

# Collaborative Learning on Governance and Development in Africa

**Richard Joseph, Convenor**

On September 1, 2018, as an Emeritus Professor of Political Science of Northwestern University, with the accumulated knowledge, experience, and collegial networks of five decades, a new phase of my professional life began. In this capacity, I will draw on many years of study, teaching, research, and policy work, principally on Africa, to engage students, researchers, policymakers, and others to build bridges across certain gaps:

- between the resources of our higher education institutions and the degree to which they are invested in Africa
- between academic research and policy formulation
- between the ideas and skills of earlier generations of scholars and those of contemporary researchers
- between traditional lecture and classroom teaching and immersive learning
- between the desires for peace, democracy, and development and the realities of persistent conflict and predatory rule
- and between self-government over several decades and the failure to provide basic public goods of physical security, electricity, clean water, environmental sanitation, and satisfactory public education, healthcare, and transportation.

At the end of November 2018, certain events at the annual meeting of the African Studies Association (ASA) in Atlanta, Georgia, influenced this agenda. They included

- a tribute party convened in my honor by Prof. Rachel Riedl, the new director of Northwestern's Program of African Studies
- a deeply-researched, but provocative, plenary lecture by outgoing ASA president, Prof. Jean Allman<sup>1</sup>
- a brainstorming session on a proposed *Collaborative Learning Initiative on Governance and Development* (CLI)<sup>2</sup>
- and an impromptu meeting on Prospects for Democracy in Ethiopia co-chaired with Prof. Larry Diamond of Stanford University.

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<sup>1</sup> "Herskovits Must Fall: A Meditation on Whiteness, African Studies and the Unfinished Business of 1968". The talk can be viewed at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mSb\\_N2Ly8VY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mSb_N2Ly8VY)

<sup>2</sup> Members of the panel were Pierre Englebert (Pomona College), Carolyn Logan (Afrobarometer and Michigan State University), Samuel Oloruntoba (University of Pretoria), Mojubaolu Olufunke Okome, (Brooklyn College), Pearl Robinson (Tufts University), and Richard Joseph (Northwestern University).

## **Immersive and Collaborative Learning**

A roundtable discussion at ASA - “Ruptures: African Studies and the Racial Politics of Knowledge Production” - continued Prof. Allman’s reflections. I intervened to state that some Black scholars had different experiences with their mentors and other senior scholars from the ones criticized. Subsequently, I began a re-examination of the life and work of the distinguished British scholar, Thomas Lionel Hodgkin (1910-1982). Hodgkin had introduced me to the study of African politics at Oxford University in 1968 and supervised my doctoral research on the late-colonial experiences of Cameroon. He was an exemplar of engaged scholarship and immersive and collaborative learning.

The first outcome of this exercise will be a paper, “Agency, Access, and Action: The Enduring Legacy of Thomas L. Hodgkin”, to be presented at a graduate students conference, “Decolonizing African Studies”, at Northwestern University in April 2019. Other research and writing projects regarding Hodgkin’s pioneering work on African history and politics will follow.

A *Fund for Collaborative Learning on Africa* (FCLA) will be created to provide financial support for activities identified in this document.<sup>3</sup> This work effectively began a few years ago with the pruning and organizing of my personal archives by undergraduate assistants. Simultaneously, they conducted research projects on peace and democracy initiatives of The Carter Center, Atlanta.<sup>4</sup>

A *Network on Collaborative Learning on Africa* (NCLA) will be activated and expanded. It exists implicitly as a collegial network of scholars of Africa and of state, governance, and democratic development. Our interactions have taken place over many years of sustained engagement with the continent and on these topics.

## **Books and Other Publications**

### *Freedom Gates*

The period 1989 -1995 was one of widespread political upheaval and transition in Africa. The involvement of The Carter Center, and of President Jimmy Carter and his associates, in several countries has not been fully examined by researchers. Preliminary work conducted by Northwestern undergraduates can be expanded. In addition to increasing our understanding of important events during this period, this work can contribute to assessments of political advances and setbacks during the subsequent three decades.

