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Area Studies in Search of Africa

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AREA STUDIES IN SEARCH OF AFRICA

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> The colonializing structure, even in its most extreme manifestations … might not be the only explanation for Africa's present-day marginality. Perhaps this marginality could, more essentially, be understood from the perspective of wider hypotheses about the classification of beings and societies.
>
> V.Y. Mudimbe, The Invention of Africa[1]

Whatever the field of inquiry, the best scholarship aims to change the way we think about its subject. Thus a comparative assessment of African Studies in the American academy must, in the final analysis, ask what kinds of new thinking have resulted from this enterprise. The Cold War rationale for area studies – with its geopolitical criteria for establishing priorities – gave us a world of regional hierarchies calibrated by relative power, levels of culture, and ideological cleavages. From the perspective of the area studies establishment, Africa's place at the bottom of those hierarchies was never in question. Yet the assumptions behind that marginality – and the contestations they engender – have combined to produce the rich/varied/tumultuous terrain that configures the current landscape of African Studies.

This is a complicated geography, fragmented into non-contiguous spatial arrangements. But it hasn't always been that way. Hence, to fully understand the intellectual history of African area studies, one must acknowledge the existence of, and tease out the relationships among, at least three spatially-differentiated spheres of endeavor: 1) the *World* of U.S. Research Universities – particularly the top research tier, which is the domain of the major Title VI African Studies Centers; [2] 2) the *World* of Diasporic PanAfricanist Scholars – a highly polyglot realm that includes the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), which were the first US institutions of higher learning to introduce African Studies into the curriculum; and 3) the *World* of African Universities and Research Networks. Each of these *Worlds* has its own complex sociology of intellectual pace-setters, respected elders, epistemological debates, citation conventions, overlapping memberships, and identity politics configured around a mix of symbolic and substantive associations with the production and validation of knowledge about Africa. Research agendas differ. Moreover, funding sources have generally treated these spaces as separate and distinct.

It should come as no surprise to find that scholars working in these varied realms define the boundaries of "Africa" (i.e., the region of study) differently. Africanists trained at mainline universities in the US typically focus on Africa South of the Sahara. Diasporic PanAfricanist scholars engage with continental Africa and the African Diaspora, often taking as given a link between the two. Scholarly communities connected to African universities or research networks generally define Africa in continental terms. A notable exception was apartheid South Africa, which remained isolated from the major currents and communities of African scholars until the advent of majority rule in the early 1990s.

To be sure, these boundaries are constantly challenged and in flux. And sometimes the politics of boundaries spark hotly contentious debates. One such flare-up occurred at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in 1998, when the Social Sciences and Humanities Faculty decided to launch a new core course on "Africa" for the first year students. It fell to Mahmood Mamdani, a Ugandan national, to draw up the initial course outline. Mamdani had recently moved to South Africa to assume an appointment as the A.C. Jordan Professor of African Studies at UCT. Stunned when the Faculty rejected his course proposal and adopted instead an alternative syllabus prepared by a 3-person committee of longtime UCT academics, he went public with his critique. The Committee favored approaches and literature honed in the *World* of Western Research Universities. Mamdani accused his South African colleagues of failing to come to grips with the question of how Africa should be taught in a post-apartheid University. His retort was a discourse of spatial analysis:

> "(T)he syllabus reproduces the notion that Africa lies between the Sahara and Limpopo"[3] … "and that this Africa has no intelligentsia worth reading."[4] … "The idea that Africa is spatially synonymous with equatorial Africa, and socially with Bantu Africa, is an idea produced and spread in the context of colonialism and apartheid."[5]

Underlying this denunciation of UCT's curriculum reform project was a more fundamental critique of a set of hierarchical assumptions about race, historical agency, and human development.[6] Though Mamdani lost the skirmish, he gained a public airing for his larger point, and in so doing expanded the intellectual space for thinking more broadly about research agendas, pedagogy, and the legacy of apartheid in the South African academy. At the same time – thanks to the Internet – this debate traveled and was picked up by the African Studies community in the USA.

The contention that South African academics downplay the significance of scholarship by African intellectuals from equatorial Africa rests largely on an indictment of institutional racism.[7] However, explanations for the marginalization of Africanist scholars within the US academy are at once more subtle and more complex. Consider, for example, this personal revelation published by Harvard political economist Robert Bates in the Comparative Politics section newsletter of the American Political Science Association:

> "When I started out in political science in the late 1960s, comparative politics was marginal to the broader discipline. The sense of marginality was heightened by my location at Caltech, where the social sciences were marginal to the Institute; political science marginal within the social sciences; and the study of American politics king."[8]

Africa's place at the bottom of that hierarchy goes without saying.

Bates' self-portrait of his early marginalization in academia is telling testimony of the difficulties faced by a theoretically-oriented Africanist determined to make his mark in the mainstream of political science. Over the years, he responded to this predicament by engaging the most "scientific" of the social science disciplines on their own terms: honing field-based techniques for a comparative political economy of rational choice, exploring interdisciplinarity

by crafting analytical narratives, marshalling game-theoretic reasoning to solve behavioral puzzles, and eventually picking up the quantitative tools of formal modeling. Along the way, he served on the board of the US African Studies Association, co-edited a book on the contributions of African Studies to the disciplines, proclaimed the death of area studies, [9] promoted Africa as "the development challenge of our time," and eventually landed a chair as Eaton Professor of the Science of Government at Harvard University, where he is an active member of Harvard's Committee on African Studies and a Faculty Fellow at the Center for International Development. His book Africa and the Disciplines,[10] seeks to justify the place of African studies in the American university on the basis of contributions to theory and basic knowledge – thus moving away from the Cold War rationale and sidestepping alternative justifications grounded in multiculturalism.[11] Increasingly acerbic in his critique of the traditional area studies model, Bates has attempted to re-invent African studies in the image of a discipline-based American academy, and in so doing, to reposition himself – by virtue of theoretical and methodological contributions in the social sciences – from the margins to the center.

In fact, time and again we find that a creative response to a particular mindset about the place of Africa in a hierarchy of values becomes the driving force behind a move into new intellectual territory. Another powerful example of this triggering encounter is offered in the testimony of Nigerian-born social anthropologist Ife Amadiume:

> "My initial reaction of anger and disbelief came when I was an undergraduate reading social anthropology in Britain in the second half of the 1970s. As the data were gathered selectively, and interpreted and applied according to the point of view and the politics of that period, which had to justify conquest and the subjection of indigenous people and their culture to foreign rule, the material produced was inevitably racist. … If non-Western cultures were described as primitive, barbaric, savage, etc., one can image how women in these cultures were presented. To early anthropologists, evolutionists that they were, 'primitive' women stood at the lowest end of the scale, described as no better than beasts and slaves, while the Victorian lady stood at the apex."[12]

Although this reference to "early anthropologists" occurs in a context that evokes the work of late-nineteenth century evolutionists, Amadiume argued that old assumptions die hard. A revulsion to such representations planted the seeds for her own seminal work on sex and gender in an African society.

Amadiume took as a point of departure the construction of global feminism advanced by female academics and Western feminists of the 1960s and 1970s. What troubled her was the way some of the theorists and activists were appropriating and interpreting bits of data from Africa and elsewhere in the Third World in their writings about motherhood, marriage and the family. Particularly irksome was the universalizing assumption of women's social and cultural inferiority that, in her view, enabled white feminists to "fanaticize " a measure of superiority over African women.[13] As a corrective, Amadiume articulated the need for more empirically based social histories of the many thousands of societies worldwide that have never been studied by anthropologists.[14] Her own doctoral dissertation research on the Nnobi Igbo and subsequent book, Male Daughters, Female Husbands, were paradigm-making in this regard. Framed in

terms of the new wave of women's studies that emphasized the social construction of gender, Amadiume's work took this form of analysis to a new level. Both the subject and method of her research brought to light data that reveal how the flexibility of Igbo gender construction affected women's access to economic resources and positions of power through the institutions of male daughters and female husbands. Indeed, only after British colonialism and the influences of Christianity introduced the more rigid gender ideology of the West did women in Nnobi society come to experience their maternal and domestic roles as constraining and unrewarding.

At the time, Amadiume's interpretation of her own research findings was at odds with the position of feminist theorists who hold that maternal and domestic roles account for the subordination of women worldwide.[15] Dismissive of this theory for its lack of a broadly based socio-cultural analysis, she insisted that the Nnobi data prove the contrary.[16] Denouncing the "racist" and "disrespectful trivialization" of feminist analysis grounded in categories and conceptual systems of a Western epistemological order, Amadiume rejected the logic that seeks to reposition Africa within this hierarchy. Instead, she set out to generate a different type of knowledge about African women and societies. By so doing, she emerged as an important contributor to what Valentin Mudimbe calls "African discourses on otherness and ideologies of alterity."[17] Debates over whether female status is a cause or an effect of cultural values will no doubt continue. Meanwhile, Ife Amadiume has pioneered the production of a body of work that reaches beyond African studies and compels us all to rethink *feminism* as a cultural construct.

Mamdani, Bates, and Amadiume: their personal narratives illustrate how the field of African Studies is both constrained and propelled by discourses of knowledge and power on and about Africa. As scholars, each responded to Africa's marginality by confronting assumptions of hierarchy that make it acceptable to perceive this marginality as though it were common sense.[18] In The Invention of Africa, Mudimbe uses an approach guided by Foucaudian archeology to uncover what lies beneath the development of African Studies as a discipline. His analysis reveals the prevalence of hierarchy as an organizing principle and confirms the difficulty of transforming the types of knowledge produced about Africa.[19] Yet Diasporic panAfricanist scholars – for reasons of their own history, location and social position – have often willingly embraced "rejected forms of wisdom" concerning Africa. And it was through their *World* that African Studies first entered the US academy.

The remainder of this chapter examines the development of African Studies in the USA, from its introduction in the historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) toward the end of the 19th century through its move into the academic mainstream. The study of Africa found an early home in the disciplines of Archeology and Anthropology. Later, helped by the interdisciplinary wedge of foundation- and government-supported area studies programs, teaching and research on Africa made inroads across the broader curriculum. As we shall see, the rationale for African Studies has shifted over time, while efforts to combat notions of hierarchy and the reality of marginalization have profoundly influenced its intellectual agenda.

African Studies: The Early Years

In 1873 William Tracy, a prominent member of the New York Colonization Society, wrote to William Dodge suggesting that either Lincoln Institute in Pennsylvania or Howard University in Washington, D.C. should establish a department of African Studies and recruit

Edward Blyden from Liberia to teach Arabic language and African culture. Tracy and his friend Dodge, a white philanthropist and benefactor of black colleges, were dismayed that the African-American students at these institutions showed so little interest in Africa. They reckoned that courses on African civilizations and cultures would promote race pride and thus motivate some of these students to become missionaries in Africa, or to take up the work of African recolonization. [20]

The idea or recruiting Blyden was consistent with the mission of a select group of black colleges founded in the antebellum South to educate freed slaves. In contrast to the numerous schools and normal academies set up to provide basic literacy and teacher training, institutions such as Fisk, Howard, Lincoln, Wilberforce, Morehouse, Spelman, and Atlanta University offered their best students a classical education that, to paraphrase W.E.B. DuBois, sought "to furnish the black world with adequate standards of human culture and lofty ideals of life."[21] Blyden, a West Indian Black educated in England, was a professor in the College of Liberia and a Minister of the Ashum Presbyterian Church in Monrovia. Widely respected for his knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian and Arabic, he was the author of several well-known works on Africa.[22] Though a frequent visitor to the United States and the recipient of several honorary degrees from U.S. institutions, he settled and remained permanently in Liberia and Sierra Leone. It was not until Leo Hansberry joined Howard University's History Department in 1922 that one saw the beginnings of a coherent approach toward a program in African Studies at an HBCU.

Hansberry arrived with an intellectual agenda. Troubled by the influence of social Darwinism, he sought to dispel derogatory myths and stereotypes about African culture and peoples by affirming the significance of African civilization. [23] Convinced that Howard had a special role to play in changing popular misconceptions, he urged the development of a program in African Studies on the grounds that it offered the University "the most promising and immediate opportunity to distinguish itself as a leader in the general cause of public enlightenment."[24] Despite some resistance, a series of courses on Negro Civilizations of Ancient Africa became part of an African Civilization Section in Howard's History Department.[25] Hansberry's lectures typically addressed aspects of state-building, nation-building, or statecraft and their applications.

When Ralph Bunche joined Howard's Political Science Department in 1928,[26] he brought an interest in Africa viewed through the then contemporary lenses of imperialism, colonialism, and proto-nationalist movements. His dissertation, defended in 1934, compared colonial rule in a League of Nations mandated area, French Togoland, with that in a French colony, Dahomey.[27] It was one of the earliest scholarly works on colonial administration.

Ralph Bunche was the first African-American to receive a Ph.D. in political science from Harvard University. Determined to establish his credentials as a modern social scientist, he used his dissertation as a platform to refute the myth of racial hierarchy as an explanation for imperialism. His research design combined comparative political analysis, economic determinism and hypothesis-testing to investigate whether the type of colonial administration made a difference in the life of the native. Fieldwork supported by a Rosenwald Fellowship enabled him to gather data on the internal dynamics of French colonial administration in the two settings. Finding little difference between the two, he then marshaled evidence to argue that

French economic interests shaped colonialism in both Dahomey and Togo. For this ground-breaking study, Bunche won Harvard's Toppan Prize for the year's best dissertation in Political Science.

During the period between the two World Wars, Hansberry and Bunche, each in his own way, contributed to making Howard University a critical site for the study of Africa in the US. Hansberry's courses were popular with students. He organized symposia and lectured widely to audiences outside the University. Bunche was an active scholar, taught courses on imperialism and on colonialism in Africa, and attracted international scholars to Howard for a conference he organized in 1936 on "The Crisis of Modern Imperialism in Africa and the Far East."[28] In 1934, when Hansberry and others formed the Ethiopian Research Council to mobilize American support for Ethiopia's efforts to resist the Italian invasion, Bunche served as the organization's advisor on international law.[29] Although the two men never collaborated to establish an interdisciplinary center for African Studies – indeed, they moved in different circles at Howard[30] – their pioneering efforts had ripple effects and connected with a scattering of developments at other institutions.

