A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF CONVENTIONAL MODELS OF STATES AND STATEHOOD IN AFRICA

Enueme, Paul Ovie
Dept of History, Strategic and International Studies,
Dennis Osadebay University, Anwai, Asaba.
+2348068523572
talk2paulenueme@gmail.com
&
Okwuobi, Ifeyinwa Augustina
Dept of History, Strategic and International Studies,
Dennis Osadebay University, Anwai, Asaba.
+2349019800265
augustina.okwuobi@dou.edu.ng

Abstract

The concept of statehood in Africa remains a subject of intense debate, particularly regarding its divergence from Western-centric models that emphasize sovereignty, territorial integrity, and institutional legitimacy. However, African states often grapple with weak governance structures, identity-based conflicts, and the persistence of informal political systems, raising critical questions about the applicability of mainstream statehood theories. This study examines the limitations of these conventional models in capturing the complexities of post-colonial African governance. Drawing on the Post-Colonial State Theory, the study explores how historical and socio-political contexts shape statehood in Africa. A qualitative research approach is adopted, relying on documentary analysis of scholarly works, policy reports, and historical records to assess governance patterns across different African states. The study underscores the inadequacy of Western statehood paradigms in explaining African political realities, arguing for a more context-specific approach that integrates indigenous governance practices and hybrid political systems. The findings reveal that while formal institutions exist, informal networks and traditional authority structures continue to play a significant role in governance. The significance of this study lies in its contribution to a nuanced understanding of African statehood beyond Western conceptual constraints. It concludes that African states should not be evaluated solely through external frameworks but rather through indigenous and historical lenses. Consequently, the study recommends the adoption of governance models that reflect Africa's unique socio-political landscape, emphasizing inclusive state-building approaches that bridge formal and informal institutions for more effective governance.

Introduction

The question of African statehood has long been a focal point of scholarly and policy discourse, particularly regarding its alignment with conventional Western political models. These models prioritize principles such as sovereignty, territorial integrity, and institutional legitimacy[1], often serving as the benchmark for evaluating state functionality. However, the African experience diverges significantly from these paradigms due to the continent's unique historical trajectories, socio-political dynamics, and economic realities[2]. The legacy of colonialism, the interplay between formal and informal governance structures, and the persistence of identity-based politics continue to shape African states in ways that challenge traditional definitions of statehood[3].

Western conceptions of statehood typically rest on the Weberian notion of the state as an entity that monopolizes the legitimate use of force within a defined territory[4]. This notion assumes the presence of strong, centralized institutions capable of enforcing authority uniformly across national borders. However, African states frequently exhibit a more fragmented reality, where governance is often negotiated through hybrid political systems that incorporate both formal state institutions and informal power structures[5]. The arbitrary borders drawn during colonial rule further complicate this landscape, as they ignored pre-existing ethnic, cultural, and political configurations, leading to ongoing contestations over national identity and governance[6].

To better understand African statehood, this paper adopts the Post-Colonial State Theory, which critically examines the enduring impacts of colonial rule, the struggle for genuine sovereignty, and the role of external actors in shaping

governance structures[7]. By utilizing this framework, the study challenges dominant narratives that assess African states solely through Western lenses, advocating instead for an approach that considers the continent's historical and socio-political specificities[8]. This analysis ultimately seeks to highlight alternative conceptualizations of statehood that more accurately reflect the lived realities of African nations, incorporating indigenous governance mechanisms and adaptive political structures.

Conceptual Clarifications
The discourse on statehood in Africa necessitates a critical engagement with key concepts such as the state, statehood, sovereignty, and governance. These concepts, often rooted in Western political thought, serve as the foundation for mainstream models of statehood but do not always align with the complex realities of African governance[9]. To effectively interrogate these models, it is essential to clarify their meanings and contextual relevance within the African political landscape.

The State
The state is conventionally defined as a political entity with a centralized authority that exercises sovereignty over a defined territory and population[10]. Max Weber's seminal definition characterizes the state as an entity that claims a monopoly on the legitimate use of force within its jurisdiction[11]. However, in many African contexts, this definition encounters challenges due to the persistence of informal governance structures, weak institutional authority, and contested territorial control[12].