### *The Nigerian Crucible*

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<sup>3</sup> See in the attached addendum an excerpt from a report written following the ASA meeting.

<sup>4</sup> For a talk on these projects and Open Access to Knowledge, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6hjzm0MaKQ8>

In February 2019, Africa's most populous country, Nigeria, will have experienced two decades of sustained constitutional government. This period is twice as long as that of all previous elected governments since independence in October 1960. Despite the country's continued difficulties and increasing security challenges, it remains a leader in the continent in many regards. A project to edit and make accessible dozens of essays and talks on Nigeria (1977-2017) has made significant progress courtesy of Northwestern's Open Access repository, Arch Library.<sup>5</sup> The completion of this exercise, and the synthesizing of these documents in a printed book, will proceed.

### ***Cameroon and Nigeria: Revised Book Editions***

Three previously published books will be revised:

*Gaullist Africa: Cameroon under Ahmadu Ahidjo* (Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishers, 1978). This edited collection of essays by Cameroonian, French, British, and American authors included critical appraisals of political and economic developments in this understudied African nation. In addition to correcting errors in the publisher's version, the revised edition will incorporate important essays and documents as well as contributions from contemporary researchers. The 1978 edition mentioned the importance of understanding "the historical bases and socio-economic consequences of one man and one party rule in Cameroon since 1958." Three decades later, Mr. Ahidjo's successor, Paul Biya, has entered his 37th year as the country's president. The entrenchment of a political monopoly in this culturally complex nation of 25 million citizens deserves greater attention.

*Radical Nationalism in Cameroun: Social Origins of the UPC Rebellion* (Oxford University Press, 1977). This monograph remains a key reference source on the transition in Cameroon from French colonial rule to a regime that has endured for six decades. The new edition will incorporate additional materials, such as J.F. Bayart's introduction to the French edition (Karthala, 1982) and other commentaries, and made available in an affordable paperback. This book will also respond to the increased interest in the prolonged crisis of state and governance in this important country. In a new chapter, I will show how research on this resilient anti-colonial movement was conducted despite the highly adverse circumstances.

*Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: The Rise and Fall of the Second Republic* (Cambridge University Press, 1987). In this study, which provided detailed information on the leaders and political parties who competed for power in post-civil war Nigeria, an innovative analysis was also advanced on the corrupt uses of government resources. The concept of prebendalism has influenced many subsequent studies of African and non-African countries. A Nigerian colleague, acknowledging the many references to this analysis and its centrality in

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<sup>5</sup>[https://arch.library.northwestern.edu/collections/rb68xb902?utf8=%E2%9C%93&sort=system\\_create\\_dtsi+asc&per\\_page=20](https://arch.library.northwestern.edu/collections/rb68xb902?utf8=%E2%9C%93&sort=system_create_dtsi+asc&per_page=20)

political discourse in his country, proposed that an updated version be made available for wide dissemination. His proposal will now be explored.<sup>6</sup>

### *Freedom Work: Memoir of a Scholar-Activist*

The examination of the life and work of scholar-activist Thomas Hodgkin, mentioned above, opens the door to the writing of a memoir on my intellectual and political journey. It will cover the period since I emigrated to the United States from Trinidad and Tobago in September 1958. My experiences as a scholar-activist effectively began with the confronting of racial segregation and exclusion in American institutions of higher education as a student of Dartmouth College starting in 1963-64. The Hodgkin and Joseph paths converged five years later in January 1968. I had spent the previous summer in Sunflower County, Mississippi, working as a volunteer with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) and closely with its leader, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer.<sup>7</sup>

In summer 1968, I served as a research assistant for Dr. Sean Gervasi, another scholar-activist, on economic issues to be confronted during the transition from settler rule in Rhodesia. In September of that year, bearing letters of introduction from Thomas Hodgkin, I traveled to Paris to pursue research on Cameroon politics. This research culminated in the books mentioned above and several other publications. *Freedom Work* will dovetail with the *Freedom Gates Project* since a critical phase of my career took place as director of the African Governance Program of The Carter Center, 1988-1994. Many other pertinent endeavors, in and outside the academy, will be explored drawing on abundant archival materials.

