

Citizenship, Belonging,
and Political Community in Africa

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Introduction

EMMA HUNTER

AFRICA, IT IS OFTEN SAID, IS SUFFERING FROM A CRISIS OF citizenship.¹ Since the return of multiparty politics, new dynamics of inclusion and exclusion have led to the denial of rights and privileges to those designated as “strangers.”² In a continent where movement has always been the norm, designating particular groups as outsiders and seeking to exclude them from political rights on that basis has proved a tempting political tactic.³ At the same time, even those who enjoy the legal status of citizenship and the political rights that flow from it face difficulties in approaching the state as active citizens engaged in ruling themselves.⁴

At the heart of contemporary debates over citizenship in Africa lie dynamic exchanges between the present and the past, between political theory and political practice, and between legal categories and lived experience. Yet studies of citizenship in Africa have often tended to foreshorten historical time and to privilege the present at the expense of the past. The very term *citizen* is often understood as relevant primarily to the postcolonial state, limiting comparative analysis of political status across space and time. As we shall see, this neglect of history poses problems, given that theories of contemporary African politics often rest heavily on readings of the past.

More broadly, a tension has emerged between the approach taken by historians and that taken by social scientists. Among the latter, it has become axiomatic that colonial states were characterized by a dichotomy between subjecthood and citizenship, representing a clear difference between the majority of the population and a privileged minority accorded full legal rights. But this focus on legal status and terminology misses the ways in which there have always been different

sorts of subjects, with different sorts of rights, duties, and prerogatives negotiated on the ground as much as defined in colonial law, in ways not captured by the citizen/subject dichotomy. Still more important, the focus on legal status means that we risk losing sight of broader discursive spheres in which political membership is articulated and claims are made. We need to look beyond the normative texts of colonial and postcolonial lawmaking and more closely into the domains of history, narrative, and social practice.⁵

This is an opportune moment to survey the field and propose new ways forward. It emerges from a visiting fellowship program that brought five historians, political scientists, and sociologists from African universities to Cambridge in 2011–12 to work on the theme of citizenship, belonging, and political community in Africa. The ideas explored here were developed over a series of seminars with invited speakers, a workshop in Cambridge, and a conference in Nairobi. This volume necessarily includes only a small selection of the work presented at the Cambridge seminars and at the two conferences, but the contributions of all participants helped shape the arguments developed here.

The aim of the book is twofold. In the first place, it seeks to provide a critical reflection on citizenship in Africa by bringing together scholars working with very different case studies and with very different understandings of what is meant by citizenship. Second, by bringing historians and social scientists into dialogue in the same volume, it argues that a revised reading of the past can offer powerful new perspectives on the present.

Dialogues between Disciplines

This book brings together nine case studies that take very different approaches. But while the contributors approach the issue from the perspective of varying disciplines, the differences between them are not reducible to those disciplinary differences. Rather, they approach the issue along three thematic axes.

Civil and Civic Citizenship in Africa

If we see a legal definition of citizenship, or “civil citizenship” not as *the* definition of citizenship but as one element of a shared field, we can cast our eye back to the ways in which the governed engaged with their governors prior to, and later outwith or alongside, the institutions of the modern state.⁶ This is a theme explored in more detail in

John Lonsdale's chapter, but in brief, in precolonial Africa, struggles for citizenship focused on incorporation. Jonathon Glassman's work on nineteenth-century eastern Africa has led us to appreciate the importance of struggles for inclusion. Relationships between slaves and their owners were unequal, but by employing a common language of paternalist authority, slaves could seek to defend or enhance their positions. As Glassman makes clear, they could employ an "ideological language of clientelism to express personal agendas that were aggressive and innovative."⁷

