assessment Report of the IPCC is devoted to the impacts of climate change in urban areas. The hazards identified include: Urban Temperature Variation; Drought and Water Scarcity; Coastal Flooding, Sea Level Rise, and Storm Surge; Inland Flooding; and Emerging Human Health, Disease, and Epidemiology Issues. These impacts affect many urban systems including: Water Supply, Wastewater, and Sanitation; Energy Supply; Transportation and Telecommunications; and Health and Social Services.

Many of these changes cannot be adequately addressed at the level of city governance and require integration into national and regional planning. For example, effective water supply management must be done at the level of river basins that include multiple areas and often cross international borders. Rising food prices in cities are often the result of failed crops in the rural areas. Rural to urban migration is a national and regional issue. For these issues, climate change must be integrated in national planning. More attention needs to be devoted to urban vulnerabilities by national planning agencies, international donors, and multilateral organizations in the development and implementation of climate change adaptation plans and strategies.

To the extent that local authorities can address climate change vulnerabilities it is more effective when climate change is integrated into other planning priorities rather than addressed as purely a climate change issue. More immediate priorities in rapidly growing cities can make it difficult to dedicate limited resources to challenges that are often perceived as distant and uncertain. If, however, climate change projections are integrated into departmental planning in the same way as population projections or economic forecasts then adaptation becomes inherent. For example, flooding in unplanned urban settlements or underserved areas is already a frequent problem in many African cities. Flood mitigation plans and infrastructure development projects in Accra, Cape Town, Dar es Salaam, Kampala, and Johannesburg implicitly recognize that more frequent intense rainfall events in the future must be considered in current planning.
Building Urban Resilience (Smith), continued from page 10

In this context building resilience to climate change in urban areas of Africa refers to the ability of communities and cities not only to respond to and absorb the effects of individual climate related shocks, but also to sustain this ability in the face of climate change that may increase the frequency or intensity of such shocks in the future. This requires integrating climate change into urban planning by local and national authorities. It also requires that international donors focus more on urban vulnerabilities and recognize that climate change adaptation cannot be effectively implemented as stand-alone projects but must be integrated into urban development and planning.

Join the APCG Discussion Forum!

http://groups.google.com/group/discussionAPCG

A public/open forum for APCG members. APCG members who sign up can communicate with each other in an open format. Want to discuss this issue's symposium, advertise a new book, talk about an Africa-related issue, find a conference roommate, or get info on a research location? You can do that here!
In addition, our business meeting will take place on Thursday, August 28 from 7-8 pm in the Marriott Hotel, Virginia C. Following the business meeting, our social event will take place at Meskerem, an Ethiopian restaurant located in Adams Morgan that where we have had a number of APCG social events in the past. Meskerem is located at 2434 18th Street and the social event will begin at 8:30 pm. Thanks to a generous donation from the African Studies Program at SAIS, there will be plenty of food and beverages so please plan to attend. If you have not done so already, let Jen Brass know if you will make it. You may email her at brassj@indiana.edu.

Some APCG members have wondered whether the shift to APSA’s awards timetable means that our relationship with the African Studies Association will change. I think the relationship with ASA will remain as vibrant and healthy as ever. APCG was born at ASA and our linkages with ASA are strong. We will continue to have a business meeting and a social event at ASA. We will continue to present our incoming officers at ASA and officially to hand over duties to those officers at that meeting. Moreover, this year we will host a special memorial service in honor of Joel Barkan, who, as many of you know, passed away suddenly last January. John Harbeson will also chair a roundtable honoring the life and work of Joel that will take place on Saturday, November 22 at 10 am so please plan to attend. Finally, the 2015 ASA conference next year will explore the State in Africa so it should prove especially interesting for political scientists.

I want to conclude my chair’s report by calling your attention to two vital aspects of our organization: the election of officers and the state of our membership. As Gina Lambright, our treasurer, and I will be stepping down in November, the membership needs to elect new officers to the positions of Chair and Treasurer. Thanks to the hard work of our nominations committee consisting of Cathy Boone, Amy Poteete, and Dennis Galvan, we have two excellent candidates nominated for each position and their bios are included in this issue. Our candidates for Chair are: Mamadou Gazibo, University of Montreal and Susanna Wing, Haverford College and for Treasurer, Adrienne LeBas, American University and Lahra Smith, Georgetown University. All four of these candidates are accomplished scholars and all four have been committed to APCG for many years. I’d like to extend my gratitude to the nominations committee for identifying candidates who are deeply familiar with APCG and have served it in so many different capacities. We will be in good hands with any of these candidates and I encourage all of our members to vote when the electronic ballot is announced in early September.