Lincoln University in Pennsylvania is a case in point. From its founding as the Ashum Institute in 1856, Lincoln had always educated significant numbers of African students.[31] Its educational program reflected the expectation that many graduates would "glorify God" through their work in Africa – as missionaries or otherwise. Nonetheless, the enrollment of Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe from Nigeria in 1929 and of Francis Kwame Nkrumah from the Gold Coast in 1935 infused new meaning into Lincoln's Africa mission. Azikiwe transferred to Lincoln from Howard, where he had studied African History with Hansberry and Political Science with Bunche.[32] He later played a role in recruiting Nkrumah to Lincoln. First as student leaders and then as Instructors, both these future heads of state sought to equip themselves, and the general student body, with knowledge that would hasten the liberation of Africa.[33] They found inspiration in their studies of political philosophy, anthropology, race relations and imperialism. And they drew elements from Africa's rich cultural endowments to fashion the fundamentals of a new African nationalism. While a student, Azikiwe lobbied successfully for the introduction of a course on Negro History at Lincoln. Serving briefly as an Instructor after graduating, he taught the course himself – using an approach that connected the past with the present by juxtaposing the history and cultures of Africa with the struggles of New World Blacks.[34]

By the early 1930s, material on both early Africa and colonial Africa began to make its way into the liberal arts curriculum at leading Black colleges. For instance, a two-semester Negro History offering at Spelman College for women surveyed Ancient Africa, the slave trade and US slavery, the Civil War, Reconstruction, the partitioning of Africa, Haiti and Cuba, and "the Negro in America today."[35] W.E.B. DuBois introduced a course on Ancient Africa at Atlanta University in 1936. Then the publication in 1939 of his book Black Folk: Then and Now, written expressly for use in schools, combined in one comprehensive volume a history of the African past with contemporary debates on the slave trade, emancipation, the political control of Africa, and the future of world democracy.[36] DuBois' stated objective was to correct the belief that "the Negro has no history."[37] When the book appeared, it was widely reviewed and its reception generally sympathetic – with at least one commentator noting its "success in demolishing concepts of racial inferiority."[38] The intersection of race and history so prevalent in DuBois' Black Folk was a harbinger of contentious debates that would latter clutter the

intellectual landscape of African Area Studies. For in the U.S., the power to define and interpret knowledge about Africa has been inextricably linked with American history, race relations and the precarious status of the African-American.

For decades, the treatment of African history at the HBCs typically sought to promote race pride and combat race prejudice by recovering the glories of Africa's past. Then in 1930 the anthropologist Melville Herskovits turned this approach on its head by proposing to treat the New World as an historical laboratory to study the presence of Africanisms and their functions.[39] Rejecting the conventional wisdom that American Blacks had lost all vestiges of their African cultural heritage, he mapped out a multi-faceted research agenda for studying the conditions under which African culture "has maintained itself under stress and strain."[40]. Years later he explained the importance of establishing the existence of African survivals in the New World as follows:

> To give the Negro an appreciation of his past is to endow him with the confidence in his own position in this country and in the world, … which he can best attain when he has available a foundation of scientific fact concerning the ancestral cultures of Africa and the survivals of Africanisms in the New World. …[W]hen such a body of fact, solidly grounded, is established … [and] this information diffused over the population as a whole, [it] will influence opinion in general concerning Negro abilities and potentialities, and thus contribute to a lessening of interracial tensions."[41]

By declaring the systematic study of Africans in the New World "a matter of utmost scientific importance," Herskovits held out the promise of contributing answers to "some of the basic questions that confront the study of man."[42] This boldly ambitious research agenda helped secure a place for Africanist anthropologists squarely in the academic mainstream and ultimately gained recognition for its author as the preeminent American scholar of Africa. At the same time, it set forth criteria for establishing a scholarly hierarchy around issues of credibility and scientific authority. Understanding how these issues played out at Howard University can shed light on the complex power/knowledge dynamics that accompanied the development of African Area Studies in the U.S.

In 1925 the young Herskovits went to Howard as a lecturer in Anthropology. A recent Columbia University Ph.D. and student of Franz Boas, he was at the time a National Research Council Fellow in Biological Sciences working on the problem of variability under Black-White racial mixing. At Howard, he found Leo Hansberry preparing to launch courses on ancient African civilizations, and the philosopher and cultural critic Alain Locke advancing his concept of "The New Negro." Locke, a Harvard-trained Ph.D. and the first black Rhodes Scholar, considered the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s the flowering of a New Negro Movement based on a growing race consciousness, self-confidence and sophistication among urban Blacks. He attributed these traits to the development of an independent black cultural tradition that blended "a deep-seated aesthetic endowment" from the ancestral African past with the folk traditions of American Blacks, then "blossomed in strange new forms."[43]

Herskovits initially dismissed this claim of cultural uniqueness, preferring instead to emphasize "the Negro's Americanism." In an essay on black urban culture included in Locke's edited volume The New Negro: An Interpretation, he reported having found in Harlem "not a trace of Africa."[44] However after moving to Northwestern University in 1927, Herskovits reversed himself on the matter of African survivals – reporting that various research findings from his fieldwork in Dutch Guyana, Haiti and Trinidad "repeatedly forced revision of prevailing hypotheses."[45] He would henceforth become a lifelong student of African cultural retentions in the New World.

What distinguished the work of Herskovits and his associates from that of other earlier proponents of African cultural survivals was a solid grounding in a research program designed to gather evidence, generate theories, and test hypotheses.[46] Alain Locke also encouraged scientific approaches to the study of Black people. Though a humanist, he saw in science an antidote for the stereotype of the Old Negro – a figure whom, in Locke's view, the American mind seemed always to consider "from the distorted perspective of a social problem." [47] However as the discourse of positivism swept the U.S. academy, broad generalizations, reliance on secondary sources, and interpretive analyses were no match for purportedly *objective* observations based on primary source data gathered in the field. And in this context, an eminent philosopher such as Locke was marked by his *subjective* motivation as a "race" man. Hence his scholarship could be dismissed – rightly or wrongly – as polemical, exaggerated, or merely interpretative commentary.

Hansberry's situation was more fragile. He never earned a doctorate,[48] lacked the requisite political support at Howard, was unable to get to Africa for fieldwork until 1953,[49] and had to self-finance most of his instructional projects. In 1932, the same year he received an MA from Harvard, Hansberry sought advice on whether, as a black American, he might have difficulty joining a British archeological expedition to Egypt. A letter from Dows Dunham of Boston's Museum of Fine Arts confirmed his apprehension:[50]

> "To be perfectly frank with you, if I were in charge of such an expedition, I should hesitate long before taking an American Negro on my staff…. I should fear that the mere fact of your being a member of the staff would seriously affect the prestige of the other members and the respect which the native employees would have for them…"[51]

Dunham's response conveyed the increasingly prevalent view in American Africanist circles that racially mediated hierarchies affected access to data and determined success in the field. Ironically, Hansberry was caught in a conundrum that used subjective criteria such a motivational bias and racialized authority structures to determine who was suitable for training and who could be trusted to carry out objective fieldwork in Africa.

By the 1940s, historically black colleges were no longer the pacesetters of Africa-related curriculum development in American higher education. Specialists on Africa remained few, but they began to surface at major research universities. Anthropology and archeology more than any other disciplines took center stage as the legitimizers of knowledge about Africa. And Herskovits, recognized for his expertise on both Continental and New World Blacks, became a

gatekeeper for research and training opportunities in African-American as well as African Studies. Not until the publication in 1939 of E. Franklin Frazier's The Negro Family in the United States did Herskovits face a significant challenge to the scholarly merits of his work on African survivals. That challenge was launched from Howard University.

Franklin Frazier arrived at Howard in 1934 as Professor and Chair of the Sociology Department. Trained at the University of Chicago where he received his Ph.D. in 1931, he put great store in the discipline and skills of sociological research. His abiding concern with the progress, organization, and functions of the black American family was wedded to an insistence that behaviors could be understood only in terms of the social conditions that shaped them. And in this regard he was among the most strident critics of the notion of African survivals. Frazier effectively rekindled the debate over African cultural survivals in the New World – this time taking Herskovits to task for a lack of scientific rigor.

Rejecting as fatally flawed the attempts to build theory on inferences drawn from "scraps of memories" and "fragments of stories concerning Africa," Frazier argued instead that the conditions of life in the United States destroyed the significance of the slaves' African heritage.[52] This position was by no means without controversy, for it stood to undermine all who would use Africa to counter the myth that American Blacks have neither a past nor a history. But Frazier found explanations of behavior that rely on race and African culture problematic. According to Charles Henry, an astute analyst of African-American political culture, "Frazier denie[d] the possibility of African survivals in order to refute the biological claims that Black deviance from [the] middle-class family norm [was] due to the less-evolved status of the Black race."[53] This prospect led him to refute the evidence of Africanisms among U.S. Blacks, and to develop an alternative theory to explain why and how the conditions of plantation slavery in the American South caused subsequent generations to lose all meaningful connection to their African cultural heritage. In response, Herskovits spent the next 30 years sharpening his conceptual apparatus, honing more sophisticated theoretical arguments, and developing the first consistent applications of the ethnohistorical method – as he sought to validate the thesis of African cultural survivals.

What is striking – and peculiarly American – about this early period of African Studies in the U.S. was the synergism generated by the movement of ideas and individuals between the historically Black colleges and the mainstream research universities. Major scholars in both *Worlds* took notice of each other's work, engaged each other in debates, and generally functioned as part of a connected – albeit compartmentalized – epistemic community. Trans-disciplinary exchanges were the rule. Moreover, the legacy of slavery and the meanings of history served to bridge African and African-American Studies – and at times facilitated cross-fertilization that was paradigm-making.

What cannot be denied – and this too is peculiarly American – is the enormous resource gulf and racial divide that precipitated the development of distinct *Worlds* of African Studies within the U.S. academy. Through the early 1930s, an African-American scholar could only expect to get funding from three sources: the Rosenwald Foundation, the General Education Fund, and Phelps-Stokes.[54] In the Preface to Black Folk, DuBois apologized for producing a book that "is not a work of exact scholarship" but, rather, "as good as I am able to command with the time and money at my disposal."[55] Bunche, who did his dissertation fieldwork with a Rosenwald Fellowship, was more fortunate. He received a grant from the Social Science

Research Council (SSRC) in 1936 to study the effects of colonial rule and Western culture on Africans. What's more, the SSRC took the unusual step of making a two-year award, stipulating that he acquire the anthropological training deemed necessary to successfully undertake research on acculturation.[56] And Bunche remained the only African-American funded by a private foundation to make a research trip to Africa until the 1950s. As for Hansberry, it was 1953 when he received a Fulbright Fellowship that finally got him to Egypt, Ethiopia and Sudan for field research.

Given the circumstances, it is indeed remarkable that serious academics were able to engage in productive, creative, and even contentious dialogue across this chasm. Whether at an HBC or a major research university, scholars in the field of African Studies worked against the backdrop of a broader set of assumptions about human development, cultural hierarchies and social marginality. Some did more than their share to contribute to the proliferation of marginalizing discourses through the production of knowledge about Africa. But the best of the lot were concerned to change the way people think about Africa.

Institutionalizing Basic Research

In 1995 the Ford Foundation engaged Jane Guyer to prepare a report on African Studies in the United States. Guyer, who had recently moved to Northwestern as director of the Program of African Studies and professor of anthropology, was keen to establish that scholarly interest in Africa significantly pre-dates the Cold War phase of area studies. To this end, she picked up the story in the 1930s, when Africa gained currency as a laboratory for investigators interested in human behavior and cultural factors. Using a periodization structured around a distinction between theoretically-driven basic research and more practically-oriented policy research, she chronicled the entrance of African Studies into the mainstream academy.

Guyer's account explains how two sets of forces converged to prepare the ground for constituting Africa as an academic field. These included scientific concerns derived from classic history, basic studies in linguistics, social theory and evolutionary theory together with late colonialism's interest in modernization. For some two decades, scholars working in anthropology, archeology, paleontology and linguistics were able to have considerable influence on research agendas in their respective disciplines.[57] Initially few in number, they began building an interdisciplinary canon of African Studies. During this period Africa found itself at the vortex of disciplinary conventions based on distinctions between the study of Western and non-Western societies, tribal peoples and high civilizations, and cultures deemed agents of history versus those construed as ahistorical or frozen in the past.[58] To be sure, many of the perspectives advanced by those pioneering Africanists have now succumbed to the scrutiny of contemporary intellectual challenges. [59] Nevertheless, Guyer does well to remind us of a moment when mutually intelligible discourses emerged around a shared interest in the diversity of human societies and their dynamics of change.[60]

Over time, the institutional landscape of African Studies evolved from clusters of individual professors with a scholarly interest in Africa to the proliferation of formally organized programs devoted to the study of Africa.[61] For instance, Hansbery's courses on Negro Civilizations of Ancient Africa were housed within Howard's History Department and emphasized the connections between Ancient Africa and equatorial Africa.[62] When Herskovits

moved to Northwestern in 1927, he introduced the first African Program offered as part of a liberal arts curriculum in an American university. In this setting the boundary was Africa South of the Sahara and the scope primarily anthropological. Yet from the beginning, Northwestern devoted considerable resources to developing a comprehensive library of Africana – a repository that today is unparalleled as a resource for scholars working in wide-ranging disciplines.

World War II marks a watershed in the expansion of African studies into the American academic mainstream. The shifting currents became noticeable as early as 1941, when the University of Pennsylvania set up a Committee on African Studies (CAS) with a mandate to focus on modern Africa. Conyers Read, a professor of history, had left Penn to go to work for the new Office of the Coordinator of Information (COI) in the Library of Congress.[63] The COI was soon transformed into the Office of Special Services (OSS), and Read headed the British Empire Section of its Research and Analysis Branch. Efforts to recruit staff made him keenly aware of the paucity of scholars knowledgeable about emerging developments across the African continent. The CAS sought ways to address this situation.

The group at Penn was an interdisciplinary Committee drawn from the departments of political science, economics, linguistics, geography, earth sciences and botany. This mix of disciplines signaled a different scholarly orientation toward Africa – one that no longer privileged the history of ancient civilizations or the anthropology of small-scale societies. Its members fashioned a graduate curriculum that combined courses on contemporary African issues with instruction in African languages – Swahili for East Africa and Fanti for West Africa. Kwame Nkrumah, then a graduate student at Penn, helped mobilize support for the establishment of an Institute of African Cultures and Languages.[64] As one of a new generation of ardent African nationalists, he seized the opportunity to associate with an initiative that would bring Africa out of the shadows and into the academic mainstream. But more than anything else, geopolitical concerns, stoked by the war effort, gave rise to Penn's foray into African Area Studies.