### ***Reclaiming Security: A Core CLI theme***

Nationalist movements in Africa and other areas of the colonial world shared a common premise: the acquisition, or re-acquisition, of sovereignty by colonized peoples would enhance their security in multiple domains. This vision was captured by Ghana's independence leader, Kwame Nkrumah, when he proclaimed: "Seek ye first the political kingdom, and all things will be added unto you." The Nigerian political leader and prolific author, Obafemi Awolowo, expressed similar goals and commitments in a pithy phrase: "Life More Abundant". The key instruments of enhanced security as viewed by anti-colonial leaders was expected to be the state itself and governmental entities.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The colleague is Dr. Abimbola Agboluaje, an independent analyst and civic organizer. A paperback, print-on-demand edition was made available by Cambridge University Press in 2014. Following an international conference in Lagos, Professors Wale Adebaniwi and Ebenezer Obadare have edited and published *Democracy and Prebendalism in Nigeria: Critical Interpretations* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). The first paperback edition, restricted for sale within Nigeria, was published by Spectrum Books (Ibadan, Nigeria, 1991).

<sup>7</sup> This relationship began during a speaking visit by Mrs. Hamer to Dartmouth College and deepened during the summer of 1965 when I worked as a volunteer with a human rights program in Washington, DC.

<sup>8</sup> I was introduced to such ideas at an early age during the campaign for independence - and the ill-fated West Indian Federation - by the People's National Movement (PNM) of Trinidad and Tobago led Dr. Eric Williams. Dr. Williams subsequently served as the country's first prime minister, 1962-1981.

Attempts to reclaim security in many African countries, during the initial transitions from colonial rule or subsequent transformations, have often been followed by greater insecurity. Rulers and regimes frequently respond to such challenges by heightening political repression. There are many countries that illustrate this tendency. They include Cameroon, both republics of Congo, Gabon, Sudan, Togo, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. Weekly columns of Professor Ayo Olukotun in Nigeria often highlight his country's governance failings and security deficits.<sup>9</sup> Another prominent Nigerian commentator and analyst, Professor Tunji Olaopa, referred in his inaugural address at Lead City University on November 20, 2018 to the low perception of public service: "water, education, roads, and security are at an all-time level of inefficiency". Recently, Prof. Olukotun wrote about Nigeria's impending 2019 elections: "even as we go to the polls, the hard facts of Nigerian political and economic life, the insecurity, the laggard infrastructure, the rundown schools and health care institutions, are very much with us...The elections should come and go in peace, so that the real work of salvaging a crestfallen country can properly begin".<sup>10</sup> These statements could be applied to other African countries.

Insecurities propelled by prebendalism and predatory governance have relentlessly increased. Professor Biodun Jeyifo, the distinguished Nigerian literature scholar, documents practices that are now also prevalent in the 7-year nation of South Sudan, 25-year post-apartheid South Africa, and the 60-year Cameroon republic.<sup>11</sup> Attempts to reclaim security are driving distressed herders and farmers in Kenya and Nigeria to wage war against one another. They also suffer from forceful efforts by the state to stem the carnage. Many other cases can be cited to show how the pursuit of citizens' security (of life, possessions, and basic needs) often provoke the very opposite. An issue that deserves more examination is how the insertion by foreign powers throughout Africa of special forces, military bases, and drone squadrons is impacting citizens' security. Moreover, climate change is intensifying these challenges as seen in the sustained waves of out-migration, often via hazardous sea routes to Europe.

Since the publication of my 1978 article "Affluence and Underdevelopment: The Nigerian Experience", I have participated in numerous forums and collaborative projects to address the dilemmas of state, governance, and democratic development.<sup>12</sup> The relevant documents are being curated and a digitized selection will be made widely accessible. Their availability will increase understandings of how the core problems were perceived, the corrective actions advocated, progress made or stymied, and salutary pathways identified.

### ***Learning and Resource Center***

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<sup>9</sup> These appear in *The Punch* newspaper, Lagos, and are shared online.

<sup>10</sup> "The Election and Beyond", *The Punch*, February 14, 2019.