Lastly, I want to say a word about
African Data Sources Sought

We are in the process of compiling a list of data sources for our group.

For the current list, go to:  

To contribute a data source, send an email to Nathaniel Olin, nolin@wisc.edu

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membership. We are a strong organization and our membership continues to grow. Yet, a condition of our organized section status is that we maintain at least 250 members who are also members of APSA. If you have therefore not paid your dues to APCG or to APSA, please do so. Our continued visibility and recognition depends on it. I look forward to seeing all of you at APSA or ASA and I want to congratulate our newsletter editors, Cara Jones and Stephen Marr on their first issue! We will greatly miss our outgoing newsletter editor, Mike Nelson, as he did so much to professionalize our newsletter but we know Cara and Steve will do an excellent job. On behalf of the steering committee and myself, welcome to Cara and Steve!

Dear Friends and Colleagues,

Welcome to the latest edition of the APCG Newsletter: the very first under what we hope will be a benevolent editorial co-dictatorship of Cara Jones and Steve Marr. We are excited, and to be honest, a little bit relieved that we managed to get this issue out with only a minimum of technical chaos. Most of all, we are grateful for the opportunity to do our part over the next few years to continue the rapid expansion of what is increasingly a global community of Africanist scholars. We would, finally, like to specifically thank Anne Pitcher, the APCG board and former editor, Mike Nelson, for entrusting the newsletter to us. Mike’s experience was an exceptional guide helping us throughout the transition. We hope to emulate the high standards set down by Mike and the previous editors and thus intend to operate within the “if it ain’t broke…” model of editorial stewardship.

To the rest of the APCG membership we would like to extend an invitation for further collaboration. While we have numerous ideas for new features, we also seek your ideas suggestions. Your continued participation can only enhance the quality of the newsletter.

Included within the pages of this issue is the usual array of symposium essays, member news, publication announcements, conference calls, and employment opportunities. Furthermore, as we enter APCG’s election season, please take time to review the candidate information presented here. We look forward to hearing your thoughts and contributions in the months ahead.

Have a lovely and productive fall.

Steve Marr, Malmö University
Cara Jones, Mary Baldwin College

From the Editors
Candidates for Chair of APCG

Susanna Wing
Haverford College

Biographical Statement

I am Associate Professor of Political Science at Haverford College where I have also served as coordinator of African and Africana Studies as well as coordinator of Gender and Sexuality Studies. I hold a B.A. from the University of Wisconsin, Madison and a MA in African Area Studies and PhD in Political Science from University of California, Los Angeles. My work has been supported by a Fulbright fellowship (1997-98), Foreign Language and Area Studies fellowships, a Chateaubriand Post-doctoral fellowship (2000-01), and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) via Centre d’Etude d’Afrique Noire (CEAN) Bordeaux (2003).

My research interests are in the areas of rule of law, gender, and constitutionalism. I have written extensively on Mali. I am currently conducting research on the politics of intervention as well as religion and politics in Mali as well as, more broadly, examining the rule of law in Africa. My book Constructing Democracy in Transitioning Societies of Africa: Constitutionalism and Deliberation in Mali (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) received the APCG 2009 Best Book Award and was subsequently published in French by Karthala (2013). My work has appeared in Foreign Affairs, African Affairs, Polity and Democratization. In addition, I have contributed to multiple edited volumes.

Furthermore, I have participated in policy seminars and workshops for the World Bank, the US Department of State, United States Institute of Peace among others. In 2011 and 2012 I received grants from the US Department of State to give lectures on women and politics in Mali, Niger, and Chad. I have given multiple interviews for BBC, NPR, RFI, Al Jazeera, France 24, among others, on politics and international intervention in Mali.