This is not surprising, for across precolonial Africa, establishing ties of personal dependence and inserting oneself into networks of authority were often more important than seeking autonomy.⁸ But these relationships were fluid and unstable. Chiefs sought to build authority and attract followers, but they knew that followers could, if they wished, go elsewhere. As Cherry Leonardi writes with reference to southern Sudan, "Chiefship itself had originated in mobility and migration, in terms of both the individual acquisition of linguistic and other foreign knowledge and the subsequent attraction of adherents. But this also gave chiefs' followers their own means of holding chiefs to account by the threat and practice of further migration to alternative patrons: 'No chief wanted his people to leave him.'"⁹

While some have argued that the advent of the colonial state saw the extinguishing of older modes of interaction between governors and governed, the cases explored in this volume show clearly that in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Africa this process was never complete. Far more striking is the interaction between the new institutional forms of the state and older practices that continued to have traction.

In the Cape Colony of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, explored in this volume by Nicole Ulrich, Khoesan were largely excluded from the colonial legal order. This meant that they were left either to negotiate relations of dependency with frontier farmers or to bond together with other subordinated classes to better their position. The patchwork of legal statuses that characterized the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Cape began to be extinguished from the late eighteenth century on, as colonial rulers acted to redefine sovereignty and political subjecthood and discursively to construct a relationship between the imperial state and the individual. Ulrich's chapter traces the way that this happened in the Cape with the replacement of Dutch rule with British rule. While there was institutional continuity, the British

brought with them a new governing ethos underpinned by the category of the “British subject.” The result was that “masters and servants were brought into the same legal framework and, in theory, came to be regarded more or less as equal before the law,” a dramatic change from the Dutch East India Company (VOC) system, which was, as Ulrich reminds us, “designed to protect social hierarchies.”

Colonial rulers described this relationship as reflecting a new conception of sovereignty, though at times they did so using old language, as in Zanzibar, where the term used in colonial citizenship laws was the old word for subject, *raia*.¹⁰ New conceptions of sovereignty provided new discursive and practical resources to colonial subjects. The claim to imperial citizenship was one such discursive resource, as Ulrich shows in her chapter. Khoesan laborers “could look to the colonial state to secure limited rights and protections, especially within the realm of labor relations.” In a postcolonial context, Aidan Russell’s exploration of early postcolonial Burundi evocatively captures the ways in which Burundians on the border selectively employed the state’s language and turned it back at state officials as a way of proving their loyalty to the state. In other contexts, legalistic forms of claim making became increasingly important. Similarly, Cherry Leonardi’s informants in southern Sudan recalled going to the colonial courts “to claim one’s right,” as older modes of political practice were overlaid with a new juridical tone.¹¹

But while colonial laws and didactic texts focused on a relationship to the imperial state, everyday political life often took place at other levels of political belonging, with rights and duties negotiated through membership of political communities smaller than the state. Individuals had different criteria for belonging, which themselves changed over time, and engaging with power often meant playing different forms of political membership off against each other. As Cherry Leonardi and Chris Vaughan show in their chapter, in 1940s and 1950s Sudan, “‘local’ and ‘national’ citizenship were interactive fields, rather than discrete spheres.”

If the contributions of Ulrich, Russell, and Leonardi and Vaughan in this volume point to the need for studies that explore changing modes of engagement between governed and governors over the *longue durée*, what analytical tools might we employ to understand these? To answer this question, Aidan Russell puts forward a compelling case for destabilizing the common dichotomy between “citizen” and “subject” as a productive way forward. Modernization narratives offer an account of a

gradual transition from subjecthood to universal citizenship, a narrative partially arrested in colonial Africa by the dichotomy produced by colonial states, whereby some were granted the status of citizens and others left subject to authoritarian chiefs.¹² But for Russell, “the distinction of subject and citizen is simultaneously an informative and a misleading principle of analysis.” Exploring the “daily practices and expressions of people and state” in early postcolonial Burundi, Russell finds that “as the terms and obsessions of state authority shifted, the people of Burundi certainly acted the subject, yet frequently too they made the claims of active citizens, blended obedience with negotiation and loyalty with invocation, and conformed to political realities while seeking to shift them toward their interest.” The focus on practice and agency, in dialogue with state discourse and legal status, comes out clearly too in Samantha Balaton-Chrimes’s case study of the Nubians of Kenya, making the case, in her words, for “an account of citizenship as a multi-dimensional legal status and political condition that is constructed and contested by agential political subjects.”