<sup>11</sup> *Against the Predator's Republic*, (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2016). See also Larry Diamond: "The Democratic Rollback: The Rise of the Predatory State," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2008. On violence and kleptocracy in South Sudan, see <https://enoughproject.org/reports/a-hijacked-state>.

<sup>12</sup> *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 16, no. 2 (1978).

The nucleus of a Learning and Resource Center has been created at Northwestern University courtesy of its Transportation Center and with the support of its Weinberg College, Department of Political Science, Buffett Institute, and student research grants from several entities including the Office for Undergraduate Research. This entity should now be expanded, guided by the priorities identified during the CLI brainstorming session:

- Engaged Scholarship and Immersive Learning
- Improving African access to, and co-production, of knowledge
- Closing the Governance Gap
- Building Democracy
- Reclaiming Security.

The asymmetries in institutional capacities between the Global North and South, and in the possession of African artworks, are now widely acknowledged.<sup>13</sup> Complementing my work as a researcher, university lecturer, and policy advocate over many years, I hope to donate my personal library and abundant teaching materials to an African institution. The selective digitization and sharing of personal archives will also be increased. Other scholars will be invited to join this effort.

### **Appendix I: Excerpts from a proposal for the CLI brainstorming session (October 2018)**

A colleague, William (Bill) Lucy who participated in a 1991 pre-election mission of the Carter Center and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) in Zambia, asked me - having forgotten the exact details of my position - whether I was still involved in “freedom work”.<sup>14</sup> That term captured what has been central to my life and professional career. We know “freedom work” by the barriers it seeks to overcome and remove: the denial of fundamental rights and liberties, political oppression, predatory institutions and practices, discrimination and exclusion based on ascriptive criteria, and the impeding of socio-economic development as a consequence of misgovernance and warfare.

In an era of “relative truths”, it is important to retrace our steps and recover truths that are being deliberately obscured. The gates of freedom do not have self-opening mechanisms. Without concerted action by individuals, groups, and communities, they will close over and over again. Moreover, today’s technologically adept students should be encouraged to invest their skills in the design of solutions grounded in an understanding of past struggles, successes, and failures.

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<sup>13</sup> This recognition and call for action has been spurred by declarations of French president Emmanuel Macron. See Jason Farago, “From Europe to a Homeland Transformed,” *The New York Times*, January 4, 2019.

<sup>14</sup> Mr. Lucy was a senior trade union executive.

## Archival Access

Thousands of archival documents are being organized on issues of governance, democracy, state-building, conflict, and development. The earliest items pertain to my political awakening and social action at Dartmouth College, beginning in 1963. A selection of these archives will be transferred to the Melville J. Herskovits Memorial Library of Northwestern University. A small but important set of these documents has already been scanned and made electronically accessible by the Herskovits Africana Library and Arch Library of Northwestern University.<sup>15</sup>

## Immersive Learning

A style of collaborative teaching has evolved over a professional career that began with traditional class lectures. In recent years, the focus has shifted to seminars and research groups. Students are assigned to read and discuss important articles and book excerpts. They are then guided through individual and collaborative research projects. In recent years, students have been given access to primary archival documents and provided opportunities to communicate with researchers and established scholars in person or via video-conferencing.<sup>16</sup>

One of these summer researchers used the term “immersive learning” to describe this endeavor. In this digital age, access to contemporaneous documents can facilitate profound learning experiences that complement classroom instruction. Studies of Liberia’s difficult journey from warfare to electoral democracy, and Ghana’s from military rule to constitutional democracy, have made notable progress.<sup>17</sup> Other important Carter Center initiatives, for example regarding Ethiopia, Nigeria, Sudan, and Zambia will be explored.