Statement of Candidacy

As a member of APCG since its inception, it is an honor to be considered for the position of Chair. The organization has grown impressively during these years. If elected I will strive to build and strengthen our networks and institutional linkages in addition to supporting the diverse methodologies and broad professional interests and goals of our growing membership. Since the beginning of APCG we have increased opportunities for our members to participate in professional conferences through APCG panels, we have promoted Africa-related scholarship through awards that recognize the excellence of our work and we have successfully pursued our mission of gaining recognition of Africa related scholarship in political science at major professional associations. Sustaining and promoting these activities will remain central to what I will do as chair of APCG.

I am excited by our newly minted status as an organized section of APSA and believe that I have the experience to help us navigate this ongoing transition. Were I to be elected I would bring organizational and administrative experience to the position of chair. I served as the Treasurer for the APSA Human Rights section for four years (2005-2009). I have served on and chaired several committees for APCG including the best book award committee, the program committees for both ASA and APSA, as well as the best graduate student paper committee. I have also served on the APSA program committee as co-chair of the Comparative Politics of Developing Countries program division. In 2012, I was a member of the APSA Task Force “Democracy, Economic Security, and Social Justice in a Volatile World.” These experiences have provided insight into the operations of APCG as well as the professional associations to which we belong.

Because a mission of our organization is to bring together those working on Africa across the multiple associations in which we are active our longstanding commitment to ASA and ISA is essential to our success. Therefore while we have become an organized section of APSA we must also maintain the commitment to our broader associational presence. As Chair I will ensure that we pursue this organizational balance.

Since its inception APCG has increased ties to political scientists resident in Africa as well as improving institutional linkages to African universities. I am committed to continuing this important work. APSA Africa workshops have resulted in new members and new research linkages.

Continued on next page
How can we best maintain the increased membership this has created? Mentorship plays an intrinsic part in supporting and building opportunities for our diverse membership. I would continue to strengthen informal and formal mentorship opportunities. The diverse experience of our membership in fieldwork, publishing, networking, methodology, and the job market is one of the primary strengths of APCG. As chair I would work towards building linkages through various avenues, including online discussions, email, newsletter, website and social media, and social gatherings. Important areas in which we could strengthen our ties as members and promote our scholarship are joint research and grant proposals as well as co-authorship. I have been active at ASA and APSA for nearly twenty years. During this time I have built networks with international and domestic academic communities. I will strive to bring all of these experiences to the service of the APCG.

As scholars of Africa we participate in a multiple array of issue areas as well as outlets for our knowledge and work. As Chair of APCG I will support initiatives that help promote the dissemination of our research, within academia and beyond. I believe that APCG can be a resource for those outside of academia who have need of our expertise and knowledge. The input we provide can be essential given the volatile world in which we live. I would seek to increase opportunities for our members’ work and expertise to be readily available to those who want informed analysis of Africa. This can be done through our newsletter, website, social media networks, as well as through the networks of our own members. I would be very honored to serve as the next APCG Chair.

Consider Volunteering for an APCG Committee!
Please consider volunteering for next year! Our current committee members have done outstanding service. Many committee chairs and members have also said how much they have enjoyed getting to know more about the scholarship, teaching and service of other APCG members. The awards committees are organized and coordinated by the Vice Chair. The conference committees will be organized and coordinated by the incoming Chair. If you are interested in serving on any for next year, please send an email to Lauren MacLean at macleanl@indiana.edu to volunteer.

Best Book in 2014 Award
Best Article in 2014 Award
APCG-Lynne Reiner Best Dissertation in 2014 Award
APCG-African Affairs Best Paper in 2014-2015 Award
ASA 2015
ISA 2016
Nominations
Candidates for Chair of APCG

Mamadou Gazibo  
University of Montreal

Biographical Statement

Mamoudou Gazibo is professor of political science at the University of Montreal in Canada. He received his Ph.D. in 1998 from the University Montesquieu in Bordeaux, France. His research focuses on comparative politics and African international relations, with an emphasis on democratization, institutions and cooperation between Africa and emerging countries such as China. He is the author, co-author or editor of eight books and nearly sixty articles and book chapters. During the past fifteen years he has been invited to provide his expertise to institutions such as the United Nations, the African Union, and the International Organization of Francophone Countries as well as by individual governments in Africa and Canada. In 2010 and 2011, he chaired the Niger constitution drafting committee and served as special adviser to the Prime minister of that country on institutional reform issues. In recognition of his public service, he received the medal of Grand Officer of the National Order from the State of Niger.