All four of these chapters thus bring out the interplay of state discourses and shifting modes of practicing citizenship from below. At the same time, they also point us to the ways in which the limits of political community, as well as who is included and excluded from any given political community, are subject to negotiation.

Deep Histories of Inclusion and Exclusion

Several of the contributors to this volume define citizenship in terms of a legal status granted or withheld by the state, which gives those holding it access to a set of rights and demands of them certain duties. Yet their contributions demonstrate that the apparent modularity of this conception of citizenship conceals historical battles over how the limits of inclusion and exclusion are defined and thus over the boundaries of political community. Far from history demonstrating a gradual but ultimately unidirectional path, there is an alternative history of institutional experiments and roads not taken. Citizenship has always been, in Luise White’s words, a “slippery category.”¹³ In this regard, the transition from one imperial system to another and the unraveling of imperial systems in the era of decolonization were particularly important.¹⁴

As we have seen, the advent of British rule in the Cape gave Khoesan access to a new language of imperial citizenship. This language of imperial citizenship functioned as a weapon in argument more than

settled fact, yet, as Leonardi and Vaughan point out, its appearance in the rhetoric of petitions tells us something interesting about changing conceptions of political community in the colonial era.

The same was true of the moment of decolonization, as Frederick Cooper reminds us in his postscript to this volume. Decolonizing states did not have to take an off-the-shelf model of territorial citizenship; they could experiment with alternative and more expansive models. The twists and turns taken by these experiments are brought to life in Henri-Michel Yéré's chapter, which explores Félix Houphouët-Boigny's attempt to introduce "double nationality" to early postcolonial Ivory Coast. This was not a straightforward policy of dual citizenship; rather, Houphouët-Boigny had in mind a system whereby "nationals of different West African states could benefit from the same rights and duties as citizens of their host country without being citizens." For Houphouët-Boigny, this was a political move, designed to shore up support and pursue African unity on his terms. Yet it failed, rejected by a group of elite Ivorians for whom it seemed to herald fewer jobs and opportunities. Yéré analyzes this controversy as a struggle between two alternative conceptions of citizenship: Houphouët-Boigny's reconstituted version of French imperial citizenship on the one hand and a conception of Ivorian citizenship on the other. In doing so, he demonstrates the centrality of struggles over citizenship to the decolonization process and the making of postcolonial states.

Had it succeeded, Houphouët-Boigny's model would have both destabilized and reinforced hierarchies of citizenship between Ivorians and other nationals of other West African states. The importance of hierarchies of citizenship is emphasized too in the case studies of Mauritius and Kenya. In Mauritius, as Ramola Ramtohol shows, where hierarchies of citizenship had been established historically and the purpose for which groups had originally come to the island served to define their position in Mauritius's social hierarchy, a Franco-Mauritian elite sought to use their "claim of being the 'authentic' Mauritian population that legitimately deserved to lead the country" to exclude others from political rights. Similarly, for the Nubians of Kenya, Balaton-Chrimes argues, only by tracing the history of the community within Kenya can we understand the "way in which today's Nubians are marginalized by the nation's contemporary citizenship."

More generally, the case of the Nubians reminds us, in Balaton-Chrimes's words, that "political membership has historically been

negotiated in dialogue with, rather than purely determined by, colonial (and postcolonial) legal and political status,” and this is as true of the present as of the past.¹⁵ At the same time, all three of these case studies pay particular attention to the mid-twentieth century and reinforce the point, made most forcefully by Yéré, that the struggles over inclusion and exclusion that have dominated contemporary politics in much of Africa and that are often traced to the effects of political liberalization after 1989 have a much longer history than we might think.¹⁶ That said, the political landscape has changed dramatically since 1989, and with this in mind it is to contemporary Africa that I now turn.