Statehood
Statehood, on the other hand, refers to the conditions and attributes that qualify a political entity as a state. These include sovereignty, recognized borders, governance structures, and the capacity to enforce laws and policies[13]. Western models often assume a uniform trajectory of state formation, based on the European experience, where statehood emerged through the gradual centralization of authority and the institutionalization of governance[14]. In Africa, however, statehood has been largely shaped by colonial impositions, artificial borders, and the interaction between pre-colonial governance systems and modern state structures[15].

Sovereignty
Sovereignty, a core attribute of statehood, implies the supreme authority of a state over its territory and the capacity to make and enforce laws without external interference[16]. Traditional Westphalian sovereignty, which emphasizes absolute territorial control and non-intervention, does not always hold in the African context, where external actors—whether colonial powers, international organizations, or foreign governments—have historically influenced state governance[17]. Additionally, internal sovereignty is often contested by subnational groups, insurgencies, and traditional authorities that wield significant influence over local governance[18].

Governance
Governance, in this context, refers to the processes through which authority is exercised in managing a state's resources and affairs[19]. Effective governance typically requires strong institutions, rule of law, and public accountability. However, African governance systems frequently operate through hybrid political arrangements that integrate formal institutions with informal and traditional mechanisms of authority[20]. These hybrid systems challenge conventional governance models that prioritize bureaucratic centralization over localized, adaptive political arrangements[21].

Given these conceptual complexities, it is evident that mainstream models of statehood—rooted in Western historical experiences—fail to fully capture the African reality[22]. African states exhibit diverse governance patterns that defy rigid classifications, necessitating a more nuanced analytical framework[23]. The Post-Colonial State Theory provides a useful lens for understanding how colonial legacies, external dependencies, and indigenous political structures shape contemporary African statehood[24]. By moving beyond Eurocentric assumptions, this study seeks to explore alternative frameworks that recognize the legitimacy of Africa's unique governance arrangements while interrogating the challenges that persist in achieving stable and effective statehood.

Theoretical Framework: Post-Colonial State Theory
The Post-Colonial State Theory serves as a critical framework for interrogating the nature and limitations of African statehood, particularly in relation to the applicability of mainstream Western models. This theory posits that the modern African state is not an organic political entity that evolved from indigenous governance structures but rather a product of colonial imposition, designed primarily to facilitate imperial control rather than to serve the needs of local populations[25]. As a result, African states inherited institutions that were not rooted in their historical or socio-political contexts but were instead shaped by the exigencies of colonial administration.

Scholars such as Ake (1985) and Mamdani (1996) argue that colonial rule did not establish autonomous states capable of governing independently but instead entrenched structures that prioritized external dominance and economic exploitation[26]. The colonial state functioned as an apparatus of coercion, with governance systems tailored to uphold the interests of the metropole rather than fostering inclusive political participation. This institutional legacy persisted even after independence, as many post-colonial leaders retained the centralized bureaucratic and coercive mechanisms inherited from their colonial predecessors. Consequently, African states have struggled with crises of legitimacy, governance inefficiencies, and weak institutional development, as their political structures remain largely disconnected from the realities and needs of their diverse populations[27].

Moreover, the Post-Colonial State Theory emphasizes that African statehood must be analyzed within the broader historical trajectory of colonialism and its enduring impact on governance, political authority, and sovereignty. Unlike the Western model, which assumes a natural evolution of state institutions over centuries, African states were abruptly thrust into a governance paradigm that was alien to their indigenous political cultures. This created a fundamental disjuncture between formal state institutions and informal governance systems, leading to dual structures of authority—where official state mechanisms coexist with traditional, community-based governance arrangements.

The challenges of post-colonial African states are further compounded by the role of external actors, including former colonial powers, international financial institutions, and multinational corporations, in shaping their political and economic trajectories. Structural adjustment programs, foreign aid dependency, and international interventions in domestic politics have often reinforced the weaknesses of African states, further undermining their sovereignty and capacity to function as independent political entities. The continued reliance on external validation and support has led to the erosion of internal legitimacy, making African governments more accountable to international actors than to their own citizens.