Many online publications have been produced on CLI core issues. Student researchers, under my guidance, have been centrally involved in this activity. Thanks to Northwestern’s Herskovits Library and the Arch Library for Open Access, the first wave of these publications, *Africa Demos* (1990-1995), has now been joined by many essays and commentaries published since 2012 on *AfricaPlus*.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> [https://arch.library.northwestern.edu/catalog?f%5Bcreator\\_sim%5D%5B%5D=Richard+Joseph](https://arch.library.northwestern.edu/catalog?f%5Bcreator_sim%5D%5B%5D=Richard+Joseph)

<sup>16</sup> See “Building Peace and Democracy in Africa: Why Access to Knowledge is Vital”:  
[https://arch.library.northwestern.edu/concern/generic\\_works/xp68kg30k?locale=en](https://arch.library.northwestern.edu/concern/generic_works/xp68kg30k?locale=en)

<sup>17</sup> For a presentation of student research on Liberia, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OWNCehsxBeA>. See also “Freedom Gates: Building Peace and Democracy in Liberia, 1988-2018”:  
[https://arch.library.northwestern.edu/concern/generic\\_works/hd76s019k?locale=en](https://arch.library.northwestern.edu/concern/generic_works/hd76s019k?locale=en)

<sup>18</sup> Africa Demos: a bulletin of the African Governance Program of the Carter Center of Emory University:  
[https://arch.library.northwestern.edu/concern/generic\\_works/w9505055g?locale=enm](https://arch.library.northwestern.edu/concern/generic_works/w9505055g?locale=enm);  
AfricaPlus: [https://arch.library.northwestern.edu/catalog?locale=en&search\\_field=all\\_fields&q=africaplus](https://arch.library.northwestern.edu/catalog?locale=en&search_field=all_fields&q=africaplus)

## **Organizing forums and other consultative events**

The CLI can be traced to the inaugural conference, “Perestroika without Glasnost in Africa”, of the African Governance Program of the Carter Center, February 17-19, 1989. Many similar consultations and their reports are being made available in multiple formats. In view of contemporary uncertainties in the core areas of concern, a major international conference can be convened in fall 2019. At this conference, a systematic review can be conducted of state- and democracy-building in Africa over the previous three decades. An agenda for collaborative research and action on governance and development can also be identified and relevant publications planned.

## **Appendix II. Excerpts from a report of the CLI brainstorming session (December 2018)**

The timeliness of the Collaborative Learning Initiative was affirmed by the large audience in attendance at the ASA session and the many messages of support. The central themes of the discussion were the severe disparities in financial and other resources for advanced study and research in Africa, and the importance of introducing more incentives for Africa-based collaboration. Innovative methods, it was urged, should be pursued to foster genuine collaboration and the creation of equitable partnerships.

Among the ideas and concerns expressed were the following:

- Paper archives in Africa are eroding and urgent attention should be given to conservation efforts. Incentives in the form of funding, training, and institutional partnerships should support the sustainable management of these collections and improve their accessibility.
- Digitization can make archives in overseas locations more accessible to African students, researchers, and others.
- There is a need for cross-generational sharing of knowledge. Academic “switching” should be encouraged, that is, residencies for Africans abroad and overseas scholars in Africa.
- The emphasis should be on adding value to existing initiatives and activities. Synergies can be sought through an asset-based approach. Existing programs such as the Social Science Research Council’s Next Generation of Scholars and African Diaspora Fellowships of the Carnegie Corporation of New York should be encouraged.
- Immersive learning involving archival and field research can provide opportunities to level the uneven study and research environment.
- More attention should be paid to the co-production of knowledge as well as knowledge sharing.
- There should be a linking-up with think-tanks in Africa, for example, on the critical topics of security, migration, and governance.
- Building on the efforts notably of the Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA) and the West Africa Research Association (WARA), research networks should be strengthened. Some exist in localities with minimal funding.

- African researchers should be supported at different stages of their careers. There are, for example, insufficient opportunities for post-graduate research.
- Training on research methods can be provided in summer institutes. One specific suggestion made is that students can shadow Afrobarometer researchers as they conduct field research.
- Curriculum development and the upgrading of course curricula are important considerations.