Multicultural Citizenship in Africa

The growing importance in contemporary Africa of struggles over autochthony or indigeneity compels us to interrogate the category of civil citizenship and reflect on the ways in which Africa has, in recent years, become a testing ground for new conceptions of multicultural citizenship. While the modernization theories of the mid-twentieth century assumed a trajectory toward the existence of homogenous nation-states, the unexpected persistence of subnational identities, particularly ethnic identities, in postcolonial Africa has led scholars and activists to consider how models of citizenship that leave space for difference might be constructed.

In this vein, some have stressed the potential for a new multicultural citizenship to open up new paths for “meaningful citizenship.”¹⁷ Peter Ekeh argued many years ago that in Africa we see the working out of a duality created by colonial rule whereby there are effectively two bases of citizenship: one “official” and determined by the state; and the other “unofficial” or “primordial,” defined by local communities on the basis of birth.¹⁸ The two publics have different norms of behavior. The civic public is, Ekeh argued, fundamentally amoral, a space in which material gains are pursued without the need to give anything back. This is a sphere of rights rather than duties. In contrast, the “primordial” public is a sphere of duties more than of rights; more important, it is a *moral* space to be contrasted with the *amorality* of the civic sphere. Thus, whereas in the West, Ekeh argues, citizenship is conceived in terms of a transactional relationship of rights and duties, in Africa rights and duties are partitioned between two separate and rival spheres of citizenship.¹⁹ There is therefore an uncertain fit between the relationship of an individual in relation to the state and vernacular conceptions of

citizenship determined locally, and in more recent work Ekeh has developed this idea further, arguing that whereas in the Hobbesian tradition individuals go to the state in search of protection, in Africa they go to ethnic kinsmen in pursuit of protection *from* the state. As a result, “[t]he bonds of mistrust between states and individuals in Africa are replaced with bonds of moral sentiments binding individuals who share a common ethnicity.”²⁰

But crucially, in Ekeh’s work, as in more recent analyses that pursue a similar line of inquiry, there is potential for the rural domain of culture to be a space in which to develop practices of what Lahra Smith terms “meaningful citizenship.”²¹ This is a line of interpretation that we see in John Lonsdale’s work on Kenya. In the Kenyan examples that Lonsdale explores, ethnic citizenship was not simply a domain in which individuals gave of themselves in return for protection; rather, it was a domain of moral argument, in which the proper relationship between young and old, rich and poor was worked out and in which unequal social relations were made bearable. This was, in Ekeh’s terms, a domain of both rights and duties. More than that, Lonsdale shows that the development of a moral ethnic public in the colonial period did not preclude the development of other forms of citizenship, national or imperial, both in the colonial period and more recently.

Building on this argument and seeking to extend it more widely, Lahra Smith argues that “[w]hat scholars of diversity and multiculturalism theory in the west offer is a dynamic and optimistic view of the role of identity politics in supporting democratization. Adopting and modifying this theoretical approach would radically change the pessimistic and defeatist tone of what is typically studied as ‘ethnic politics’ in the African context.”²² For Smith, the lens of “meaningful citizenship” means that “certain kinds of claims, such as ethnic and gendered claims by citizens, can be read as liberatory and democratizing rather than atavistic or primordial, as both the western media and dominant political regimes would have us conclude.”²³ Her findings lead her to be more optimistic about a process of “citizen expansion” at the local level, which she identifies in Ethiopia in the early twenty-first century, than studies of formal political institutions and quantitative measures of democratization in ethnically plural states would suggest.