Statement of Candidacy

I am humbled to have been nominated as a candidate for chair of the African Politics Conference Group. As an Africanist in Canada, I have been participating in its activities since its formation. I have served on the nominating committee for two years and as editor of its newsletter for nearly three years. As a result, I have had the opportunity to meet and correspond with American, European and African colleagues, some of which have become friends and research partners.

I consider the African Politics Conference Group to be important for several reasons: as a network, for its promotions of scholarly news and events, and for the opportunities it gives to young as well as senior colleagues to participate in panels, to receive recognition for their publications, and to be provided with information about research on African issues.

If elected chair, I would do my best to continue the excellent work of my predecessors. I would also strive to expand our group to include more colleagues from around the world and especially scholars working in and originating from Sub-Saharan Africa. Finally, I want to propose that a consultative committee composed of previous chairs be formed as I believe that it could be very useful in helping me to formulate more accurate and innovative ideas as our group moves forward.
Candidates for Treasurer of APCG

Lahra Smith
Georgetown University

Biographical Statement

Lahra Smith is a political scientist with a particular interest in African politics. She is an Associate Professor in the African Studies Program of the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. Prof. Smith has conducted fieldwork on the role of political institutions in addressing conflict based on ethnicity, language and gender in Ethiopia. Her current research focuses on the questions of equality and citizenship in contemporary Africa, particularly civic education. Her book, Making Citizens in Africa: Ethnicity, Gender and National Identity in Ethiopia, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2013, and she has numerous articles on ethnicity and citizenship, as well as elections and democracy in East Africa. Her undergraduate degree from the University of New Hampshire included study in Zimbabwe. She then received an MA in African Studies and a Ph.D. in Political Science from UCLA. Prof. Smith was the Fulbright Visiting Research Chair in Ethnicity and Multicultural Citizenship at Queen's University, Canada in 2010, and she has had funding support from the National Science Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Fulbright-Hays fellowship program. She has worked for USAID and Oxfam America, and taught at Addis Ababa University and with high school teachers in Ethiopia and has served as an election observer in Ethiopia and Kenya.

Statement of candidacy

It would be my great pleasure to serve as Treasurer for the APCG. In many ways, I have grown up as a scholar of African Studies alongside the APCG, going to some of the earliest meetings of the organization while a graduate student. I am a committed African studies researcher and teacher, convinced that the study of political and social questions in such a large and diverse continent is valuable to both the citizens of the continent and the global community. I have presented papers and served as discussant for many APCG panels. I have served on several committees for APCG already, including nominations, ASA program and best dissertation committee. I wrote a short article on teaching African Politics in the Journal of Political Science Education as one early ini-
Candidates for Treasurer of APCG

Adrienne LeBas
American University

Biographical Statement:

Adrienne LeBas (Ph.D., Columbia University) is Assistant Professor of Government at the School of Public Affairs at American University. Prior to joining AU, LeBas was a Prize Research Fellow at Nuffield College, University of Oxford, and Assistant Professor of Political Science and African Studies at Michigan State University. She also worked as a consultant for Human Rights Watch in Zimbabwe, where she lived from 2002 to 2003. Her research interests include party formation, social movements, and political violence. She has conducted extensive fieldwork in Zimbabwe, Zambia, Kenya, and Nigeria. LeBas is the author of From Protest to Parties: Party-Building and Democratization in Africa (Oxford University Press, 2011), which won the Best Book Award from the African Politics Conference Group in 2012. Her article “Polarization as Craft: Party-Building and Violence in Zimbabwe” was named an honorable mention for the APCG Best Article Award in 2007. Her research has been published in Comparative Politics, the Journal of Democracy, Studies in Comparative International Development, the British Journal of Political Science (forthcoming), and elsewhere. In addition to ongoing work on attitudes toward taxation in urban Nigeria, LeBas is working on a book that examines why political violence becomes a persistent problem in some new democracies and not in others. For the past several years, she has been conducting qualitative and survey research in cities, especially slums in Nairobi, Kenya, and Lagos, Nigeria.