Meanwhile, Read recruited Howard University's Ralph Bunche to fill the position of Africa specialist in the Office of the COI. Bunche's multidisciplinary, graduate level training in political science and anthropology; dissertation and post-doctoral fieldwork in Africa; and a vast interracial network of personal contacts in Africa, Europe and the Us made him – ironically – the only American scholar of Africa deemed fully prepared to meet the academic requirements of this sensitive national security assignment.[65] When the OSS was up and running, Bunche joined a team that included two historians, two economists, a China expert, a Russia expert, a South America specialist, and an expert on Germany.[66] Their mission: "to provide the President and key military officials with the information necessary to fight the war."[67]

Within months Bunche morphed from an outspoken critic of New Deal policies into a dispassionate foreign policy insider. His new intelligence duties were extensive: He gathered information about African colonial policies and problems; race relations in British Africa; events in French, Portuguese and Spanish Africa; and the situation in Liberia. He prepared documents and country guides, including maps, for American troops who would be deployed in South Africa, North Africa and West Africa. He offered advice on how to handle the impact of US racial attitudes on the war effort. And he counseled the need for Americans to understand African points of view – particularly African nationalism and African attitudes toward the war.[68]

Ultimately, the substantive and operational concerns of the researchers who staffed the OSS influenced the profile of what was to become the wartime foreign area specialist. And in many respects, Bunche set the standard. After a year on the job he won high praise from Read as "the ablest man in his field in America" and was the only staffer in the British Empire Section to receive an A-1 performance rating."[69]

When the SSRC's Committee on World Regions issued a report in 1943 calling for a new strategic approach to area studies training, its recommendations reflected thinking that had been honed in the heat of battle. Anticipating US responsibilities in the post-war world, the Committee pressed the case for training "thousands of Americans" who would combine professional and technical competence with "knowledge of the languages, economies, politics, history, geography, peoples, customs, and religions of foreign countries." Japan, China, and Latin America were identified as priority regions. More to the point, the need for social scientists grounded in the different regions of the world was equated to the requirements for "military and naval officers familiar with … actual and potential combat zones."[70] Following this rationale, it seemed only logical that the onset of the Cold War in 1945 should affect an abrupt shift in area priorities to the Soviet Union and China.[71]

But another debate was stirring within the SSRC. Initially keen to embrace geopolitical considerations in its advocacy of area studies, the Council began to refine its position. A new advisory committee on World Area Research, chaired by Robert Hall, expressed concern with a wartime model of area studies that stressed "content without scientific principles." There was a sense that the SSRC should not be in the business of promoting educational programs that veer from the objectives of a liberal arts education, or neglect training for basic research. As a corrective, the Hall committee called for a national program of area studies that would eventually work toward complete world coverage and be undertaken by "first-class centers of study."[72] Given the impossibility of doing everything at once, the Committee proposed a phase-in using global power relations and notions of cultural hierarchy as ordering principles. The following recommendations from its 1947 report anticipate how fine lines of distinctions might be drawn:

> The relative power of an area is one important consideration. Does the area in question generate an excess of power; … or does it simply submit to the power exerted from other areas? Another consideration lies in the level of culture existing in an area. Presumably we have more to gain from the study of China or India than we have from, say, the Congo Basin or New Guinea."[73]

Social Darwinism buttressed by the principles of *real politique* accentuated the marginalization of Africa. Nevertheless, the proposition held that serious scholars of the Congo along with many other regions of the globe could be found to advance the development of a universal social science.[74] The assumption that sub-Saharan Africa held little attraction for American academics in fields other than anthropology simply meant that the critical social science disciplines would have to actively recruit students to work on contemporary African issues. For the necessary resources, private philanthropy stepped into the breach.

Grant programs of the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation have actively fostered international studies in U.S. higher education since the 1930s. Though Africa

was never a major target of these early initiatives, Herskovits and his Africanists colleagues at Northwestern received funding from Carnegie in 1948 to start a Program on African Studies (PAS) and to build up graduate offerings in economics, geography, history and political science. That same year the SSRC launched its first program of area research training fellowships – again with funding from Carnegie. But it was the Foreign Area Fellowship Program (FAFP), launched by the Ford Foundation in 1952, that marked the beginning of a coherent strategy to support individuals as well as institutions committed to specializing in the contemporary cultures of major foreign areas.[75] The basic architecture comprised four pillars: fellowships for research and training, area studies centers, professional associations for the area studies communities, and area studies committees appointed jointly by the SSRC and the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS).[76]

Africa as an area field became established and spread into major research universities as part of this comprehensive strategy. In line with the Hall Report's recommendation that these new programs should be undertaken by "first class centers of study," Harvard University was approached – but declined tohost a major African Area Studies center. So in 1953 Ford funded the start-up of a totally new graduate level African Studies Program at Boston University and also awarded modest support to Howard University to establish an M.A. degree program in African Studies.[77] Howard, an HBCU, was not considered a major research university, but its track record and longstanding involvement with the study of Africa could not be denied. Nevertheless, the prevailing view of influential scholars such as Herskovits, as well as decision-makers at key funding agencies held that Africn-Americans could not be relied upon to produce scientifically objective research on Africa. Two years later Northwestern's PAS received an institutional strengthening grant. Then in 1957 a group of 36 American Africanists representing a variety of disciplines met in New York City to discuss formation of a professional association. They founded the African Studies Association (ASA) as a national membership organization. Melville Herskovits was elected its first president. At this point, three of the four pillars were in place.

While these developments in African Studies and other area studies fields were consequential, advocates of international studies considered the job to be done immense and the overall funding level grossly inadequate.[78] The SSRC began casting about for a way to secure federal funding without government control. Ironically, the Soviet Union obliged. The launch of Sputnik on October 4, 1957 created a national security crisis with implications for American higher education. Congress responded by passing the 1958 National Defense Education Act (NDEA). Under Title VI of the NDEA, area studies centers around the country receive grants for core support to programs, student fellowships, library resources, and language faculty (many of the instructors of African languages have been non tenure-track). The grants are subject to competitive renewal every three years and have resulted in the designation, at various times, of more than twenty U.S. universities as National Resource Centers for Africa.

Appointment in 1960 of a Joint Committee on African Studies (JCAS) by the SSRC and the ACLS marked the coming of age of the African area field. Other joint committees had already been set up for the Slavic area (1948), Asia (1949), the Near and Middle East (1951), China (1959), and Latin America (1959).[79] Initially these groups of scholars administered grant-in-aid programs for their respective regions. Later they assumed responsibility for research

planning as well. Within a short period of time the JCAS was functioning to broaden and alter the orientation of what began as a Cold War area studies agenda.

At the same time another, more troubling development was underway. As African Area Studies moved more solidly into the academic mainstream, the historically Black colleges and universities were increasingly marginalized – if not excluded – from the enterprise. Each piece of the architecture (FAFP, Title VI Centers, the ASA, and the JCAS) carried resource endowments that were largely denied to these earliest advocates of African Studies. Training and research fellowships for dissertations as well as faculty post-docs almost always went to candidates from major research universities. When the first Title VI Centers for Africa were designated, Howard University was passed over. Moreover, the founders of the ASA set up a two tiered membership structure in which voting membership was limited to a Roster of Fellows who had to apply for admission on the basis of past academic achievement and experience in the Africa field. Taken on their own, these various measures were consistent with the goal of establishing the area fields at "first class centers of study." However, they also served to de-link the new Africa field from its historical roots in the United States, and to constitute African area studies as a *World* unto itself.

Establishing Research Agendas

Once the architecture was in place, the best scholarship succeeded in changing the way we think about Africa. The initial mission seemed simple: to fill in the map with knowledge. Yet unlike specialists of many other world regions, Africanists must frequently confront the marginality of their region in the realm of ideas. This intellectual challenge has generated a remarkably steady stream of works that raise epistemological questions about the nature and grounds of knowledge. It has pushed researchers to invest in methodological approaches and to devise logical constructs, analytical categories, theoretical arguments and discursive modes that enable them to more accurately explain and interpret African realities. These strategies have affected research agendas in myriad and profound ways – offering up theoretical insights and practical understandings with implications that carry far beyond African studies.

Projects sponsored by the area research training fellowships during the 1950s concentrated on fundamentals and were designed in large part to enable American researchers to familiarize themselves with contemporary issues in late colonial Africa. Some of the topics investigated were similar to those tackled by Ralph Bunche when he was an active scholar: colonial administration, acculturation, emerging leaders, and developments in South Africa. Others were more immediately current: political development, urbanization, and political institutional transfer. A concerted effort was made to shift the gaze of the anthropologists away from the traditions of tribal societies and onto the new dynamics of socio-cultural change. More political scientists were attracted into the field.

Table 1 – Area Research Training Fellowships for Africa, 1950 – 1960

1950-51	Dissertation	Anthropology	Northwestern	Gold Coast	Culture of the Fanti
	Dissertation	Anthropology	Northwestern	Nigeria	Acculturation of the Ibbibio
	Dissertation	Anthropology	Northwestern	Nigeria	Role of Women in Ibo Culture
	Dissertation	Anthropology	Northwestern	Nigeria	Impact of Colonialism on the Ibo
	Dissertation	Anthropology	Columbia	West Africa	Emergence of the Urban African
1951-52	Dissertation	Political Science	Princeton	Gold Coast	Political Institutional Transfer

1952-53	Dissertation Dissertation	Anthropology Political Science	Yale Northwestern	Sierra Leone Br E Africa	A Stratified Negro Community Direct and Indirect Rule
1953-54	Post-doc	Anthropology	Columbia	Nigeria	Language and acculturation
1954-55	Post-doc	Political Science	Smith	In the US	S. Af party system and race relations
1955-56	Dissertation	Political Science	Syracuse	In the US	Native participation in African govt
1956-57	Missing data				
1957-58	Post-doc Dissertation Dissertation	Political Science Political Science Geography	McGill Princeton U of Chicago	In England Nigeria Uganda	Br Colonial Policy in Uganda Political Development in N. Nigeria Cultural differences in habitats
1958-59	Post-doc Post-doc	Anthropology History	Atlanta U UCLA	Nigeria S. Africa	Law & Legal Thinking in Nigeria Missionary influence in S. Africa
1959-60	Dissertation Post-doc Post-doc	Anthropology Political Science Soc/Anthropology	U of Chicago Indiana U Brooklyn College	Nigeria Europe & Af In the US	Two Urban Cultures in Calabar Pol leadership in Liberia & S. Leone Emerging urban elites in Nigeria

Modernization theory was the dominant paradigm in the 1950s and early 1960s, and African societies were prime candidates for its application. But the task for empirical research was to explain the mechanism of change, and on this score the data from Africa were decidedly mixed. The excitement associated with the appearance of David Apter's The Gold Coast in Transition (1955) was due at least in part to the sense that Apter told a story of *Africa rising*:

> "This book, a case study of political institutional transfer, … deal[s] … with the Gold Coast, an area marked by singular success in the transformation from a tribal dependency to a parliamentary democracy, a success which has aroused major interest throughout the world."[80]

Apter believed that this transition of the Gold Coast colony into Independent Ghana under the charismatic leadership of Kwame Nkrumah would cause the world to look at Africa differently. In many respects he was right – though not in the ways anticipated. Even so, it was not long before the proliferation of fieldwork on modernization would produce its own critics.

Sylvester Whitaker, Jr. began his studies of political change in Northern Nigeria with a 1957-58 area research training fellowship. The eventual publication of The Politics of Tradition: Continuity and Change in Northern Nigeria, 1946-1966 (1970) helped to explode a host of purported certainties about the modernization process. With an ironic twist, his argument acknowledged the hierarchal premise of political modernization, then proceeded to attack the unilinear assumptions of a model that sees conflict between modernity and tradition as inevitable:

> "…[T]he principalobjection to the prevailing notion of modernization is that it unsoundly rests on a strictly a priori assumption that for all societies there is only one direction of significant change, culminating in the essentials of modern Western society. This conceptual attachment to a unilinear model of change … places the societies that one is most familiar with or admiring of at the top of a descending scale of human virtue."[81]

Whitaker's book contributed much to our understanding of the role of tradition in contemporary politics in general and to Nigerian politics in particular. It also marked the ascendance of a revisionist critique of modernization theory, which in turn gave way to a wave

of new theoretical and methodological departures coming from both the humanities and the social sciences.

This rupture in the basic program of African Area Studies dates from 1968 and will be discussed in greater detail below. It came in the wake of a rush of unsettling developments – including the 1965 overthrow of Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah; a 1966 *coup* in Nigeria that escalated into the Biafran secession and a 3-year civil war; prolonged drought and famine in the Sahel (1968-72); and a troubling secular decline in food production.

In the midst of this spreading turmoil, behavioral responses of elites and ordinary Africans alike were multifaceted and often strategic. Individually and collectively, they developed survival mechanisms, tailored and husbanded resources, selectively innovated and repudiated, manipulated the urban environment, reinterpreted old understandings, developed new solidarities, and equivocated.[82] Post-colonial Africa posed numerous puzzles that could not be adequately addressed within the modernization framework. Henceforth, no single paradigm would be able to dominate the field or control the research agenda in its hegemonic embrace.[83] With a push from the Joint Committee on African Studies (JCAS), pluralization of the research agenda became the new mantra. In the process, a gap opened and began to widen between African Area Studies and the national security agenda of Cold War area studies.

Cold War African Studies

The conventional view that African Area Studies developed largely free from the influence of Cold War concerns is only partially accurate. It is based on the assumption that no vital US interests were at play in the region.[84] However in matters of policy, where you stand depends on where you sit. By 1962 the State Department's Guidelines for Policy and Operations in Africa had concluded that Africa was "probably the greatest open field of maneuver in the world-wide competition between the [Sino-Soviet] Bloc and the non-Communist world."[85] Moreover, the treatment of America's African descended population was considered a serious liability in the context of East-West competition – particularly in light of the Soviet Bloc's anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist reputation.[86]

A close reading of the security issues delineated in the 1962 Africa Guidelines suggests the outlines of a research agenda for Cold War African Studies. Its major strategic objective was "denial to the Sino-Soviet Bloc of military bases and, to the maximum extent practicable, of military influence in any African country."[87] North Africa and the Horn of Africa were singled out for their strategic location and importance in securing NATO's southern flank. Nigeria was identified as a moderate "bellwether" country with potential for exerting positive influence on the African continent. Tanganyika, Ivory Coast, Sudan and Senegal seemed capable of being included in this category. Among the subjects highlighted as essential to the long-term success of US Africa policy were information about leadership dynamics; trade union movements; trends in education, social and economic development; factors affecting the shape of political institutions; and African perceptions of race relations.