## **Pertinent Institutional Developments**

### *The Merian Institute for Advanced Studies in Africa (MIASA)*

The creation of MIASA on the campus of the University of Ghana, Legon, was brought to the attention of the panelists prior to the CLI brainstorming session. Sponsored by the University of Freiburg and a consortium of German institutions, MIASA is supported by a major grant from the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research. It will also be a research institute under the University of Ghana's College of Humanities. After Accra, a second MIASA site will be established at the Centre de Recherches sur les Politiques Sociales (CREPOS) in Dakar, Senegal.<sup>19</sup>

There was a striking overlap between the aims of MIASA and those advanced for CLI before and during the ASA annual meeting. In both cases, a central concern is “sustainable governance”. Three research foci have been identified by MIASA: environment, conflict management, and sustainable democracy. Its objectives include the reduction of global asymmetries in knowledge production and the bridging of the cultural divide between anglophone, francophone, and lusophone Africa. MIASA intends to serve as a hub for exchange, networking and collaboration among African researchers and their overseas counterparts. It will also offer significant funding opportunities for early career researchers.

MIASA's inaugural conference at the University of Ghana was devoted to “Africa's Institutions for Sustainable Governance”, September 27-28, 2018. A second conference, on restitution and repatriation of African Art in European museums, also at the University, took place on December 13 -14, 2018.<sup>20</sup> Exploratory discussions with leading scholars in MIASA will continue.

### *The Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon*

A core concern of CLI is the sustainable management of study and research materials in Africa. One of the African institutions with which this collaboration can take place is also located at the University of Ghana, namely the Institute of African Studies (IAS). There have been many ties and exchanges between IAS and units of Northwestern University such as the Program of

<sup>19</sup> See <http://www.mias-africa.org/>; <https://www.frias.uni-freiburg.de/en/news/current-news/micas-africa>.

<sup>20</sup> See <http://www.mias-africa.org/events/inaugural-conference-program> and <https://www.ug.edu.gh/news/merian-institute-advanced-studies-africa-miasa-organised-workshop-issues-restitution-and>).

African Studies and the Herskovits Library. A new phase of this relationship, perhaps involving other Northwestern entities, would echo the founding of IAS.

Thomas Lionel Hodgkin, the noted scholar of African history and politics, was the first director of IAS, 1962-1965. He was also co-secretary of an international committee, 1960-1961, established by Ghana's independence leader, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, to design both the University and the Institute.<sup>21</sup> Hodgkin was succeeded as IAS director by Nana Kobina Nketsia IV, who had served as the other co-secretary of that committee (later commission). Increasing access to knowledge, and enhancing African agency in knowledge-production, were intrinsic to the vision advanced by Ghana's political and academic leaders and their collaborators several decades ago.

### *Overcoming Misgovernance: Collaborative Initiatives*

Much of Africa is completing a half-century of post-colonial rule. The concerns summarized from the ASA brainstorming session, and identified as major foci of MIASA, are also "owned" by African sovereign entities and their people. While seeking to overcome asymmetries in higher education, scholarly research, the possession of artworks and archives, and in other regional and global capacities, it is important to address the centrality of building sustainable institutions to accomplish these objectives. The breakthrough three decades ago from monopolistic political systems and state-dominated economies has not been accompanied by transformations in basic systems of governance and service delivery.<sup>22</sup> Democratic progress has been uneven, stalled, or reversed. The time has come to pursue a more holistic as well as collaborative research and policy agenda.

### **Appendix III: Brief Resume**<sup>23</sup>

B.A. Dartmouth College, 1965; B.Phil. Oxford University, 1969; D.Phil. Oxford University, 1973

*Publications* (books)

*Radical Nationalism in Cameroun: Social Origins of the UPC Rebellion* (Oxford University Press, 1977)

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<sup>21</sup> The proposed university was intended to bring together the former University College of the Gold Coast, linked to the University of London, and other Ghanaian educational institutions.

<sup>22</sup> This was the central theme of the annual African Economic Conference, Addis Ababa, December 4-6, 2017. A Network for the Study of Governance and Development, anticipating the CLI, was proposed in my keynote address: "Governance for Structural Transformation: Leadership and Partnership Opportunities." [https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/AEB\\_Volume\\_9\\_Issue\\_6\\_Governance\\_for\\_Structural\\_Transformation\\_in\\_Africa\\_....pdf](https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/AEB_Volume_9_Issue_6_Governance_for_Structural_Transformation_in_Africa_....pdf). See also the pertinent opinion piece by Bill Gates and Melinda Gates: "We were making headway on global poverty. What's about to change?" *The New York Times*, September 22, 2018: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/22/opinion/sunday/bill-gates-melinda-gates-global-poverty.html>.