These arguments are in part supported by Ramtohol’s case study. In Mauritius, recognizing difference at the moment of independence allowed for the creation of a stable and durable political system. A

relatively optimistic note is also struck by Eghosa Osaghae in his overview chapter. While he remains committed to a goal of equal citizenship, he argues that in contrast to earlier eras of state building when the state simply denied ethnic difference, post-1989 the “increased involvement of civil society in citizenship construction makes the process more discerning of diversity and the imperatives of equitable rights and accountability and therefore more likely to endure as a negotiated rather than a received paradigm.”

But for Solomon Gofie, we should be wary of the power of recognizing ethnic identities *by itself* to make civic engagement more possible. Exploring the Ethiopian case, he argues that far from enhancing the ability of Ethiopian citizens to engage with the state through its celebration of the right to recognition of Ethiopia’s “peoples,” in fact “the propagation of the discourse of ‘the peoples’ accompanied by state control of land and the curtailment of freedom of expression and association has acted to reinforce state control and restrict the ability of Ethiopia’s citizens to engage with the state.” In his chapter he describes the ways in which the governing EPRDF regime in Ethiopia has used a language of recognizing group rights as a means of imposing power.

Adefemi Isumonah too sounds a cautionary note, fearing that the reification of “indigene” identities risks ignoring the fact that social change, mobility, and urbanization mean that individual rights may be becoming more important than group identities for Nigerians. In his chapter, Isumonah explores the “contradictions of the pro-ethno-territorial approaches to rights in Nigeria,” arguing against the preference for group rights as the best guarantor of individual freedoms. Both Isumonah and Gofie question the idea implicit in recent thinking about multicultural citizenship that recognizing group rights is the best route to a more engaged citizenry. The discussion of colonial-era engagements with new languages of individual rights and conceptions of imperial citizenship suggests that Africans have found these languages useful in confronting authoritarian states in the past and may well do so again in the future.

The Past in the Present

Why does this matter? In the first place, asking questions about citizenship in Africa’s past as well as its present is important because it helps us better understand that past. We begin to see aspects of power and its operation that we might otherwise miss, hidden beneath powerful

narratives of “modernization” or “democratization.” This volume therefore serves as an invitation and encouragement to historians to go further in exploring the ways in which citizenship is practiced in particular historical contexts, embracing citizenship as an analytical category not restricted to specific forms of engagement with the modern state.

But this volume also seeks to make the argument that a better understanding of the past is relevant in trying to understand our present condition and the future prospects of democracy in Africa. To see why, we return now to consider briefly the reasons that scholars have recently become so interested in the issue of citizenship.

In Africa, the return of multiparty elections in the late 1980s and early 1990s was greeted with initial enthusiasm followed by disappointment. While the model of authoritarian one-party rule that had existed since the mid-1960s rapidly became hard to defend on the international stage and new parties appeared across the continent, elections did not seem to provide an effective means of peacefully replacing incumbent parties. As scholars sought to understand the limits of elections, some turned to the political cultures that had been created in the colonial period and concluded that these political cultures militated against the creation of democratic citizenship in the postcolony. The colonial state, some scholars argued, should be understood as a regime of subjecthood and clientship, not citizenship.²⁴ And the persistence of patron-client relations in the postcolonial state seemed to preclude the potential for citizenship as active participation in the civic humanist tradition.

These debates were in some ways specific to Africa but were also part of a wider conversation about citizenship and democracy that had developed since the 1980s, when the forces of economic and political liberalization in an era of growing consciousness of globalization began to inspire a developing interest in the concept of citizenship. What did it mean to belong to a political community? What was the state willing to do for its citizens, and what could it do in an era when global forces seemed to be becoming more powerful than nation-states?²⁵ As political liberalization opened up the possibility of fundamentally reshaping the boundaries and limits of political communities, ethno-nationalist politics and the demand by minority groups for recognition of their differences returned to public political debate across the world, from Canada to Ethiopia.