In short, Cold War exigencies created a demand for knowledgeable and sophisticated American analysts capable of projecting the US position on world issues in terms consistent with local African attitudes and preoccupations.[88] Hence, national security served as a rationale for

the generous funding that paved the way for African Area Studies into the academic mainstream. That the Cold War never became a dominant motif is due in large part to bottom-up agendas articulated in the various *Worlds* of African Studies … and to the dialectics of change.[89]

Proliferating Research Agendas

A review of the African area research supported by the SSRC beginning in the 1950s reveals the imprint of a Cold War agenda. Discernible in the early years, it receded with the proliferation of new thematic, theoretical and methodological frameworks. By 1953 a shift from the hegemony of Anthropology to a flux in the disciplinary mix from year to year was evident. Overall, during the 1950s, at least 10 FAFP research awards for Africa went to anthropologists. However available data show that between 1953 and 1960, only 4 of these fellowships went to anthropologists, while 5 went to political scietists, one 1 to a geographer, and one to a historian. (see Table 1).[90] But it was the establishment of the Joint Committee on African studies (JCAS) in 1960 that placed a multidisciplinary group of Africanist scholars in a position to allocate resources in ways that would broaden and reconfigure the general orientation of the field. The Committee's writ was Africa South of the Sahara. Its geopolitical boundaries made no allowance for Africa's diaspora. Through its dual role as a research planning vehicle and a selection committee for dissertation and post-doctoral grants, the JCAS began to override the Cold War agenda with scholarly and practical concerns that ranged widely across the social sciences and humanities.

The 1960s

The Committee launched its research planning activities by convening small interdisciplinary conferences and workshops. These initial meetings were largely strategic mapping exercises – pulling together the current state of knowledge and research activity in a given area. The themes were an eclectic mix: urbanization in Africa, the role of the traditional artist in contemporary African societies, competing demands for labor in traditional African societies, African architecture, African intellectual reactions to Western culture, and sub-national politics. Results were published in edited books, special issues of journals, and as review articles with the expressed intention of directing attention of researchers to these areas.

Consistent with the SSRC's general orientation to establish area studies at "first class centers of study," members of the Africa Committee were drawn from top research universities. For the first decade and a half, at least 50% of those appointed were based at institutions designated NDEA Title VI African Studies Centers. Unwittingly, the combination of this locational bias, the convention of separating Egypt from sub-Saharan Africa, and the delinking of the African area field from its diaspora distanced critical constituencies of African-American scholars and students from the African Studies mainstream. It was not until 1969, after Black Power advocates disrupted the annual meeting of the African Studies Association (ASA) in Montreal, that the JCAS re-examined its position on the issue of boundaries and considered broadening the scope of its work to include Africa in the New World. But after exploratory talks, little changed. The Committee members opted to continue limiting their focus to contintental Africa below the Sahara. But they also successfully lobbied the SSRC to create a new Committee on African American Societies and Cultures. Though this proved to be a short-

term venture, from 1968 to 1972 a separate SSRC committee with its own budget, staff, and research planning activities represented the *World* of Diaspora Pan-Africanist scholars.

The 1970s

The events at the ASA meeting in Montreal left their mark on programmatic agendas in African Studies for the next decade and beyond. Diaspora Blacks accused white scholars of controlling access to knowledge about their African homeland. Progressives faulted the ASA for its policy of political neutrality. Together, critics accused the African Studies establishment of cozying up to colonial governments, remaining silent about the injustices of apartheid, and condoning a whole host of abuses that weighed heavily against the welfare of Africans. Donor agencies were taken to task for financing such developments. Reactions were many and varied. Two new organizations were born: the African Heritage Studies Association (AHSA) and the Association of Concerned Africa Scholars (ACAS).[91] The ASA opened up its membership, made room in its annual meetings for panels organized by the ACAS, and created a new journal to accommodate scholarly debates on politically charged issues.[92]

In this climate, The Ford Foundation was compelled to take another look at both the impact and the outcomes of its training support for Africanists through the FAFP and found an unanticipated trend. The number of African-American recipients of these SSRC administered fellowships – though never high – had suffered a secular decline. Because the opportunity to do fieldwork is critical to a successful scholarly career in African Studies, this development gave weight to the contention that the *World* of African Area Studies supported the access of white scholars – to the detriment of Blacks. To address this situation, Ford established the Middle East and Africa Field Research Program (MEAFP) for Afro-Americans. Although the MEAFP was phased out after eight years, it has proved the single most effective vehicle devised to date to encourage talented African-Americans to pursue careers as scholars of Africa.[93]

The reaction of the Joint Committee to the criticisms hurled at Montreal was deliberate and multifaceted, but side-stepped the issue of African-American exclusion. Rethinking its purpose, the JCAS opted to diversify its membership *internationally*, initiate a new *domestic* program of regional research seminars, and change the eligibility requirements for dissertation fellowships to allow support for non-U.S. citizens. In this politically charged atmosphere, critical policy areas became the hook for efforts by U.S.-based Africanists to engage scholars in Africa. This new focus was at least in part donor-driven, as significant levels of funding became available for projects designed to address issues affecting African development. The JCAS launched new research planning activities – identifying the crisis in African agriculture, problems of health and disease, and the breakdown in local-level governance and service delivery as subjects that could benefit from the interdisciplinary approaches of areas studies specialists. Special SSRC grant programs of post-docs, dissertation fellowships and conferences sought to interest more scholars in the North in studying these problems.[94]

By the early 1970s it was no longer tenable for strategic actors in African Area Studies to ignore the region's looming crisis in higher education. Politicization of the universities, the erosion of academic freedom, the drying up of financial resources, and the early phase of the brain drain were all taking a toll.[95] With a push from the Ford Foundation, the JCAS turned its attention to the research needs of African scholars and what might be done to help meet those

needs. For the first time, the Committee reached out and established formal ties with the *World* of African universities and research institutions, welcoming B. J. Dudley from the University of Ibadan (Nigeria) and SƟkƟnƟ Mody Cissoko from the University of Dakar (Senegal) in 1973. These new JCAS members facilitated the launch of SSRC training institutes in Africa that provided instruction in the use of quantitative methods and computer applications in the social sciences. The first of these institutes was held at the University of Ibadan during the summer of 1976, and it set the model of including graduate students from U.S. universities doing fieldwork in the region.

A proliferation of research, policy and training agendas further relaxed the grip of the Cold War on African Area Studies. By the late 1970s the development crisis loomed so large that*it* had become the focal point of uneasy tension between theoretically-driven and pragmatically-oriented researchers.[96] As funding for development institutes and applied departments expanded, resources available for basic research became increasingly scarce. Some critics of this trend linked government funding for policy relevant research with Cold War clientage and support for dictators. But for the pragmatists, US-AID supported initiatives such as the Sahel Development Program created new opportunities for people with degrees in African Studies at a time when the area studies bubble of academic jobs had burst.

Meanwhile the publication in 1974 of two prize-winning books by prominent scholars of Africa underscored the start of a new round of challenges to the disciplines and their conventions for studying social change. One, Immanual Wallerstein's The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century, was awarded the American Sociological Association's Sorokin prize in 1975. The other, Elliott Skinner's African Urban Life: The Transformation of Ouagadougou, was co-winner that same year of the African Studies Association's Herskovits prize. Both are mature works by senior scholars who first went to Africa in the 1950s and later rose to prominence in their respective disciplines.

Skinner, an anthropologist, broke new ground with his study of urbanization in Ouagadougou by connecting the daily lives and outlooks of ordinary Africans with the larger, global socioeconomic trends shaping the modern world. Writing in the *Preface* to African Urban Life, he took his discipline to task for undervaluing the multidimensionality of the African subject. The message was clear and to the point:

> "This book appears at a time when the ethics of individual anthropologists are being severely questioned, and when the relevance of our discipline to the modern world is seriously challenged. … Third World peoples … can now insist that anthropologists view them in all their humanity and deal with all their problems rather than highlight only some aspects of their societies and cultures. Moreover, these people reject the notion that it took the West to make them conscious of themselves. To the contrary, they are now reasserting their humanity after being considered objects by the West."[97]

Wallerstein, a sociologist, zeroed in on two problematic aspects of disciplinary distinctions: the unit of analysis and the parcellization of knowledge. The book's overarching

thesis grew out of his own intellectual trajectory as a regional specialist. As Wallerstein explains, having first gone to Africa to study the process of decolonization, he became deeply interested in the fate of these new states *after* independence. Analytic questions turned his attention to the broader category of "states in the period after formal independence but before they had achieved something that might be termed national integration."[98] The logic of this line of inquiry then led him to examine early modern Europe and the process of modernization. He eventually resolved that Africa's story was embedded in the larger story of social change and the world as a social system. Hence the E*pilogue* to The Modern World System calls for an end to artificial divisions of knowledge:

> "When one studies a social system, the classical lines of division within social science are meaningless. … They make certain limited sense if the focus of one's study is organizations. They make none at all if the focus is the social system. I am not calling for a multidisciplinary approach to the study of social systems, but for a unidisciplinary approach."[99]

Wallerstein and Skinner, each in his own way, drew attention to the need for more critical reflection about the relationship between area studies and the disciplines. Ironically, these clarion calls came at about the same time that institutional support for area studies had leveled off, and disciplinary forces were becoming more aggressive in the competition for faculty positions and tenure.

By 1977 the JCAS had dropped the expectation that its grant recipients would necessarily do fieldwork and began welcoming proposals for comparative theoretical research in nonfield settings. This move reflected the changing demands for career advancement faced by the younger cohort of Africanist scholars at major research universities. Indeed, regional specialists faced a double bind: an increasingly tight job market, plus the control of most academic positions by disciplinary departments rather than area studies centers. And in the departments, theory was king. Beyond the pressure to publish, involvement in theoretically oriented work was weighted more heavily in the criteria for tenure and promotion. As Guyer acknowledged in her assessment of African Area Studies, this turn of events had positive as well as negative consequences:

> "[T]he return to the library did allow us to concentrate on the big picture, the long term and the essential conceptual and analytical issues. … The unforeseen result … was the decreasing regular involvement of the theoretical wing in day-to-day Africa, and a certain myopia about the current state of Africa on the part of some in the academy."[100]

In short, theorizing the study of Africa took on a life of its own.

The 1980s

The 1980s saw the launch of a particularly successful attempt to create a new canon – one characterized by theoretical paradigms that cross disciplinary boundaries, attention to constellations of issues germane to the Africa region, and a rethinking of conceptual tools and methods. Between 1981 and 1994, this thrust was shaped and advanced in a series of 21

research overview papers commissioned by the JCAS and published in the African Studies Review. These "state of the art " reviews initially stressed strategically chosen themes (e.g., the household and gender analysis, Africa's agrarian crisis, health and healing, political economy and the state). However their most enduring legacy has been the impact of the ten or so papers commissioned with the specific intent of raising the profile of the Humanities in African Studies. For more than a decade, review articles on philosophy and social thought, literature and oral traditions, the visual and popular arts, history and social processes, religious movements, and performance studies served as prime sites for debates and paradigmatic shifts in African Area Studies.[101]

This was, as well, a period when American universities reaped enormous benefits from Africa's brain drain. Perhaps the single most influential scholar to emerge from an extraordinarily gifted talent pool was Valentin Mudimbe – philosopher *cum* cultural critic. Mudimbe left Lovanium University in Zaire for Haverford College in New England before moving to Duke University as R.F. DeVarney Professor of Romance Studies, professor of comparative literature, and professor of cultural anthropology. Recruited to the JCAS in 1981, he was asked to write an overview paper surveying African philosophy. The resulting essay, "African Gnosis: Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge," is breathtaking in its range.[102] An expanded version of this overview paper was published as The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge, a book that immediately catapulted its author into the ranks of America's most distinguished paradigm-setting Africanists. A co-winner of the 1989 Herskovits prize, Mudimbe's Invention combines a sophisticated perspective on traditional African thought with a Foucaultian analysis of power, knowledge and discourse, to construct an argument about epistemological shifts in the study of Africa as a scientific discipline "from the perspective of wider (Darwinian) hypotheses about the classification of beings and societies."[103]

Thus a number of developments converged during the 1980s to elevate the prominence of theory in the works of Africanists operating in the academic mainstream. Moreover, as the growing ranks of postmodernist and postcolonial researchers moved into area studies across the board, a shared discourse of theoretical understandings facilitated trans-regional dialogues and meta analyses – though sometimes at the expense of close attention to facts on the ground. On the upside, this infusion of new conceptual frameworks heightened the visibility of a few of the more theoretically inclined African scholars (e.g., Mudimbe, Achilles Mbembe, Paulin Hountondji, and Kwame Anthony Appiah),[104] and facilitated their incorporation into the American academy as world class intellectuals.[105] On the downside, the tilt toward higher-level abstractions accentuated longstanding cleavages between theoretically focused and empirically oriented scholars.

Some critics have derided this trend as the privileging of knowledge distanced from the daily lives and struggles of African people.[106] That debate is ongoing. Even so, for nearly two decade the intellectual center of gravity for African Area Studies was defined by the cross-disciplinary, Humanities centered canon forged in the 1980s. Almost immediately, the influence of the research overview papers could be seen in the works of Herskovits Prize laureates writing about religion: James Fernandez, Bwiti: An Ethnography of the Religious Imagination in Africa (1982) and J.D.Y. Peel, Religious Encounters and the Making of the Yoruba (2001); philosophy and social thought: Paulin Hountondji, African Philosophy: Myth and Reality (1983), T.O. Beidelman, Moral Imagination in Kaguru Modes of Thought (1986), Mudimbe, The Invention of

Africa (1988), Kwame Anthony Appiah, :In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture (1992); visual and popular arts: Johanes Fabian, Power and Performance: Ethnographic Explorations through Proverbial Wisdom and Theatre in Shaba, Zaire (1990), Susan Mullin Vogel, Baule African Art, Western Eyes (1997), Karin Barber, The Generation of Plays: Yoruba Popular Life in Theater; and history and social processes: John Iliffe, The African Poor: A History (1987), Jonathan Glassman, Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellions and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888 (1995) Keletso Atkins, The Moon is Dead! Give Us Our Money! The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843-1900 (1993), Nancy Rose Hunt, A Colonial Lexicon: Of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo (1999), and Diana Wylie, Starving on a Full Stomach: Hunger and the Triumph of Cultural Racism in Modern South Africa (2002).