In light of these challenges, the Post-Colonial State Theory calls for a re-examination of African statehood beyond the constraints of Eurocentric models. It advocates for a framework that acknowledges the complexities of African governance, recognizing the interplay between historical legacies, informal power structures, and contemporary political dynamics. By doing so, scholars and policymakers can develop alternative models of statehood that are more reflective of Africa's unique historical experiences and socio-political realities.

The Evolution of Statehood in Africa
The concept of statehood in Africa has undergone significant transformations, largely shaped by the continent's historical encounters with colonialism. Unlike in Europe, where the modern state evolved gradually through internal socio-political developments such as feudalism, the Renaissance, and the Treaty of Westphalia, African states were largely a product of external imposition. Pre-colonial African societies exhibited diverse governance structures, including centralized kingdoms such as the Mali Empire, the Songhai Empire, and the Kingdom of Buganda, as well as decentralized political systems like those of the Igbo in present-day Nigeria and the Somali clan-based governance structures[28]. These indigenous systems were well-adapted to the cultural, economic, and geographical contexts of their societies, allowing for flexible governance mechanisms that incorporated both hierarchical authority and community participation.

However, the advent of European colonialism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries fundamentally altered the trajectory of African statehood. The imposition of European state structures, largely driven by the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885, led to the arbitrary partitioning of African territories without regard for existing ethnic, cultural, and political boundaries[29]. The colonial state was designed to serve the interests of the metropole rather than to establish effective governance for local populations. European powers introduced rigid territorial demarcations, centralized

administrative bureaucracies, and exploitative economic policies that disregarded indigenous governance practices. As a result, traditional political institutions were either marginalized or co-opted into colonial rule, leading to the erosion of local governance autonomy and the establishment of a new political order dominated by foreign interests.

Upon gaining independence in the mid-20th century, African leaders inherited a state model that was ill-suited to the socio-political realities of the continent. The post-colonial state was built upon the foundations of the colonial administrative structure, which prioritized control over representation, coercion over consensus, and extraction over development[30]. Many newly independent states struggled with legitimacy crises, as colonial-era territorial boundaries forced together diverse ethnic groups with little historical precedent for unified governance. Furthermore, the centralization of power in post-independence governments often led to authoritarianism, as leaders sought to maintain control over fragile political entities that lacked a strong tradition of nation-state identity.

The challenges of statehood in Africa today—ranging from weak institutions and governance inefficiencies to identity-based conflicts and contested territorial sovereignty—are deeply rooted in this historical evolution. The failure of mainstream Western state models to adequately accommodate Africa's unique historical and socio-political contexts has led to calls for alternative governance approaches that incorporate indigenous political systems and hybrid governance mechanisms. Recognizing the historical evolution of African statehood is therefore essential in developing more effective and sustainable governance frameworks for the continent's future.

The Crisis of Legitimacy and Sovereignty in African States:
The Post-Colonial State Theory provides a critical framework for understanding the crisis of legitimacy and sovereignty in African states. This theory argues that the modern African state is largely a colonial construct, built upon externally imposed governance structures that were not designed to serve indigenous populations but rather to maintain control over them[31]. As a result, post-colonial African states have struggled to establish full sovereignty and legitimacy, as they inherited weak institutions, artificial territorial boundaries, and governance models that often do not align with pre-existing socio-political realities[32].

Max Weber's classical definition of the state emphasizes the monopoly on the legitimate use of force as a defining characteristic of statehood. However, many African states find this principle difficult to uphold due to the persistence of informal political structures, ethnic militias, insurgencies, and external interventions. The inability of the state to assert full territorial control is a direct consequence of the colonial legacy, where governance structures were designed to extract resources rather than to foster internal political cohesion. As a result, post-colonial African states often coexist with alternative centers of power, including traditional rulers, religious leaders, and warlords, all of whom wield significant influence over their respective communities.