<sup>23</sup> For a bio and CV, see <https://www.brookings.edu/experts/richard-joseph/> and <https://www.polisci.northwestern.edu/people/core-faculty/richard-joseph.html>

*Gaullist Africa: Cameroon under Ahmadu Ahidjo*, edited (Fourth Dimension Publishers, Nigeria, 1978)

*Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: The Rise and Fall of the Second Republic* (Cambridge University Press, 1987)

*State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa*, edited (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999)

*Smart Aid for African Development*, co-edited with Alexandra Gillies (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008)

### ***Positions***

Adjunct Professor, Department of Political Science, UCLA, 1969-70

Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Khartoum, 1974-75

Visiting Scholar, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex, UK, 1975-76

Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, 1976-79

Senior Lecturer to Professor, Department of Government, Dartmouth College, 1979-88

Visiting Scholar, Centre des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1986

Program Officer, The Ford Foundation, West Africa, 1986-88

Fellow for African Governance, The Carter Center, 1988-1994

Asa G. Candler Professor of Political Science, Emory University, 1988-2002

Visiting Scholar, Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway, 1995

Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, MIT, 1995-1997

Visiting Scholar, United States Institute of Peace, 2001

Reagan-Fascell Fellow, National Endowment for Democracy, 2001-2

Director, Program of African Studies, Northwestern University, 2002-7

John Evans Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University, 2002-2018

Emeritus Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University, 2018-

### ***Professional Associate (selected, past and present)***

American Council on Learned Societies (Board Member), Brookings Institution (Non-resident Senior Fellow), Chicago Council on Global Affairs (Board Member), Council on Foreign

Relations (Member), Center on Global Health, University of Chicago (Advisory Board), *Journal of Democracy* (Editorial Board)

***Major Grants Administered (selected)***

Carnegie Corporation of New York, Ford Foundation, Gates Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, MacArthur Foundation, Mellon Foundation, Foreign Ministry of the Netherlands, USA for Africa, U.S. Department of State.

**Appendix IV: Photo Gallery**

A small selection of CLI photos is available at  
<https://1drv.ms/a/s!Ai9wXPhw5xGJej7l9Uw8EoQ-Kuw>

From top to bottom, and left to right

- 1) Lecture at Winston Salem State University, 2016
- 2) Ibadan School of Government and Public Policy, 2017
- 3) Library of Aminu Kano Centre for Democratic Research and Training, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria, 2017
- 4) Professor Fred Tamen, REACH program, Nigeria<sup>24</sup>
- 5) Prof. Zachary Wright, Northwestern University Qatar, with CLI summer researchers, 2018
- 6) CLI researchers: Alison Albelda, Alexa Sledge, Ali Abdullah, Benjamin Nober, and Ogiuzo Ifediora, 2018
- 7) Midwest Group on African Political Economy (Northwestern Prof. Rachel Riedl presiding)
- 8) Prof. Yonatan Morse, University of Connecticut, presenting at NU Political Science on Cameroon politics, 2018
- 9) Skype Conversation with Prof. Rotimi Suberu, Bennington College, 2018
- 10) Skype Conversation with Prof. Nicolas Van de Walle, Cornell University, and NU doctoral student David Peyton, 2018
- 11) CLI researchers with President Jimmy Carter and Carter Center officials Steve Hochman and Tom Crick, 2017
- 12) CLI researchers Brandon Ayersman, Sam Forsgren, Michael Ryzhov, Alex Smith, and Zain Syedain with Carter Center Officials, David Carroll and Tom Crick, 2017.

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<sup>24</sup> Professor Fred Tamen, Benue State University, died tragically in a road accident in June 2011. This wonderful man, and excellent scholar, was a senior member of the Research Alliance to Combat HIV/AIDS (REACH).