Table 2 – Africa Research Overview Papers, 1981-1994

Author	Institution	Title	Reference
Frederick Cooper.	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	"Africa and the World Economy"	*African Studies Review, 24*(2/3) June/Sept 1981, pp. 1-86
Jane Guyer	Harvard University	"Household and Community in African Studies,"	*African Studies Review*, 24(2/3) 1981, pp. 87-137
John Lonsdale,	Trinity College, University of Cambridge	"States and Social Processes in Africa: A Historiographical Survey,"	*African Studies Review*, 24(2/3), 1981, pp. 139-225
Wyatt MacGaffey	Haverford College	"African Ideology and Belief: A Survey,"	*African Studies Review*, 24, (2/3) 1981, pp. 227-274
Paul M. Richards	University College, London	"Ecological Change and the Politics of African Land Use"	*African Studies Review*, 26(2), June 1983, pp. 1-72
Bill Freund	University of Cape Town	"Labor and Labor History in Africa: A Review of the Literature"	*African Studies Review*, 27(2), June 1984, pp. 41-58
Sara S. Berry	Boston University	"The Food Crisis and Agrarian Change in Africa: A Review Essay."	*African Studies Review*, 27(2) 1984, pp. 59-112
Harold Scheub	University of Wisconsin	"A Review of African Oral Traditions and Literature"	*African Studies Review*, 28(2/3) June/Sept 1985, pp. 1-72
Steven Feierman	University of Wisconsin	"The Social Origins of Health and Healing in Africa"	*African Studies Review*, 28(2/3) 1985, pp. 73-148
V.Y. Mudimbe	Haverford College	"African Gnosis: Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge"	*African Studies Review*, 28(2/3) 1985, pp. 149-233
Terence O. Ranger	University of Manchester	"Religious Movements and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa"	*African Studies Review*, 29(2) June 1986, pp. 1-69
Paul Riesman	Carleton College	"The Person and the Life-Cycle in African Social Life and Thought"	*African Studies Review*, 29(2) 1986, pp. 70-138
Karin Barber	University of Birmingham	"The Popular Arts in Africa"	*African Studies Review*, 30(3) Sept 1987, pp. 1-78
Paula Ben-Amos	Indiana University	"African Visual Arts From A Social Perspective"	*African Studies Review*, 32(2) Sept 1989, pp. 1-55
Monni Adams	The Peabody Museum, Harvard University	"African Visual Arts from an Art Historical Perspective"	*African Studies Review*, 32(2) 1989, pp. 56-103
Bogumil Jewsiewicki	Laval University (Quebec)	"African Historical Studies, Academic Knowledge as 'Usable Past', and Radical Scholarship"	*African Studies Review*, 32(3) Dec. 1989, pp. 1-76
Lynne Krieger Mytelka	Carleton University (Ottawa)	"The Unfulfilled Promise of African Industrialization"	*African Studies Review*, 32(3) Dec. 1989, pp. 77-137

Allen Isaacman	University of Minnesota	"Peasants and Rural Social Protest"	*African Studies Review,* 33(2) Sept. 1990, pp. 121-203
Akin Mabogunje	Pi Associates, Ibadan	"Urban Planning and the Post-Colonial State in Africa."	*African Studies Review,* 33(2) 1990, pp. 121-203
Catherine Coquery Vodrovitch	University of Paris VII	"The Urbanization Process in Africa (From the Origins to the Beginning of Independence)"	*African Studies Review,* 34(1) April 1991, pp. 1-98
Margaret Thompson Drewal	Northwestern University	"The State of Research on Performance in Africa"	*African Studies Review,* 34(3) Dec. 1991, pp. 1-64
Robin Luckham	University of Sussex	"The Military, Militarization and Democratization in Africa: A Survey of Literature and Issues"	*African Studies Review,* 72(2) Sept. 1994, pp. 13-75

Table 3 – Melville J. Herskovits Award Winners, 1965 - 2002

1965	Ruth Schacter Morganthau, Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa (Oxford University Press)
1966	Leo Kuper, An African Bourgeoisie (Yale University Press)
1967	Jan Vansina, Kingdoms of the Savanna (University of Wisconsin Press)
1968	Herbert Weiss, Political Protest in the Congo (Princeton University Press)
1969	Paul and Laura Bohannan, Tiv Economy (Northwestern University Press)
1970	Stanlake Samkange, Origins of Rhodesia (Praeger Pulblishers)
1971	Renϑ Lemarchand, Rwanda and Burundi (Praeger Publishers)
1972	Francis Deng, Tradition and Modernization (Yale University Press)
1973	Allen F. Isaacman, Mozambique: The Africanization of a European Institution: The Zambezi Prazos, 1750-1920 (University of Wisconsin Press)
1974	John N. Paden, Religion and Political Culture in Kano (University of California Press)
1975	Lansine Kaba, Wahhabiya: Islamic Reform and Politics in French West Africa (Northwestern University Press)
	Elliott P. Skinner, African Urban Life: The Transformation of Ouagadougou (Princeton University Press)
1976	Ivor Wilks, Asante in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge University Press)
1977	M. Crawford Young, The Politics of Cultural Pluralism (University of Wisconsin Press)
1978	William Y. Adams, Nubia: Corridor of Africa (Princeton University Press)
1979	Hoyt Alverson, Mind in the Heart of Darkness: Value and Self-Identity Among the Tswana of Southern Africa (Yale University Press)
1980	Ronald B. Lee, The !Kung San (Cambridge University Press)
	Margaret Strobel, Muslim Women in Mombasa, 1890-1975 (Yale University Press)
1981	Gavin Kitching, Class and Economic Change in Kenya: The Making of an African Petite Bourgeoisie, 1905-1970 (Yale University Press)

	Gwyn Prins, The Hidden Hippopotamus: Reappraisal in African History: The Early Colonial Experience in Western Zambia (Cambridge University Press)
1982	
	Frederick Cooper, From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya, 1890-1925 (Yale University Press)
	Sylvia Scribner and Michael Cole, The Psychology of Literacy (Harvard University Press)
1983	
	James W. Fernandez, Bwiti: An Ethnography of the Religious Imagination of Africa (Princeton University Press)
1984	
	Paulin Hountondji, African Philosophy: Myth and Reality (Indiana University Press)
	J.D.Y. Peel, Ijeshas and Nigerians: The Incorporation of a Yoruba Kingdom (Cambridge University Press)
1985	
	Claire Robertson, Sharing the Same Bowl? A Socioeconomic History of Women and Class in Accra, Ghana (Indiana University Press)
1986	
	Sara Berry, Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility, and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community (University of California Press)
1987	
	Paul M. Lubeck, Islam and Urban Labor in Northern Nigeria: The Making of a Muslim Working Class (Cambridge University Press)
	T.O. Beidelman, Moral Imagination in Kaguru Modes of Thought (Indiana University Press)
1988	
	John Iliffe, The African Poor: A History (Cambridge University Press)
1989	
	Joseph C. Miller, Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830 (University of Wisconsin Press)
	V.Y. Mudimbe, The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge (Indiana University Press)
1990	
	Edwin Wilmsen, Land Filled with Flies: A Political Economy of the Kalahari (University of Chicago Press)
1991	
	Johanes Fabian, Power and Performance: Ethnographic Explorations through Proverbial Wisdom and Theater in Shaba, Zaire (University of Wisconsin Press)
	Luise White, The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi (University of Chicago Press)
1992	
	Myron Echenberg, Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Senegalais in French West Africa, 1857-1960 (Heinemann Educational Books)
1993	
	Kwame Anthony Appiah, In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture (Oxford University Press)
1994	
	Keletso E. Atkins, The Moon is Dead! Give Us Our Money! The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843-1900 (Heinemann)
1995	
	Henrietta L. Moore and Megan Vaughn, Cutting Down Trees: Gender, Nutrition, and Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1890-900 (Heinemann, James Curry, University of Zambia)
1996	
	Jonathan Glassman, Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888 (Heinemann)
1997	
	Mahmood Mamdani, Citizens and Subjects: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism (Princeton University Press)
	Charles Van Onselen, The Seed Is Mine (Hill & Wang)
1998	
	Susan Mullin Vogel, Baule African Art, Western Eyes (Yale University Press)
1999	
	Peter Uvin, Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda (Kumarian Press)

2000	Nancy Rose Hunt, A Colonial Lexicon: Of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo (Duke University Press)
2001	Karin Barber, The Generation of Plays: Yoruba Popular Life in Theater (Indiana University Press)
	J.D.Y. Peel, Religious Encounters and the Making of the Yoruba (Indiana University Press)
2002	Judith Carney, Black Rice (Harvard University Press)
	Diana Wylie, Starving on a Full Stomach: Hunger and the Triumph of Cultural Racism in Modern South Africa (University Press of Virginia)

The 1990s

The end of the Cold War and the concomitant failure of regional specialists to predict the demise of the Soviet Union ultimately called into question the geopolitical rationale that had carried the area studies enterprise for some 40 years. One of the unanticipated consequences of this crisis of legitimacy was the opening up of intellectual space along myriad new fronts. This was certainly the case for African Area Studies.

Africanists interested in conflict and its resolution began migrating to the field of security studies – bringing with them rich lodes of theoretical and empirical analyses on topics ranging from ethnic conflict to state collapse. Crawford Young's 1976 book, The Politics of Cultural Pluralism, together with I. William Zartman's 1995 volume Collapsed States, became essential reading for anyone seeking to understand post-Cold War developments in East and Central Europe.[107] Shifting currents in the academy also created space for strong theorists to make more visible the contributions of Africa research to major developments in the core disciplines. Take, for example, economist Paul Collier's chapter in the 1993 Bates, Mudimbe and Jean O'Barr volume, Africa and the Disciplines. Sounding like a salesman making a pitch to bottom-line university administrators, Collier describes advances that place African research at the forefront of several major developments in his field:

> "Africa is a gold mine to economics because its economic history has been so extreme: booms, busts, famines, migrations. Because there are so many African countries, often following radically different economic policies, Africa offers a diversity ideally suited to the comparative approach, which is the economist's best substitute for the controlled experiment. Until recently this potential has not been realized. … However, the situation is rapidly changing."[108]

The contrast between Collier's emphasis on disciplinary contributions and the rationales for area studies articulated during the Cold War signals the beginning of a new era.

Along with disciplinary knowledge, gender analysis gained a steadier foothold in African Area Studies during the 1990s. To be sure, Africanists in the *World* of research universities have

always heralded at least a few scholars who placed women at the center of their work. At least four of the 45 winners of the Herskovits Prize between 1960 and 2000 adopted women or gender as an explicit focus: Margaret Strobel's Muslim Women in Mombasa, 1980-1995, Claire Robertson's Sharing the Same Bowl; Luise White's The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi, and Cutting Down Trees: Gender, Nutrition and Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1890-1990 by Henrietta L. Moore and Megan Vaughn.[109] In recent years, epistemological contributions honed in the field of women's studies have posed increasingly strident challenges to the gender-neutral paradigms that have guided the study of Africa.

Feminist research methods and objectives are concerned with giving voice to the women studied. The researcher generally prefers an ethnographic approach, seeks to be more egalitarian and collaborative, and strives to both hear and amplify what is being said. The devices of feminist scholarship have come to include life histories, testimonies, multiple authorships, and oral histories. Anthropologist Gwendolyn Mikell, writing in the Introduction to her 1997 edited volumeAfrican Feminism : The Politics of Survival, explains that the new feminist scholarship is committed to revealing how African women "think of themselves" as they grapple with "affirm(ing) their own identities while transforming societal notions of gender and familial roles."[110]

A more recent development to emerge from this reflective methodology accords high value to the practice of reciprocity – played out in terms of accountability to people interviewed and greater respect for research subjects. Political scientist Aili Tripp has gone so far as to urge feminist scholars to re-think the hierarchies of power that structure their relations with the women they study by incorporating these women into the process of *theorizing*. Relating a personal epiphany while doing fieldwork on women's politics in Uganda, Tripp recalls:

> "… I found, as one who is deeply interested in women's agency, that I needed to pay attention to how women analyzed their own circumstances. … I had to find ways of engaging in mutual learning and dialogue and take people seriously at a conceptual level, not simply as a source of data."[111]

Although Tripp has consistently engaged the work of African feminist scholars and seeks their feedback on an ongoing basis, she found that "theorizing at the grassroots" provided a unique opportunity to create new knowledge together with the women she was studying. The book that resulted from this research – Women and Politics in Uganda – won the American Political Science Association's 2001 Victoria Schuck Award for the best book published on women and politics. Gender analysis and disciplinary knowledge come together in this penetrating study about how women's political activity can be embedded in multipurpose organizations.

Many more voices from the slow but steady stream of African émigré scholars who arrived during the 1990s are now also being heard above the din. Mamdani moved to Columbia University in the city of New York. Amadiume took up a position at Darthmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire. The Malawian historian, essayist and novelist Paul Tiyambe Zeleza has emerged as a particularly active presence. He left a position in Canada to become Professor

of History and Director of the Title VI African Studies Centre at the the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana. Zeleza's A Modern Economic History of Africa, Volume I, won the 1994 Noma Award for Publishing in Africa. The jury citation praised the book for "its bold and convincing challenge to hitherto accepted orthodoxies, terminologies, and interpretations, about the nature and development of African societies and economies."[112] A few years later he published Manufacturing African Studies and Crises, a provocative and at times irreverent collections of essays that examine African studies and those who study it.

Through empirical research and critical essays, Manufacturing African Studies makes visible the separateness of the *Worlds* of African studies, and the power hierarchies that structure their different realities. Analyzing the contents of five leading English-language African studies journals between 1982 and 1992,[113] Zeleza concludes that Africanist publishing is largely a preserve of white male scholars, while research by African scholars rarely appears in Western academic media.[114] He attributes these imbalances to structures of power that are articulated with spatial, gender, racial and ethnic hierarchies. Moreover, he insists that the only solution to the intellectual marginalization of Africa in the production of knowledge about Africa lies in Africans developing and sustaining their own publishing channels.[115]

Bringing the Diaspora Back In

Security studies, gender studies, and a greater emphasis on disciplinary knowledge – these are three of the hallmarks of post-Cold War African Area Studies. When the SSRC phased out the JCAS in 1996, an Africa Regional Advisory Panel (RAP) was established in its place. The RAP facilitates dialogue and the development of shared research themes among U.S. - based Africanists and networks of African scholars located on the Continent. This new direction reflects the SSRC's efforts to become more truly international in its client base. Still, the burning question at the start of this new millennium is whether the study of Africa as a scientific discipline will cocntinue to be fragmented into different, separate *Worlds*..