In seeking to explain the apparent crisis of citizenship in contemporary Africa, many scholars have turned to the colonial past and the

political culture that colonial regimes helped to create. Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh, and Will Kymlicka describe the colonial state as one in which “people related as subjects and clients, rather than citizens, to an authoritarian state.”²⁶ For Mahmood Mamdani, the system of government established in the colonial era that denied citizenship rights to African subjects in rural Africa helped create the basis of postcolonial authoritarianism.²⁷ This, it has been suggested, helps explain why, twenty-five years after the return to multiparty democracy in much of sub-Saharan Africa, voters seldom throw incumbent governments out of office.

The colonial past has thus become crucial to understanding the present. But which colonial past? For social scientists, creating a useable past has meant ironing out many of the ambiguities and contradictions of that past and relying on a particular narrative of modernization that, in the case of Africa, is deemed to have failed. Attention has focused on the way in which colonial states simultaneously imposed a model of civil citizenship as a universal norm and at the same time denied access to the rights it offered to most of their African subjects. This is a narrative of the past in which opportunities for the governed to engage with their governors come only with the birth of the modern state and are incompatible both with precolonial modes of political authority and with colonial states that granted political rights to a few but denied them to the many.

Yet the historical case studies collected here demonstrate clearly that the governed have always sought to engage their governors, though they have done so in different ways at different times. This deeper history demands to be taken seriously, for it helped to shape the ways in which Africans engaged with their colonial and postcolonial rulers. At the same time, putting history into dialogue with contemporary social science forcefully makes the point that those concerned with policy making in the present need to be much more sensitive to local differences and to the ways in which conceptions of citizenship are worked out in different ways in different places.

Structure of the Volume

The volume begins with a chapter by John Lonsdale, making a strong argument for the importance of history in understanding citizenship in Africa. The remainder of the volume is divided into three parts, followed by a postscript. Part 1 takes the familiar distinction between

“citizens” and “subjects” but destabilizes it through three historical case studies from the Cape, Burundi, and Sudan. Part 2 takes seriously the “slipperiness” of citizenship and explores three case studies from across the continent—Ivory Coast, Mauritius, and Kenya, focusing on the era of decolonization. Part 3 moves to contemporary Africa, combining an overview chapter by Eghosa Osaghae with case studies from Nigeria and Ethiopia. Finally, in his postscript Frederick Cooper offers his reflections on the volume and the issues it raises.

Taken together, the contributors to this book demonstrate some of the ways in which a revised understanding of citizenship in the colonial and early postcolonial state can help set contemporary debates in a new light and offer new avenues for creative thinking about the building of democratic cultures in Africa. While the chapters range widely in geographical and chronological focus, as well as in the debates they explore, what unites them is a desire to bring Africa’s deep historical past into dialogue with the present, in ways that might also indicate new paths for the future.

Notes

I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers as well as to Frederick Cooper, Stephen McDowall, Naomi Parkinson, and Charles West for commenting on earlier drafts of this introduction. The ideas explored here have been discussed over many years with Florence Brisset-Foucault and, over recent months, with Sara Rich Dorman, and I have learned a great deal from both of them.

1. Wale Adebaniwi, “Terror, Territoriality and the Struggle for Indigeneity and Citizenship in Northern Nigeria,” *Citizenship Studies* 13, no. 3 (2009): 350.

2. See, in particular, Peter Geschiere and Stephen Jackson, “Autochthony and the Crisis of Citizenship: Democratization, Decentralization, and the Politics of Belonging,” *African Studies Review* 49, no. 2 (2006): 1–7; and Peter Geschiere, *The Perils of Belonging: Autochthony, Citizenship and Exclusion in Africa and Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). See also John Lonsdale, “Soil, Work, Civilisation, and Citizenship in Kenya,” *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 2 (2008): 311–12. For a helpful overview, see Sara Rich Dorman, “Citizenship in Africa: The Politics of Belonging,” in *Routledge Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies*, ed. Engin F. Isin and Peter Nyers (Routledge: London, 2014), 161–71.