Statement of Candidacy:

I am honored to be nominated to stand for election as Treasurer of the African Politics Conference Group. I have been involved with APCG since I was a graduate student at Columbia, and I have served on several of the Group’s committees in the past, including the selection committees for the Best Book and Best Article Awards. If elected as Treasurer, I would be committed to continuing APCG’s tradition of transparency and excellent fiscal management. I would also be excited to serve on APCG’s executive committee during what I believe will be a period of dynamic growth for our organization. Following our recognition as an organized section of the American Political Science Association, APCG is well placed to further increase the profile of Africanist political science and the visibility of our members’ research. I would be happy to serve our community during this important period. If elected, I would also be interested in expanding APCG membership and involvement among Africa-based scholars. There are low-cost ways that we might achieve this. In addition to directly approaching past APSA Africa workshop participants, we might also investigate if e-conferencing technology could be used to make our panels accessible to members who cannot attend US conferences.
Recent and Continuing Committee Members and Chairs

**Best Book in 2013 Award**

* Daniel Posner  
  UCLA

Jeff Conroy-Krutz  
Michigan State University

Landry Signé  
University of Alaska-Anchorage

**Best Article in 2013 Award**

* Nadia Horning  
  Middlebury College

Melinda Adams  
James Madison University

Kate Baldwin  
Yale University

**APCG-Lynne Rienner Best Dissertation in 2013 Award**

* Lahra Smith  
  Georgetown University

Kris Inman  
National Intelligence University

Alice Kang  
University of Nebraska-Lincoln

**APCG-African Affairs Best Graduate Student Paper 2013/2014 Award**

* Susanna Wing  
  Haverford College

Fodei Batty  
Quinnipiac University

James Hentz  
VMI

**APSA 2014 Committee**

* Leo Arriola  
  University of California, Berkeley

Carl Levan  
American University

Martha Johnson  
Mills College

**ASA 2014 Committee**

* Scott Pegg  
  IUPUI

Robin Turner  
Butler University

Laura Seay  
Colby College

**ISA 2015 Committee**

*Kathleen Hancock  
  Colorado School of Mines

Fredline M’cormack-Hale  
Seton Hall

Mi Yung Yoon  
Hanover College

**Nominations Committee**

* Cathy Boone  
  London School of Economics

Amy Poteete  
Concordia University

Dennis Galvan  
University of Oregon

*committee chair
Now Hiring

London School of Economics and Political Science

Department of International Development

Assistant Professor

Salary is competitive and not less than £51,908 per annum inclusive

We are looking to recruit a candidate at the level of Assistant Professor with a focus on African development and other issues related to the political economy and sociology of contemporary Africa.

You will carry out teaching and research, significantly contributing to the Department’s Masters and PhD degree programmes and to the Department’s activities more broadly.

As well as teaching experience in one or more of the areas listed below and on issues of International Development, you should have completed a PhD in International Development or a closely related subject by start date of post. You should have experience conducting research in Africa, and be able to link local-level research or particular research themes to broad aspects of African Development. You will have expertise in one or more of the following areas: development policy analysis relating to Africa; comparative politics/political sociology with a focus on Africa; rural development, natural resource management, climate policy and politics, agricultural policy and politics, politics of agrarian societies – all with a focus on Africa; African history and its relationship to African Development; political economy of late industrialization with focus on Africa; political economy of global commodity chains, trade, aid, or investment with focus on Africa; comparative studies of social movements, gender, religion, civil society in Africa; international relations, security, peace and conflict with focus on Africa, or; anthropology of African Development.

You will have an established publication record of at least two articles that are of the highest international standards in terms of originality, rigour, and significance. You should be familiar with interdisciplinary literatures on International Development and African Development. You will have advanced training in qualitative or quantitative research methods and also have a clear and viable strategy for top quality future research.

The other criteria which will be used when shortlisting for this post can be found on the person specification, which is attached to this vacancy on the LSE’s online recruitment system.

The post will start on 1 September 2015.

In addition to a competitive salary the benefits that come with this job include a defined benefits pension scheme, generous annual leave and excellent training and development opportunities.

To apply for this post, please go to ‘www.lse.ac.uk/JobsatLSE’ and select “Vacancies”. If you have any queries about applying on the online system, please email: hr.jobs@lse.ac.uk quoting reference 1427003

Please note that you will be required to submit in electronic form two separate publications as part of the application process for this post and forward references to Intdev@lse.ac.uk. Please refer to the How to Apply document on the Online Recruitment system for more information.