On balance, it is clear that the Joint Committee on African Studies succeeded in its mission of giving intellectual coherence to Africa as a field of study. By promoting interdisciplinary graduate training, encouraging the study of African languages and literature, overseeing fellowship programs for graduate and post-doctoral fieldwork, and giving its imprimatur to context-sensitive research, the Committee did a great deal to channel Africa into the U.S. academic mainstream.

Yet the JCAS was also constrained by the networks of its members. The Committee did well to recruit scholars from Europe, Africa and a more diverse cross-section of North American universities and research institutes. These additions facilitated connections with a larger universe of regional specialists and intellectual currents. Regrettably, my own tenure as the only African-Amemrican to chair the JCAS (1991-93) occurred during the Committee's final years, and hence was essentially a holding operation. But more importantly, the outreach efforts never extended to Historically Black Colleges and Universities in the U.S. And as greater numbers of black faculty and students were recruited by majority white universities, it became easier for the institutional pillars of the African Area Studies establishment to justify their exclusion of the HBCUs from African Studies networks.[116] A list of the institutional affiliations of JCAS

members from 1960 through its phase-out in 1996 is telling. As Table 4 below indicates, not a single scholar based at an HBCU ever served on the Comittee.[117]

Table 4 – Institutional Affiliations of Members of the JCAS, 1960-1996

Year	U.S. Universities with Title VI African Studies Centers	Historically Black Colleges & Universities	Other U.S. Universities	African Universities & Research Centers	European, Canadian, and Mexican Universities	Other Research Centers
1960-61	Columbia, Northwestern, UCLA		Brandeis, Johns Hopkins, Stanford			
1961-62	Columbia, Northwestern, UCLA		Same as previous year			
1962-63	Columbia, Indiana, UCLA		Stanford, UMichigan, Yale			
1963-64	Columbia, Indiana, UCLA, UWisconsin		Stanford, UMichigan			
1964-65	Same as prev. yr.		Same as previous yr.			
1965-66	Same as prev. yr.		Same as previous yr.			
1966-67	Same as prev. yr.		Stanford, Berkeley, U Maryland, Yale			
1967-68	Same as prev. yr.		Same as previous yr.			
1968-69	Columbia, Indiana, UPenn, UWisconsin		Same as previous yr.			
1969-70	Columbia, Indiana, UWisconsin		Same as previous year.			
1970-71	Indiana, UPenn, UWisconsin		Stanford, SUNY Albany, UC Berkeley, U Maryland, Yale			
1971-72	UPenn, Uwisconsin, Yale		SUNY Albany, Swarthmore, Berkeley, U Maryland,			
1972-73	Indiana, Northwestern, UPenn, Uwisconsin, Yale		Swarthmore, Berkeley, UChicago,			
1973-74	Indiana, UCLA		Dartmouth, SUNY Purchase, Berkeley, UChicago	U of Ibadan, U of Dakar		
1974-75	Columbia, Indiana, UCLA		Dartmouth, SUNY Purchase, U Chicago	UNairobi, Ulbadan, UDakar		
1975-76	Same as prev. yr.		Princeton, SUNY Purchase, U Chicago	Ulbadan, UDakar		
1976-77	Boston U, Columbia, UCLA, UPenn, UWisconsin		Princeton, UChicago	CODESRIA, Ulbadan		
1977-78	Columbia, UKansas, UPenn, UWisconsin		UC Santa Cruz, Wellesley	CODESRIA UDar es Salaam	Oxford University	
1978-79	Same as prev. yr.		Santa Cruz, UMinnesota, Wellesley	CODESRIA	Same as prev. yr.	
1979-80	Columbia, UKansas, UPenn		Same as previous year.	CODESRIA UNairobi	Same as prev. yr.	
1980-81	Ukansas,		Santa Cruz, UMinnesota	CODESRIA, UNigeria, Nsukka, UNairobi	Same as prev. yr.	
1981-82	UKansas, Uwisconsin, UCBerkeley		Harvard, Haverford, UC San Diego, UMinnesota	CODESRIA UNairobi		
1982-83	Uwisconsin, UCBerkeley		Same as previous year.	Same as prev. yr.		
1983-84	Same as prev. yr.		Same as previous year.	Addis Ababa U, Zimbabwe Inst. of Dev. Studies	El Colegio de Mexico	
1984-85	Uwisconsin, UCBerkeley. Yale		Carleton, Harvard, Haverford, UC San Diego, UMinnesota,	Same as prev. yr.	UParis VII	The Smithsonian Institution
1985-86	Same as prev. yr.		Carleton, Harvard, Haverford, , UMichigan, UMinnesota, USC	Addis Ababa U	UParis VII	Smithsonian
1986-87	Boston University, UCBerkeley		Tufts, UMinnesota, URochester, USC	Addis Ababa U, National Museum of Mali	School of Oriental & African Studies, UParis VII	Smithsonian, Wo Wilson Int'l Cente
1987-88	Same as prev. yr.		Carleton, Cornell , Tufts, UMichigan, URochester, USC	West African Museums Project, Dakar	SOAS, University of Toronto	Smithsonian, Wo Wilson Center
1988-89	Same as prev. yr.		Cornell, Tufts, UChicago, UColorado, UMichigan, Urochester	Same as prev. yr.		Brookings Inst., Smithsonian

1989-90	Same as prev. yr.		Cornell, Johns Hopkins, Tufts, UChicago, UColorado, UMichigan, URochester	Same as prev. yr.		Brookings Inst.
1990-91	Indiana University		Duke, Johns Hopkins, Tufts, UChicago, UColorado, Umichigan, UNC Chapel Hill, URochester	CODESRIA, WAMP	Queen's U Ontario, University College	Brookings Inst., Smithsonian
1991-92	Same as prev. yr.		Harvard U, Johns Hopkins SUNY Binghamton, Tufts, UColorado, UMichigan, UNC-CH	CODESRIA	Same as prev. yr.	
1992-93	Same as prev. yr.		Harvard, Johns Hopkins SUNY Binghamton, Tufts, UColorado UNC Chapel Hill	Same as prev. yr.	U Laval, Quebec Wageningen Agr U, The Netherlands	Centre for the St African Economi (Oxford)
1993-94	Same as prev. yr.		Harvard, Southern Methodist U, Tufts, UKentucky, UNC Chapel Hill	Same as prev. yr.	Same as prev. yr.	
1994-95	Same as prev. yr.		Same as previous year.	Same as prev. yr.	Same as prev. yr.	
1995-96	Same as prev. yr.		Same as previous year.	Same as prev. yr.	Same as prev. yr.	

One can always identify the occasional individual whose networks straddle two or more W*orlds* of African studies. Therefore the issue of absence/exclusion is posed here in institutional terms in order to shed light on the assumptions and exclusionary consequences of practices involved in bounding the academic mainstream. Because of the strategic role played by the SSRC in the development of area studies as far back as the 1940s, the universities represented on its various Joint Committees map the ecology of each region's academic high ground. The absence of HBCUs from the Council's African Area Studies landscape became part of a process that transformed what were once permeable lines of differentiation into walls of separation. Opportunities for the kinds of formative interactions that the young Herskovits had with senior scholars at Howard in the 1920s and 1930s were indeed rare by the 1980s. Missed opportunities in the wake of this disconnect remain a matter for speculation. Yet ironically, the consequences of separate development may have been more liberating than deleterious for the field of African Diaspora Studies.

When Historian Joseph E. Harris convened the First African Diaspora Studies Institute (FADSI) at Howard University in 1979, the JCAS was preparing to launch its research overview papers. Postmodernism and a new post-colonial paradigm were beginning to drive much of the theoretically oriented work in the humanities. And rational choice theory had found an opening through the social sciences in Africa. However Harris' project was more empirically grounded. Participants in the FADSI were invited to consider the meanings, relevance and location of boundaries as diasporas impinge on the economies, politics, and social relations of both homeland and the host country or area.[118] Papers presented at that inaugural session were published in 1982 in Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora, edited by Harris.[119] This seminal volume – with case studies from Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas – laid the groundwork for a reevaluation of the dispersion of Africans across the globe. Its co-authors treat these diasporas as dynamic and push us to think about Africa and its population movements in relational terms. The Second African Studies Diaspora Institute (SADSI) met in Kenya in 1981 with a mostly African audience. What SADSI did was to reach out and link that way of thinking about Africa's population movements – i.e., in dynamic, relational terms – to continental African scholars.[120]

Situating FADSI's genesis squarely in the *World* of Diasporic PanAfricanist scholars, Harris explains the intellectual roots of African diaspora studies as follows:

> African-American social scientists and humanists have had at the core of their research on Africa and blacks generally … the motivation to change the way of thinking about both. That motivation linked the black or African world to the struggle for human rights. Thus most university educate African-American scholars have employed research concepts and methodologies to discover and present "the facts" … [in order] to educate and thus bring about change through another way of understanding. This commitment expressed itself in pan-African approaches to the study of Africa and led to the evolution of the diaspora concept. … Hansberry, Rayford Logan, Bunche and others conveyed this in their teaching and research at Howard University.[121]

Two years after the publication of Global Dimensions, sociologist Ruth Simms Hamilton and historian Leslie Rout, Jr. co-founded the African Diaspora Research Program (ADRP) at Michigan State University. This project enlarged the purview of Africa diaspora studies with a model that incorporates in-depth comparative historical analysis into a conceptualization of the African diaspora as a global social formation. Four intersecting components frame the ADRP's approach to the analysis of global identity formation: 1) geosocial mobility and displacement, 2) Africa-diaspora-homeland connections, 3) relations of dominance and subordination, and 4) cultural production and endurance.[122]. This formulation marked a major departure from the longstanding legacy of Herskovits' research program on African retentions in the New World, and his emphasis on links to West Africa.[123] The former orientation had relied heavily on work in cultural anthropology, history, and the visual and performing arts. By fostering researcher on modes of dispersion other than slavery, and by emphasizing the global sociological dynamics of the African diaspora, the ADRP spurred interest in contemporary economic, social and political realities. What's more, institutionalized African Diaspora Studies took root at Michigan State alongside one of the original Title VI African Studies Center – creating opportunities for synergism.[124]

Harris and Simms Hamilton are major figures in the *World* of Diasporic PanAfricanist scholars. Both attended HBCUs: Harris, a product of Howard, studied with Hansberry; Simms went to Taladega College, where there was no focus on Africa.[125] Both found their way to Northwestern as doctoral students in the early 1960s: Harris went there to specialize in African History, Simms Hamilton's initial interest was mainstream Sociology. Exposure to the *World* of African Area Studies at Northwestnern led her to enroll in African Studies courses, including language study, and to eventually do dissertation fieldwork on urban sociology in Ghana. Harris broke new ground in 1971 with the publication of The African Presence in Asia,[126] an examination of the East African slave trade to Asia. He then broadened his research agenda to include two-way migration patterns – particularly emphasizing the trajectories of voluntary population movement by African origin peoples around the globe. Simms Hamilton's forray into African Studies from a disciplinary base anticipated developments that would be promoted as "new" in the 1990s.[127] Her role as Director of the ADRP, has involved overseeing a program that trains scholars in African Diaspora Studies, promotes scholarship on the African diaspora, and facilitates curriculum enrichment. The ADRP publishes Connexões, a newsletter that is distributed to more than 50 countries in Europe, Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

The launch of the Howard Institute, of Michigan State's ADRP, as well as the publication of Yale art historian Robert Farris Thompson's Flash of the Spirit (1983) were part of the same critical moment. [128] These projects – grounded in the study of Africa – sowed the seeds for a renaissance in African Diaspora Studies. With frames of analysis that elicit thick description in tandem with comparative and interpretive work, each in its own way operates on assumption that linkages tying the diaspora to Africa must be articulated and are not inevitable.[129] Farris Thompson's pioneering text – which documents the richness of detail and moral wisdom of Yoruba, Bakongo, Fon, Mende and Ejagham art and philosophy, and examines their fusion with other elements overseas – pointed the way for diaspora studies to look more closely at ethnicity and cultural identities *within* Africa.[130]

Today, the networks of scholars growing out of these stirrings in African Diaspora Studies generally differ in several important ways from those fostered by the traditional African Area Studies model: The HBCUs are recognized as major sites of activity, scholars of Africa North as well as South of the Sahara are part of the mix, and pride of place is given to specialists in local/global linkages – regardless of whether they are trained as Africanists. Take, for example, Ronald Walters, a leading specialist in African-American Politics who served as Head of Howard University's Political Science Department for more than a decade before moving to the University of Maryland in the 1990s. Walters followed Farris Thompson as Chair of the SSRC's short-lived Committee on African American Societies and Cultures – the post-Montreal Committee that was phased out in 1972. His PanAfricanism in the African Diaspora (1993) is framed around a central question: *What forces drive people of African descent to continue identifying with the source of their origin?*[131] In this work, the *linkages* between Africa and its diasporas – real and imaginary – are the unit of analysis. Surveying the politics of cultural mobilization in the U.S., the Caribbean, and Britain, Walters weaves together many local stories of African legacies and their reinvention in the cause of political empowerment and community development. This is clearly not a book that would fit the rubric of African Area Studies. Nor was it meant to be.

However, a millennial year article by Harvard historian Emmanuel Akyeampong written to mark the hundredth anniversary of the Royal African Society, declares that it is time to "rethink the boundaries of African Studies as well as the definition of who is an African."[132] Arguing that the late 20th century has given rise to "a unique African who straddles continents, worlds and cultures" he characterizes today's world of globalized capital and culture as terrain where Africa and its diaspora "exist in a closer physical union than in any previous period."[133]

Following this logic, the metamorphosis of identity has emerged as a prominent theme in diaspora studies in general, and African Diaspora Studies in particular.[134] Indeed, some of the most inspired scholarship in the field examines processes of identity transformation over time. Michael Gomez's Changing Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South (1998) is an extraordinary achievement in this regard. Gomez, an anthropologist with strong interdisciplinary training – especially in history – has mined the wealth of data now available thanks largely to some 70 years of African Area Studies scholarship to produce a work that emphasizes the crucial role played by slaves' African background in the determination of African-American identity. Consider his sources: secondary literature on North American slavery and the transatlantic slave trade, anthropological theory on the acculturative process, historical and anthropological studies on West and Central Africa, and

a corpus of primary materials consisting of runaway slave advertisements from southern newspapers.[135] The result is an historical account of the ethnogenesis of African-American identity in Charleston, South Carolina that is impressive in its breadth eclectic in its methodological sophistication.