Furthermore, the legitimacy crisis in African states is deeply rooted in the colonial experience, where European powers arbitrarily merged different ethnic and political entities without regard for their historical governance systems. The imposition of centralized state structures eroded traditional authority systems, creating governance vacuums that persist today[33]. In many cases, citizens place greater trust in informal governance networks than in state institutions, further weakening the state's authority. This phenomenon is evident in the reliance on customary courts for dispute resolution, local vigilante groups for security, and transnational ethnic networks for political mobilization.

Additionally, the role of external actors continues to undermine African sovereignty. Foreign interventions, whether through military involvement, economic policies, or diplomatic pressures, have often dictated the trajectory of African governance. Structural adjustment programs imposed by international financial institutions in the 1980s weakened state capacity by reducing government control over key economic sectors, further eroding sovereignty. Similarly, foreign military interventions, justified under the pretext of counterinsurgency or peacekeeping, have often resulted in the continued dependence of African states on external powers.

In light of these challenges, Post-Colonial State Theory suggests that African sovereignty should not be evaluated solely through the lens of Western state models but should instead be understood within the historical and socio-political realities of the continent. The persistence of non-state actors and parallel governance structures should not be seen as anomalies but as integral components of African political systems. Recognizing the limitations of mainstream

sovereignty models allows for the exploration of alternative governance frameworks that incorporate indigenous political traditions, hybrid governance mechanisms, and decentralized governance structures that reflect local realities.

Governance Challenges and Institutional Weaknesses

Post-Colonial State Theory provides a crucial framework for understanding the governance challenges and institutional weaknesses that persist in many African states. The theory argues that the governance structures inherited from colonial rule were not designed to foster democratic development or institutional stability but rather to serve the interests of colonial administrations[34]. As a result, post-colonial African states often struggle with weak institutional capacity, pervasive corruption, and limited accountability, as they attempt to govern within an externally imposed framework that remains largely incompatible with indigenous political realities.

One of the most significant governance challenges facing African states is corruption, which is deeply entrenched in political and bureaucratic systems. Post-Colonial State Theory explains this phenomenon as a legacy of colonial rule, where governance was structured around resource extraction rather than service delivery[35]. Colonial administrators established centralized bureaucracies that prioritized loyalty to the ruling elite over transparency and accountability. Upon independence, many African leaders inherited and continued these practices, using state institutions to consolidate power through patronage networks and elite bargaining rather than fostering democratic governance.

The weakness of formal institutions, such as the judiciary, legislative bodies, and public administration, can also be traced back to the colonial era. Colonial governments did not prioritize the development of strong, independent institutions but instead created structures that served the interests of the colonial elite. As a result, post-colonial states inherited institutions that lacked legitimacy among the populace, leading to widespread inefficiencies, weak rule of law, and limited enforcement of public accountability. This institutional fragility has been exacerbated by frequent political interference, where ruling elites manipulate legal and administrative frameworks to maintain control rather than to uphold democratic principles.

Furthermore, Post-Colonial State Theory highlights the role of informal governance structures in African politics. Many African societies historically relied on traditional leadership systems, community-based governance, and indigenous dispute-resolution mechanisms. However, colonial rule sought to dismantle or marginalize these structures in favor of centralized state control[36]. The failure of Western-style bureaucracies to fully integrate into African political systems has led to a resurgence of informal governance mechanisms, where citizens often turn to traditional authorities and local networks for justice, security, and conflict resolution.

In response to these governance challenges, scholars argue for alternative governance models that incorporate both formal and informal institutions. Hybrid governance models, which recognize the role of traditional leadership, customary law, and community-based decision-making, offer a more contextually relevant approach to governance in Africa. By acknowledging the enduring influence of colonial legacies and integrating indigenous governance practices, African states can work toward more stable and legitimate governance structures that reflect their historical and socio-political realities.

The Role of External Actors in African Statehood

Post-Colonial State Theory provides a critical framework for analyzing the ongoing influence of external actors on African statehood and the emergence of hybrid governance models as a response to the failures of mainstream state-building approaches. The theory posits that African states were constructed within an externally imposed framework, which continues to shape their political, economic, and institutional structures[37]. This legacy of colonialism has left African states vulnerable to external pressures from former colonial powers, international financial institutions, and multinational corporations, all of which play a significant role in maintaining economic dependency and political instability[38].