The closing date for receipt of applications is 15 November 2014 (23.59 UK time). Regrettably, we are unable to accept any late applications.

Submit Online!

Submissions to the newsletter can be made via our website:
http://africanpoliticsgroup.org/index.php/submit-news/
General Announcements

Conference Announcements

The National Biennial Conference of the South African Association of Political Studies (SAAPS)

Date: 10 – 12 September 2014

Venue: Unisa Muckleneuk Campus, Pretoria

Theme: South Africa’s Democracy at 20: Diagnosis and Prognosis

Unisa’s College of Human Sciences and Department of Political Sciences are the proud hosts of the SAAPS National Biennial Conference that will take place from 10 to 12 September 2014 at Unisa’s Muckleneuk Campus. The purpose of this conference is to provide an opportunity for the broad political science community in South Africa and beyond to focus attention on analyzing the political dynamics and trends of South Africa’s 20 year democracy. This might include comparing it with similar cases, providing explanations and identifying trends, testing theoretical premises and looking for opportunities of conceptualizing specific aspects of South African politics. A number of themes will be deliberated upon in panels. Thematic issues in the discipline of Political Science not related to South Africa’s democracy at 20 have also been accommodated in the program. Further details of the conference may be accessed at: http://www.unisa.ac.za/saaps2014

The 19th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies will take place from 24-28 August, 2015, at the University of Warsaw, Poland. The conference theme is “Ethiopia-Diversity and Interconnections through Space and Time” and panels and papers on contemporary Ethiopian politics are welcomed. The conveners state that “The aim of the Conference of Ethiopian Studies is to allow scholars, students, and others interested in Ethiopian Studies to present the outcome of their research, to exchange their experience, knowledge and ideas on different aspects of Ethiopian culture and that of the Horn of Africa, as well as on their history, and the interconnections within the area and with the outside world. “More details are available at http://www.ices19.uw.edu.pl/

APCG Members on the Web!

We aim to make this a regular feature in our upcoming issues, so please forward exciting web/internet/social media news to the editors at apcgnewsletter@gmail.com

Since March 2014, APCG members have been regular contributors the Monkey Cage blog at the Washington Post, available online at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/>. Kim Yi Dionne and Laura Seay are now a permanent part of the Monkey Cage authorship, with guest posters including Brandon Kendhammer, Severine Autesserre, Ann Wainscott, Cara E. Jones, Melinda Platas Izama, Leo Arriola, Edmond J. Keller and many others (apologies if not listed). This represents a giant leap forward in the Africanist community to interact with the broader discipline and the Washington Post readership. If you have not seen the blog, check it out!
Catherine Kelly is now a postdoctoral fellow at Washington University in St. Louis in the Department of International and Area Studies. At Harvard University, she recently defended her dissertation, entitled “Why (So many) Parties? The Logic of Party Formation in Senegal.”

Carl LeVan from American University and APSA Africa Workshop alum Joseph Oleyinka Fashagba (Kenya 2011) from Landmark University met at Bennington College in Vermont to implement their APSA Africa Workshop Publication Grant. They were joined by Ned McMahon from the University of Vermont and their host, Rotimi Suberu for a week of intensive editing and re-writing of their collection of essays, “African State Legislatures: Subnational Politics and National Power,” which is under consideration for publication.

Tom Wolf (Research Analyst, IPSOS Public Affairs, Nairobi, Kenya) presented a paper on the ICC Kenya cases (‘Whose justice, Whose Votes? - UhuRuto vs. the ICC in the 2013 Kenya Election’) at a conference held at The Hague (‘Africans and Hague Justice - Realities and Perceptions of the International Criminal Court in Africa’). The conference was organized by the Netherlands Association of African Studies (NVAS). Details may be accessed at: http://sites.thehagueuniversity.com/africans-and-hague-justice/home. The NVAS is currently in conversation with Cambridge University Press about publishing a selection of the papers. Last month Tom also presented a paper at a conference on the theme of “Detecting and Deterring Electoral Fraud and Malpractices in Africa.” Sponsored jointly by the Institute for Policy Research (Namibia) and the Hans Seidel Foundation (Germany), the conference was held in Windhoek, Namibia and attended by two dozen participants representing 15 African countries. Further information may be obtained from: info@hsf.org.na.