Revisiting the Herskovits/Frazier debate and the methodologies that informed their divergent positions, Gomez builds on, and discards, aspects of both. Acknowledged is the enduring contribution made by Herskovits' use of the comparative analytical approach to New World slave societies as he sought to validate the thesis of African cultural survivals. But Gomez rejects Herskovits' conclusion that in the few cases where Africanisms persisted in the U. S., they were "almost never directly referable to a specific tribe or definite areas."[136] Gomez then embraces Frazier's view that the debate should turn on an analysis of the organization and functions of the black family in America and the social conditions that shaped them. But he dismisses Frazier's conclusion that the conditions of life in the U. S. destroyed the significance of the slaves' African heritage.

In the end, facets of conceptual and methodological approaches pioneered by both Herskovits and Frazier made it possible to recover the cultural, political, and social background of regions in Africa directly affected by the slave trade, and to show how a distinct African American cultural identity emerged through a process of forging family life under the difficult conditions of slavery. Gomez's treatment of ethnicity – based on scholarship that was not available to Herskovits or Frazier – provides traction for explaining the resilience of African cultures in the New World. His development of a methodology for examining continuity through the lens of ethnicity is a major contribution to research on cultural survivals – a topic that has found new audiences through the resurgence of diaspora studies.

It is well to remember that Melville Herskovits devoted a lifelong research program to African cultural survivals in the New World – in short, African Diaspora Studies. However the area studies model that emerged in the aftermath of World War II moved the diaspora from the center to the periphery of the new African Studies canon. Ironically, even the African Studies Association took the position that books about Africa's diasporas would not be eligible for its prestigious Herskovits Prize. This paradox was finally put to rest with the selection of Judith Carney's Black Rice[137] as a co-winner of the 2002 Herskovits Prize. Carney, a geographer, treats rice production in West Africa as an indigenous knowledge system that was transferred to different parts of the Americas. Detailing how African slaves from the rice cultivating regions of Senegambia used their knowledge to develop productive systems of rice cultivation in several different environments, she offers "an analysis of technology transfer that recognizes the central and innovative role of African slaves." Black Rice is a model diaspora history that links what Africans did to what African-Americans did. It is a powerful book.

Bringing the diaspora(s) back in is opening up the study of Africa in exciting new ways. It is giving rise to a host of new sites of intellectual activity in which scholars are variously theorizing African diasporas; collaborating around major research agendas; doing all manner of innovative, interdisciplinary, comparative research; reading each others' work; engaging each other in debates; and either envisaging, launching or strengthening research institutes. Beyond Europe, the New World, and Asia, contemporary studies of African diasporas stretch into Indian Ocean societies, the Islamic world, and virtual spaces.[138] For example, the Afro-diasporic

historian Robin D.J. Kelley has teamed up with historian Tiffany Ruby Patterson in a highly ambitious project that treats the African diaspora as a unit of analysis in a larger process of migrations in world history.[139] Their goal: to move beyond narratives of displacement and launch a research agenda for the new millennium, conceptualized in terms of Black globality and its connections to other forms of internationalism.[140] In a paper presented at the 1999 annual meeting of the ASA, Kelley and Patterson mapped out a conceptual framework that emphasizes

1) the historical construction of the African diaspora;
2) the development of a disaporic identity and its social, cultural, and political manifestations;
3) the contributions of black migrant/colonial intellectuals to rethinking the modern West;
4) and the continual reinvention of Africa and the diaspora through cultural work, migrations, transformations in communications, as well as the globalization of capital. [141]
5) To this list I would add a fifth – introspective – connection to globality:the construction (by Africans) of imaginary "spaces" associated with areas outside of Africa that become part of extraverted strategies for personal mobility and betterment.

This last category evokes the notion of virtual diasporas – i.e., spaces where one can access personalized channels within global markets, or be "wired" into Western culture without permanently leaving the homeland. It directs attention to a particular kind of response to economic globalization and cultural marginalization – one that is anchored in the realm of the imagination yet extends into the socio-cultural and economic empowerment strategies of daily life. These virtual diasporas are rendered palpably real in work such as economic historian Yvette Djachechi Monga's article, "Dollars and Lipstick: The United States through the Eyes of African Women."[142] Here, she details the ways in which the varying strata of Cameroonian women in her research are able to "redefine or symbolically reinvent their lives" by appropriating certain signs of American culture.[143] Strategies run the gamut from investing in the future by arranging to give birth in the United States to children who will become American citizens, to buying made-in-America beauty products through reliable trading networks that can authenticate the source. According to Djachechi Monga, the United States becomes a "vessel" into which these women "pour their dreams."[144]

At the dawn of a new millenium we find that widening networks of diaspora scholars are straddling the various *Worlds* of African Studies, making connections across continents or across racial divides. Michael Gomez is one of many examples: An African-American Africanist who studied with Joseph Harris at Howard,[145] he held positions at historically black Spelman College and the University of Georgia at Athens before to moving to New York University, where he joined a stellar group of African diaspora scholars that includes the Africanist historian Fredrick Cooper[146] and Afro-diasporic historian Robin D.J. Kelley. At an institutional level, there are stirrings that hold the promise of breathing new life into the 1981 SADSI initiative, which earlier resulted in the introduction of a scattering of courses on the African Diaspora at the Universities of Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi. In an essay entitled "Imagining PanAfricansim in the 21st Century," Zeleza proposes the establishment of African Diaspora Studies centers at African universities. Such centers would further alter the conventional boundaries of African Studies as scholars in Africa undertake research and teaching about Africans and people of African descent who straddle continents, worlds and cultures. These centers might also serve as bridges for linking African scholars and black scholars in the diaspora in a common intellectual project.

Zeleza promotes such collaboration as a way to begin redressing the hegemony of white male scholars in the production of Africanist knowledge. [147]

As new directions in diaspora research further problematize our conventional notions about geographic boundaries and point to the effects of globalization processes on all facets of life, the institutional landscape of African studies in the U.S. is changing as well. Hence we are witnessing the launch of 21st century research centers related to Africa yet different from the Title VI centers in their various missions and geographical reach. For instance, the University of Maryland's Driskell Center for the Study of the African Diaspora, established in 2001, is committed to scholarly endeavors that promote "a full understanding of African and African-American life." To this end it will encourage research that is inter- and multi-disciplinary, and that bridges the humanities, performing and visual arts, and social sciences. The start up of UCLA's Globalization Research Center-Africa (GRCA) in 2002 signals yet another departure from the conventional area studies model. GRACA will foster research on the impact of global forces on African societies, on the influence of African societies on globalization processes, and on cross-national and cross-cultural comparisons of global processes as they relate to Africa. The founding directors of both these centers – Eileen Julien at Maryland and Edmond Keller at UCLA – are African Area Studies specialists whose long records of scholarship and intellectual activism straddle three *Worlds* of African Studies.[148] Zeleza, who is involving Champaign-Urbana's African Studies Center in the project of institutional transformation at universities in Africa, advocates the development of PanAfricanist networks that "consciously cross the various boundaries of scholarly production and communication" to engage burning issues related to Africa wherever they are raised. [149]

Thus we have come full circle. Research agendas that highlight the contributions of black migrants and colonial intellectuals to the making of the modern West, or that explore the ways in which African societies influence globalization processes, are framing alternatives to the assumption of Africa's marginality. Diaspora studies and research on globalization are bringing to light new understandings of present-day Africa. And some of the work being done in these fields is contributing to epistemological shifts in the study of Africa as a scientific discipline. In spite of these trends, however, who validates knowledge about Africa remains a point of contention.[150]

Whether African diaspora(s) studies or studies of globalization will emerge as sites for connecting the various *Worlds* of African studies remains an open question. Whatever the case, the best scholarship on Africa will continue to emerge from context sensitive research rooted in the specificities of the region's diverse and varied cultural, political, socioeconomic, and gender realities. The era of Cold War area studies has ended. But the contributions of research in Africa to the disciplines and to more practically-driven policy issues are ongoing. Meanwhile, explaining and framing alternatives to Africa's present-day marginality remains a fundamental mission of African studies.

-- Endnotes --

1 V.Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 6.

2 Title VI of the National Defense and Education Act established area studies centers with funding from the US Department of Education.

3 Mahmood Mamdani, "Statement to the Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, 13 March 1998," p. 14, in Mahmood Mamdani, Martin Hall, Nadia Hartman and Johann Graff, *Teaching Africa: The Curriculum Debate at UCT* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town, Center for African Studies, 1998).

4 Mamdani, "Is African Studies to be Turned into a New Home for Bantu Education at UCT?" Seminar on the Africa Core of the Foundation Course for the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, in Mamdani *et al*, *Teaching Africa*, p. 46.

5 Mamdani, "Statement to the Faculty," p. 14.

6 Mamdan's proposal would have structured the curriculum in terms of key dataqtes. He argued that the course developed by his UCT colleagues implied that Africa had no social history before the presence of the White man on the continent, revealed an ignorance of scholarly debates in the equatorial African academy, and used a textbook informed by debates in the North American academy. These points were addressed and refuted by UCT Professors Martin Hall and Johann Graaff, who accused Mamdani of putting too much emphasis on the political agenda in the production of knowledge at the expense of empirical evidence in reconstructing the African past. They argued that "very few students come to university wiwth an empirical basis for understanding their common humanity, or with a sense of history through the full range of time and space." See Martin Hall, "Teaching Africa at the post-Apartheid University of Cape Town: a response," in *Teaching Africa*, p. 27; and Johann Graaf, "Pandering to Pedagogy or consumed by content: Brief thoughts on Mahmood Mamdani's 'Teaching Africa at the post-apartheid University of Cape Town,'" pp. 51-56.

7 Institutional racism, as distinct from individual racism, lays the blame on processes, legacies, and patterns that flow from established conventions and may operate at a subconscious level.

8 Robert H. Bates, "Letter from the President: Area Studies and the Discipline," *APSA-CP Newsletter*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Winter 1996), pp. 1-2.

9 Specifically, Bates wrote that "…within the academy, the consensus has formed that area studies has failed to generate scientific knowledge." See Bates, "Letter from the President," p. 1.

10 Robert Bates, V.Y. Mudimbe, and Jean O'Barr, eds., *Africa and the Disciplines: The Contributions of Research in Africa to the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

11 Matt O'Keefe, "Emerging Africa: Coming to terms with an overlooked continent," *Harvard Magazine* (March – April1999), Vol. 101, No. 4, p. 62.

12 Ife Amadiume, *Male daughters, female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society* (London and New Jersey: Zed Books, 1987), pp. 2.

13 Amadiume, *Male Daughters*, Preface, pp. 1-10.

14 Citing Maurice Godelier in 1987, Amadiume reports that there could be as many as 10,000 societies, of which anthropologists had studied between 700 and 800.

15 Regarding feminist scholars who support the theory that maternal and domestic roles account for the universal subordination of women, Amadiume references M.Z. Rosaldo, "Women, Culture and Society: a Theoretical Overview," P.R. Sanday, "Female Status in the Public Domain," N. Chodorow, "Family Structure and Feminine Personality," and S. B. Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" all in M.Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere, eds., *Women, Culture and Society* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1974) .

16 Amadiume, *Male Daughters*, Conclusion, p. 191.

17 Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa*, p. xi).

18 See the discussion of hegemony in Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, ed. and trans., *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (New York: International Publishers, 1971).

19 Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa*, pp. x-xi).

20 Horace Mann Bond, *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania* (Lincoln University, PA: Lincoln University, 1976), pp. 494-5.

21 W.E. Burghardt Dubois, "Of the Training of Black Men," *The Atlantic Monthly* 90 , No. DXXXIX (September 1902): 292. See also, Joe M. Richardson, *A History of Fisk University, 1865-1964*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1980).

22 Edward Blyden, *Liberia's Offering* (New York: J. A. Gary, 1862), *Liberia: Past, Present and Future* (Washington City: M'Gill & Witherow printers,, 1869); *The Negro in Ancient History* (Washington City: McGill & Witherow printers, 1869); *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race* (London: W. B. Whittingham & Co, 1888); and *Africa and Africans* (London: C.M. Phillips, 1903).

23 Joseph E. Harris, "Profile of a Pioneer Africanist," in Harris, ed., *Pillars in Ethiopian History: The William Leo Hansberry African History Notebook*, Volume I (Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 1974), pp. 4-18.

24 Leo Hansberry cited by Harris, ed., *Pillars of Ethiopian History*, pp. 9-10.

25 Three offerings formed the core: Negro Peoples in the Culture and Civilizations of Prehistoric and Proto-Historic Times, Ancient Civilizations of Ethiopia, and The Civilization of West Africa in Medieval and Early Modern Times.

26 Ralph Bunche taught at Howard University from 1928 – 1941. He joined the faculty. in 1928 upon receiving his MA from Harvard and established Howard's Political Science Departmjent. He completed his Ph.D. in 1934.

27 In Benjamin Rivlin, ed., *Ralph Bunche: The Man and His Times* (New York and London: Homes & Meier, 1990), the following chapters are especially instructive on Bunche's career as an Africanist scholar: Nathan Irvin Huggins, "Ralph Bunche the Africanist pp. 69-82; Lawrence S. Finkelstein, "Bunche and the Colonial World: From Trusteeship to Decolonization," pp. 110-113; Charles P. Henry, "Civil Rights and National Security: The case of Ralph Bunche," pp. 51-53; and Martin Kilson, "Ralph Bunche's Analytical Perspective on African Development," pp. 83-95.

28 Charles P. Henry, *Ralph Bunche: Model Negro or American Other?* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1999).

29 Harris, *Pillars of Ethiopian History*, p. 24.

30 In the 1930s, Bunche was part of a remarkable groups of black scholars at Howard known as the Young Turks: Alaine Locke, E. Franklin Frazier, Sterling Brown, Abram Harris, Charles Houston and William Hastie. These were men of exceptional intellect and academic credentials who, except for racism, would have had appointments at major research universities. Prolific scholars and leftists, they were the epitome of DuBois' "talented tenth."

31 Lincoln's founding mission included the training of Africans and African-Americans who would become part of the governing elite in the new Republic of Liberia and work with the Presbytery of West Africa. The first African student enrolled in Lincoln in 1857; he came from Liberia. In its first hundred years, Lincoln graduated 159 African students. They came from Liberia (39), South Africa (22), Nigeria (58), Sierra Leone (18), the Gold Coast (14), Kenya (3), and one each from Ethiopia, French Cameroun, Gabon, South West Africa, and Uganda.

32 Explaining why he moved from Howard to Lincoln, Azikiwe recounts that in contrast to Howard, Lincoln had a reputation for training people who would "minister to the needs of Africa" by involving themselves with operations on the ground. Bond, *Education for Freedom*, pp. 499-50.