A key example of external influence is the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) implemented by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in the 1980s. These programs were designed to promote market liberalization and economic restructuring but ultimately weakened state capacity by imposing austerity measures that led to massive cuts in public services, reduced government intervention in the economy, and the privatization of key sectors[38]. From a post-colonial perspective, SAPs reinforced economic dependency by forcing African states to rely

on foreign aid and investment rather than developing autonomous economic policies. This further deepened the structural weaknesses of African states, limiting their ability to function as sovereign entities capable of addressing the needs of their populations.

Foreign interventions in African conflicts also exemplify the post-colonial dynamics of statehood. Many African states have struggled with internal conflicts fueled by external actors, including former colonial powers and global geopolitical interests. The involvement of international organizations, private security firms, and foreign governments in African conflicts has often undermined the sovereignty of African states, reinforcing the idea that statehood remains externally defined rather than domestically constructed[37]. Post-Colonial State Theory highlights how these interventions disrupt national governance structures and contribute to state fragility, preventing the consolidation of stable political institutions.

Hybrid Governance Models as a Post-Colonial Response
In response to the failures of Western-centric governance models, scholars have advocated for hybrid governance models that integrate both formal state institutions and indigenous governance mechanisms. Post-Colonial State Theory supports this approach by emphasizing the importance of understanding African statehood through its historical and socio-political context rather than through the rigid application of Western governance norms[39].

Hybrid governance models recognize the continued relevance of customary authorities, community-based dispute resolution, and informal governance networks, which have played significant roles in African societies both before and after colonial rule. Rather than viewing these systems as obstacles to state-building, post-colonial theorists argue that they should be incorporated into governance structures to create more contextually relevant political institutions.

For instance, in many African states, traditional rulers and local governance structures function alongside formal state institutions, filling governance gaps where the state is weak or absent[40]. These hybrid systems reflect the realities of African political life, where legitimacy is often derived not just from legal-rational authority but also from historical and cultural institutions. By acknowledging these dual systems, hybrid governance models offer a pragmatic approach to African statehood that aligns with the lived experiences of citizens rather than imposing externally defined standards.

Thus, Post-Colonial State Theory provides a critical lens for understanding why mainstream statehood models have struggled in Africa and why alternative approaches, such as hybrid governance, may offer more sustainable solutions. By addressing the enduring influence of external actors and embracing indigenous governance practices, African states can move toward more legitimate and functional governance structures that reflect their unique historical trajectories and socio-political complexities.

Conclusion
The application of mainstream models of statehood in Africa has largely been inadequate due to their failure to account for the continent's unique historical and socio-political context. The reliance on Western-centric paradigms, rooted in European political traditions, has not only led to governance inefficiencies but has also exacerbated issues of legitimacy, sovereignty, and institutional weakness. Post-Colonial State Theory provides a more appropriate analytical framework for understanding African statehood, as it highlights the structural constraints imposed by colonial legacies and the persistent influence of external actors.

One of the central arguments of the Post-Colonial State Theory is that African states, at independence, inherited institutions that were not designed to serve indigenous populations but rather to sustain colonial rule. Consequently, the post-colonial state has struggled with governance challenges, including weak rule of law, corruption, and reliance on patronage networks rather than formal democratic institutions. These governance failures have further reinforced the perception of African states as fragile entities, incapable of delivering public goods and ensuring political stability.

To address these challenges, there is a need to move beyond rigid, Western-centric statehood models and develop governance frameworks that reflect Africa's socio-political realities. Hybrid governance systems, which integrate formal state institutions with traditional and informal governance mechanisms, provide a viable alternative. These models acknowledge the importance of indigenous leadership structures, community-based dispute resolution mechanisms, and customary authorities in maintaining social cohesion and legitimacy. Rather than being dismissed

as remnants of a pre-modern era, such governance structures should be incorporated into contemporary political systems to enhance state legitimacy and effectiveness.