Wale Adebanwi gave the first keynote, entitled “Elites, Ethnographic Encounters and the ‘Native’ Ethnographer in Contemporary Africa,” at the Anthropology Southern Africa annual conference held at the Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa on June 30, 2014.

Wale Adebanwi’s book, Yoruba Elites and Ethnic Politics in Nigeria: Obafemi Awolowo and Corporate Agency, was published by the Cambridge University Press in April 2014. The book, which is the first authoritative scholarly work on one of the largest ethnic groups in Africa, the Yoruba, combines the perspectives and disciplinary methods of anthropology, historical sociology and political science.


Cambridge University Press has released Severine Autesserre’s new book, “Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention.”

Peaceland suggests a new explanation for why international peace interventions often fail to reach their full potential. Based on several years of ethnographic research in conflict zones around the world, it demonstrates that everyday elements – such as the expatriates’ social habits and usual approaches to understanding their areas of operation – strongly influence peacebuilding effectiveness.

Individuals from all over the world and all walks of life share numerous practices, habits, and narratives when they serve as interveners in conflict zones. These common attitudes and actions enable foreign peacebuilders to function in the field, but they also result in unintended consequences that thwart international efforts. Certain expatrates follow alternative modes of thinking and doing, often with notable results, but they remain in the minority. Through an in-depth analysis of the interveners’ everyday life and work, this book proposes innovative ways to better help host populations build a sustainable peace.

For more information on the argument, reviews of the book, and availability, see the book’s website: http://www.severineautesserre.com/research/peaceland/.


This book examines non-state governance in areas of limited statehood by looking at the security practices of multinational companies. Since the end of the Cold War, the extractive industries have expanded enormously into Africa, Latin America and Asia. In Sub-Saharan Africa, more than 50% of foreign direct investment goes into this sector. This book examines everyday security practices around some of these mining companies in order to illustrate a much broader and highly relevant phenomenon: hybrid
transnational security governance. Such hybridity and their ambiguous effects characterise external security practices in many other arenas of intervention in our postcolonial world.

The volume analyses the techniques, nodes of actors and spaces of transnational companies’ security governance in African mining regions. Using cases from the northwest of Johannesburg in South Africa and Southern Katanga in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the book offers an alternative explanation for the similarities, differences, and in fact contradictions, in the security practices in these localities in different time periods. It argues that different collective meaning systems that work across state boundaries structure local actors’ perceptions and range of choice of security techniques.

This book will be of interest to students of international politics, security governance and policing, business and politics, African politics, political geography, practice-oriented discourse theory and international political sociology.

The book has also come out as a paperback. Jana would also like to inform colleagues that she joined the Politics and International Relations department of Edinburgh University last year.

The expansion of Nigeria’s roads project into rural Nigeria, June 2014.

Photo courtesy of Cara E. Jones
*denotes items submitted directly by members. All other references were discovered by the editors. We only include items that have already been published.

**Books**


**Edited Books**


**Journals**

* *African Affairs*


Recent Publications, continued from page 24


Pinaud, Clemence. 2014. “South Sudan: Civil war, predation and the making of a military aristocracy” *African Affairs* 113, no. 451: 192-211.


**African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review**


**African Journal of Political Science and International Relations**


**African Security**


**African Security Review**


**Africa Spectrum**


**African Studies Review**


**American Political Science Review**


**Canadian Journal of African Studies**


**Comparative Politics**


continued on page 25
Recent Publications, continued from page 25

**Democratization**


**Development and Change**


**Human Rights Quarterly**


**International Organization**


**Journal of African Law**


**Journal of Contemporary African Studies**


**Journal of Democracy**


**Journal of Modern African Studies**


**Journal of Southern African Studies**


**PS: Political Science & Politics**

*Hershey, Megan and Michael Arttime. 2014. “Narratives of Africa in a digital world: Kony 2012 and student perceptions of conflict and agency

continued on page 27
Recent Publications, continued from page 26

in sub-Saharan Africa” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 47, no. 3: 636-641.


Review of African Political Economy


South African Journal of International Affairs


Third World Quarterly


Turshen, Meredith. 2014. “A global partnership for development and other unfulfilled promises of the millennium project” *Third World Quarterly* 35, no. 3: 345-357.

World Development


Other Journal Articles, Book Chapters, and Papers


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