3. Bronwen Manby, *Struggles for Citizenship in Africa* (London: Zed Books, 2009).

4. See, for example, Ebenezer Obadare and Wendy Willems, *Civic Agency in Africa: Arts of Resistance in the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: James Currey, 2014); Steven Robins, Andrea Cornwall, and Bettina von Lieres,

“Rethinking ‘Citizenship’ in the Postcolony,” *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 6 (2008): 1069–86.

5. Sukanya Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens: Indians in the Late-Victorian Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 5.

6. James Tully, “On Global Citizenship,” in *On Global Citizenship: James Tully in Dialogue* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014). See also Engin F. Isin and Peter Nyers, “Introduction: Globalizing Citizenship Studies,” in Isin and Nyers, *Routledge Handbook*, 2.

7. Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast* (Heinemann: London, 1995), 95.

8. For a powerful argument in favor of the continued importance of relationships of dependence in colonial and postcolonial Africa, see James Ferguson, “Declarations of Dependence: Labour, Personhood, and Welfare in Southern Africa,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 19 (2013): 223–42.

9. Cherry Leonardi, *Dealing with Government in South Sudan: Histories of Chiefship, Community and State* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), 113–14.

10. Jonathon Glassman, *War of Words, War of Stones: Racial Thought and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 52, 319n; Emma Hunter, “Dutiful Subjects, Patriotic Citizens, and the Concept of ‘Good Citizenship’ in Twentieth-Century Tanzania,” *Historical Journal* 56, no. 1 (2013): 257–77.

11. Leonardi, *Dealing with Government*, 101.

12. Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

13. Luise White, *Unpopular Sovereignty: Rhodesian Independence and African Decolonization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 40.

14. On decolonization as a moment of possibility, see, for example, Gary Wilder, *Freedom Time: Negritude, Decolonization and the Future of the World* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015); Frederick Cooper, *Citizenship between Empire and Nation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); and Emma Hunter, *Political Thought and the Public Sphere in Tanzania: Freedom, Democracy and Citizenship in the Era of Decolonization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

15. This point is developed in Samantha Balaton-Chrimes’s recent book, *Ethnicity, Democracy and Citizenship in Africa: Political Marginalisation of Kenya’s Nubians* (Ashgate, UK: Farnham, 2015), 10–12, 21.

16. Dorman, “Citizenship in Africa.”

17. Lahra Smith, *Making Citizens in Africa: Ethnicity, Gender and National Identity in Ethiopia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 4.

18. Peter Ekeh, “Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17, no. 1 (1975): 92; Redie Bereketeab, “The Ethnic and Civic Foundations of Citizenship and Identity in the Horn of Africa,” *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 11, no. 1 (2011): 63; Stephen N. Ndegwa, “Citizenship and Ethnicity: An Examination of Two

Transition Moments in Kenyan Politics,” *American Political Science Review* 91, no. 3 (1997): 599–616.

19. Ekeh, “Colonialism,” 106.

20. Peter Ekeh, “Individuals’ Basic Security Needs and the Limits of Democratization,” in *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*, ed. Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh, and Will Kymlicka (Oxford: James Currey, 2004), 36.

21. Smith, *Making Citizens in Africa*, 4.

22. *Ibid.*, 38.

23. *Ibid.*, 8.

24. Bruce Berman, Dickson Eyoh, and Will Kymlicka, “Introduction: Ethnicity and the Politics of Democratic Nation-Building in Africa,” in Berman et al., *Ethnicity and Democracy*, 8; Robins et al., “Rethinking ‘Citizenship.’”

25. Veronica Federico, *Citoyenneté et participation politique en Afrique du Sud* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2012), 12; Charles Tilly, “Citizenship, Identity and Social History,” *International Review of Social History* 40, no. 3 (1995): 1–17.

26. Berman et al., “Introduction,” 8.

27. Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*.

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