Additionally, strengthening institutions is crucial for building resilient African states. This requires reforms that promote accountability, transparency, and the rule of law, while also ensuring that governance structures are adapted to local contexts rather than imposed from external frameworks. A decolonized approach to governance necessitates empowering local institutions, fostering civic participation, and reducing dependence on foreign aid and external interventions.

Finally, reducing Africa's economic and political dependency on external actors is essential for achieving true sovereignty. The continued influence of former colonial powers, international financial institutions, and multinational corporations has often hindered Africa's ability to define its own developmental trajectory. By fostering economic self-sufficiency, strengthening regional integration, and asserting control over policymaking processes, African states can move toward more autonomous and sustainable governance models.

In conclusion, the Post-Colonial State Theory underscores the need for African states to redefine their governance models in ways that reflect their historical realities and contemporary challenges. Moving beyond mainstream statehood frameworks, embracing hybrid governance approaches, strengthening institutions, and reducing external dependency are critical steps toward building more legitimate, resilient, and functional African states. By doing so, African countries can chart their own paths toward stability and development, free from the constraints of colonial legacies and external domination.

Endnotes

1. Claude Ake, The Future of the State in Africa, International Political Science Review 6, no. 1 (1985): 105–114.
2. Mahmood Mamdani, Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).
3. Crawford Young, The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994).
4. Basil Davidson, The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State (Oxford: James Currey, 1992).
5. Jeffrey Herbst, States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).
6. Max Weber, Politics as a Vocation, in From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, ed. Hans Heinrich Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), 77–128.
7. Pierre Englebert, State Legitimacy and Development in Africa (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000).
8. Jean-François Bayart, The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009).
9. Stephen D. Krasner, Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).
10. Max Weber, Politics as a vocation,1946. In H. H. Gerth & C. W. Mills (Eds.), From Max Weber: Essays in sociology (pp. 77-128). Oxford University Press.
11. Christopher Clapham, Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
12. J. Herbst, States and power in Africa: Comparative lessons in authority and control. Princeton University Press, 2000.
13. Charles Tilly, Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1992 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).
14. M. Mamdani, Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism. Princeton University Press, 1996
15. Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg, "Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood," World Politics 35, no. 1 (1982): 1–24.
16. Mohammed Ayoob, The Third World Security Predicament: State Making, Regional Conflict, and the International System (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995).

17.   P. Englebert, State legitimacy and development in Africa. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000.
18.   Goran Hyden, African Politics in Comparative Perspective (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
19.   Catherine Boone, Political Topographies of the African State: Territorial Authority and Institutional Choice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
20.   Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz, Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument (London: James Currey, 1999).
21.   C. Young, The African colonial state in comparative perspective. Yale University Press, 1994.
22.   Kevin C. Dunn and Timothy M. Shaw, eds., Africa's Challenge to International Relations Theory (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).
23.   Ake, "The State in Contemporary Africa," International Social Science Journal 37, no. 1 (1985): 79–90.
24.   I. William Zartman, ed., Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995).
25.   Claude Ake, "The State in Contemporary Africa," International Social Science Journal 37, no. 1 (1985): 79–90.
26.   Bayart, Jean-François, The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009.
27.   Boone, Catherine, Political Topographies of the African State: Territorial Authority and Institutional Choice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
28.   Chabal, Patrick, and Jean-Pascal Daloz, Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument. London: James Currey, 1999.
29.   Clapham, Christopher, Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996
30.   Dunn and Shaw, eds., Africa's Challenge to International Relations Theory.
31.   Englebert, State Legitimacy and Development in Africa.
32.   Herbst, States and Power in Africa.
33.   Hyden, African Politics in Comparative Perspective.
34.   Jackson and Rosberg, "Why Africa's Weak States Persist," World Politics 35, no. 1 (1982): 1–24.
35.   Krasner, Stephen D. Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.
36.   Mamdani, Mahmood, Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996
37.   Tilly, Charles, Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
38.   Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation." In From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, edited by H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, 77-128. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946
39.   Young, Crawford, The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994
40.   Zartman, I. William, ed. Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995.