33 Kwame Nkrumah became Prime Minister and then President of Ghana, which gained its independence in 1957. In 1960, when Nigeria attained independence, Nnamdi Azikiwe became its first President.

34 The Negro in History: This course … considers, first, the anthropological and ethnological background of the Negro; second, the part played by the Negroid races in Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia, India, and Arabia; third, the role of the Negro in medieval times in Songhai, Ghuna, Melle, etc.; and fourth, the contemporary Negro in Africa, the West Indies, Latin America, and the United States. Instructor, Mr. Azikiwe. *Lincoln University Herald*, 1933-34, p. 46.

35 This course was cross-listed and open to the men of neighboring Morehouse College, *Annual Catalogue 1933-34*, pp. 81-82.

36 W.E.B. DuBois, *Black Folk Then and Now: An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939). Prior to the publication of *Black Folk*, the basic text was Carter G. Woodson, *The African Background Outlines or Handbook for the Study of the Negro* (Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1936).

37 DuBois, *Black Folk: Then and Now*, Preface to the 1975 edition (Millwood, NY: Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd.), p. vii. DuBois wrote the manuscript while a Professor of Sociology at Atlanta University, an HBC specializing in graduate studies.

38 Edward A. McDowell, Jr., cited by Herbert Aptheker, "Introduction," to DuBois, *Black Folk: Then and Now*, 1975 edition, p. 14.

39 Melville J. Herskovits, "The Negro in the New World: The Statement of a Problem," *American Anthropologist* New Series, Vol. 32, No. 1 (January – March 1930): 45-155.

40 Herskovits, "The Negro in the New World," p. 150.

41 Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958), p. 32.

42 Herskovits, "The Negro in the New World," p. 150.

43 Alain Locke, "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts," in Alain Locke, ed., *The New Negro: An Interpretation* (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925), p. 254.

44 Herskovits, "Americanism," in Alaine Locke, ed., *The New Negro*, p359. See also, M. J. Herskovits, "Acculturation and the American Negro," *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*. 8 (1927), 211-225.

45 Herskovits details how he came to reverse his position on the significance of African retentions in *The Myth*, pp. 6-7 and Chapter I, footnote 10, pp. 300-301.

46 Herskovits, "The Negro in the New World," pp. 145-156.

47 Alaine Lock, "The New Negro," pp. 3-4.

48 Hansberry received a BA degree from Harvard in 1921 and a Harvard MA in 1932.

49 In 1953 he became a Fulbright Research Scholar and spent a year doing fieldwork in Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia.

50 Dunham had been a trusted advisor to Hansberry since his undergraduate days at Harvard. He sought advice about whether being black might disqualify him from joining an expedition to Egypt being planned by the English Egyptologist F.L. Griffeth. See Harris, *Pillars*, p. 12-14.

51 Dows Dunham, quoted in Harris, "Pioneer Africanist," p. 13.

52 Edward Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939)

53 Charles Henry, *Bunche*, p. 60.

54 Huggins, "Bunche the Africanist," in Rivilin, *Ralph Bunche*, p. 72.

55 Dubois, *Black Folk*, Millwood edition, p. vii.

56 Following a program worked out with the SSRC, Bunche traveled to Northwestern to study with Herskovits, to the London School of Economics to study with Bronislaw Malinowski, and to Capetown University to study with Isaac Shapera. See Henry, *Ralph Bunche*, p. 75.

57 Jane I. Guyer, *African Studies in the United States: A Perspective* (Atlanta: African Studies Association Press, 1996).

58 In the traditional division of labor, anthropology focused on "primitive peoples," while Oriental studies were the domain of non-Western "high civilizations." Traditional ethnography sought to reconstitute or preserve knowledge of pristine cultures, and critics of Orientalism point to a presumption that non-Western civilizations are incapable of autonomous modernization. See Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Unintended Consequences of Cold War Area Studies," in Noam Chomsky, *et al, Cold War and the University: Toward an Intellectual History of the Postwar Years* (New York: New Press, 1997), pp. 198-199.

59 Mudimbe, *Invention of Africa*. For another powerful critique, see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

60 Guyer, *African Studies*, p. 5

61 Much of the discussion of the institutional expansion of African Studies programs in the U.S. is based on Adelaide Cromwell Hill, "African Studies Programs in The United States," in Vernon McKay, ed., *Africa in the United States* (new York: Macfadden-Bartell Corp., Student Edition, 1967, p. 65-88.

62 Harris, *Pillars of Ethiopian History*, Ch. 1 - Profile of a Pioneer Africanist, pp. 3-30.

63 The OCI later became the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), which was the precursor to the CIA.

64 Bond, *Education for Freedom*, p. 507.

65 For an in-depth view of Bunche's extensive South Africa contacts, see *An African-American in South Africa: the travel notes of Ralph J. Bunche, 28 September 1937 – 1 January 1938*, ed. By Robert Edjar (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992). Bunche published four scholarly articles on colonial Africa and nationalist responses: "French Educational Policy in Togo and Dahomey," *Journal of Negro Education* 3/1 (January 1934); "French and British Imperialism in West Africa," *Journal of Negro History* 21/1 (January 1936); "The Land Equation in Kenya Colony," *Journal of Negro History* (24/1 (January 1939); and "The Irua Ceremony Among the Kikuyu of Kiamba District, Kenya," *Journal of Negro History* 26/1 (January1941).

66 Economists Charles Hitch and Emile Dupres, Russian expert Gerald Robinson, China expert Burton Faho, historians Conyers Read and Hajo Halborn, South American agent Maurice Halperin, and German expert Herbert Marcuse.

67 Henry, *Ralph Bunche*, p. 124.

68 Henry, *Ralph Bunche*, p. 126.

69 Conyers Read to William Langer, October 29, 1942, Bunche Papers, cited in Henry, *Ralph Bunche*, p.127.

70 SSRC, Committee on World Regions, *World Regions in the Social Sciences; Report of a Committee of the Social Science Research Council* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 143), pp. 1-2, cited in Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Unintended Consequences of Cold War Area Studies," p. 195.

71 Among the early advocates of the Cold War shift in regional priorities was Harvard University's Committee on Educational Policy. See *Report of the Subcommittee on Language and International Affairs*, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, November 12, 1945, cited in Wallerstein, "Unintended Consequences," pp. 201-202.

72 Robert B. Hall, *Area Studies: With Special Reference to Their Implications for Research in the Social Sciences* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 19467), pp. 17-18, cited by Wallerstein, "Unintended Consequences," pp. 199-200.

73 Hall, *Area Studies*, pp. 82-83, quoted in Wallerstein, "Unintended Consequences," pp. 203-204.

74 Charles Wagley, *Area Research and Training: A Conference Report on the Study of World Areas*, No. 6 (New York: SSRC, June 1948), cited in Wallerstein, "Unintended Consequences," p. 205.

75 The FAFP was created to support American graduate students and to facilitate doctoral and post-doctoral field research opportunities.

76 Elbridge Silbey, *Social Science Research Council: The First Fifty Years*, pp.98-99.

77 William O. Brown, a sociologist and specialist on African affairs at the US State Department, became the first Director of the new Boston University program. E. Franklin Frazier was named Director of the Program at Howard. From 1953 to the early 1970s, BU received nearly $1.2 million from the Ford Foundation for its African Studies Program. By contrast, Howard University received a total of $70,000 from 1954 to 1962.

78 Wendall Clark Benett, *Area Studies in American Universities* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1951).

79 Joint committees for Japan (1967), Korea (1967) and Eastern Europe (1971) were established after the Joint Committee on African Studies.

80 David E. Apter, "Preface," Northwestern University 1955, in *Ghana in Transition* (New York: Atheum, 1963), p. iii.

81 C. S. Whitaker, Jr., *The Politics of Tradition: Continuity and Change in Northern Nigeria 1946-1966* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 3.

82 C. S. Whitaker, Jr., "Foreword," in Pearl T. Robinson and Elliott P Skinner, eds., *Transformation and Resiliency in Africa* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1983), p. ix.

83 Although the rational choice modelers predict victory, the paradigm has generated a host of critics. See Bates' challenge in the *APSA-CP Newsletter*, as well as Jon Elster, "Rational Choice History: A Case of Excessive Ambition," *APSR* (September 2000), and Robert H. Bates, "The Analytic Narrative Project," *APSR* (September 2000).

84 Guyer, *African Studies in the United States*, p. 5. See also, Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Unintended Consequences of Cold War Area Studies."

85 Department of State, *Guidelines for Policy and Operations, Africa*, March 1962, Secret, declassified 5/7/76, p, 1.

86 Department of State, *Guidelines 1962*, p. 5

87 Department of State, *Guidelines 1962*, p. 21.

88 Department of State, *Guidelines 1962*, p. 35.

89 Wallerstein, "Unintended Consequences."

90 Data on all SSRC International Doctoral Research Fellowships (not just those for study in Africa) from 1965 to 2000 (N=540) show substantial fluctuations in the disciplinary mix, with economics and political science receiving smaller percentages of the awards today than they did in the 1960s; anthropology and economics in 1965 received roughly equal shares, while two decades later anthropology's proportion had increased substantially, while that of economics had declined. It appears that shares awarded to anthropology and history were inversely related, which may be a result of shifts in review committee composition. See Angelique Hjaugerud and Wendy Cadge, "Forging Links Between Disciplines and Area Studies," in the SSRC's *Items & Issues*, vol. 2, no. 1-2, summer 2001, figure 1 on p. 9.

91 The African Heritage Studies Association is an autonomous association catering to people of African descent. The Association of Concerned Africa Scholars functions as an activist caucus within the ASA.

92 *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* began publication in 1971.

93 I was one of a critical mass of African-American scholars who benefited from an MEAFP awards. Several from my cohort have provided extraordinary service to the field of African Studies as well as to their respective disciplines. Three have served as Directors of African Studies Centers (Edmond Keller at UCLA, Sheila Walker at the University of Texas -Austin; and Gwendolyn Mikell at Georgetown). Two are past presidents of the ASA (Keller and Mikell). Mikell is also the Senior Fellow for Africa at the Council on Foreign Relations and was the founding president of the Association of African Anthropologists. Keller is the founding director of UCLA's Globalization Research Center-Africa. Ernest J. Wilson III is Director of the Center for International Development and Conflict Management at the University of Maryland and a past director of the University of Michigan's Center for Research on Economic Development.

94 SSRC annual reports for the 1970s.

95 Peter Ekeh, "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17 (1975); 91-112, and Mamadou Diouf and Mahmood Mamdani , eds., *Academic Freedom in Africa*. (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1994).

96 Guyer, *African Studies in the United States*, pp. 6-7.

97 Elliott P. Skinner, *African Urban Life: The Transformation of Ouagadougou* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. vii.

98 Immanual Wallerstein, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

99 Wallerstein, *Modern World System*, p. 11.

100 Guyer, *African Studies in the United States*, p. 7.

101 An energetic advocate of the Humanities thrust was JCAS member Ivan Karp, curator of African ethnology at the Smithsonian, who, together with Charles Bird, convinced Indiana University Press to launch a new series on African Systems of Thought.

102 V.Y. Mudimbe, "African Gnosis: Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge," *African Studies Review* 23(2/3), June/September, 1986, pp. 149-233.

103 See introductory quote at the start of this article.

104 See, for example, Kwame Anthony Appiah, "The Postcolonial and The Postmodern," in *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), Ch. 5, pp. 137-157; and Achilles Mbembe, "Provisional Notes on the Postcolony," *Africa* 62, 1 (1992): 3-7; Paulin Hountoundji, *African Philosophy: Myth and Reality* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983) and Appiah's *In My Father's House* won the ASA's Herskovits Prize in 1984 and 1993, respectively.

105 In this regard, the contrast with the 1970s, when the Joint Committee's relationship to African scholars was framed in terms of a rescue operation, is most striking.

106 See, for example, Mahmood Mamdani, "A Glimpse at African Studies, Made in USA," *CODESRIA Bulletin* (Number 2, 1990): 7-10; and Oyekan Owomoyela, "With Friends Like These…A Critique of Pervasive Anti-Africanisms in Current African Studies Epistemology and Methodology," *African Studies Review* 37/3 (December 1994): 77-101.

107 M. Crawford Young, *The Politics of Cultural Pluralism* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 197x and I. William Zartman, ed., *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1995).

108 Paul Collier, "Africa and the Study of Economics," Ch. 2 in Bates et al, *Africa and the Disciplines*, p. 58.

109 Margaret Strobel, *Muslim Women in Mombasa, 1890-1975* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979); Claire C. Robertson, *Sharing the same bowl? A socioeconomic history of women and class in Accra, Ghana* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984); Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); and Henrietta L. Moore and Megan Vaughn, *Cutting Down Trees: Gender, Nutrition, and Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1890-1990* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, Londn: James Currey, Lusaka: University of Zambia, 1994).

110 Gwendolyn Mikell, ed., *African Feminism: The Politics of Survival in Sub-Saharan Africa*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), Introduction, p. 1.

111 Aili Mari Tripp, *Women and Politics in Uganda* (Oxford: James Currey, Kampala: Fountain Publishers and Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), p. xxiii.

112 Tiyambe Zeleza, *A Modern Economic History of Africa, Volume 1: The Nineteenth Century* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1993).

113 The journals are *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *African Studies Review*, *Research in African Literatures*, *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, and *Journal of African History*.

114 Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, *Manufacturing African Studies and Crises*, Ch. 4., "Trends and Inequalities in the Production of Africanist Knowledge," p. 61.

115 Zeleza has managed to negotiate these power hierarchies in his own professional life by tacking back-and-forth between Africa, the Caribbean, Canada and the US, and by refusing to publish his scholarly work in Western outlets.

116 I thank Joseph Harris for insisting on the importance of this development. (Personal communication with the author, 10 July 2002.)

117 The records show several instances of individuals at HBCUs being brought in to serve on various screening panels or fellowship selection committees.

118 Joseph E. Harris, "The dynamics of the global African diaspora," in Alusine Jalloh and Stephen E. Maizlish, eds., *The African Diaspora* (Arlington, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 1996), p. 7.

119 Joseph E. Harris, ed., *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1982).

120 One result was the establishment of courses on the African diaspora at the Universities orf Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi. Joseph Harris, personal communication with author, 10 July 2002.

121 Joseph E. Harris, personal communication, 10 July 2002.

122 Ruth Simms Hamilton, ed., *Routes of Passage: Rethinking the African Diaspora*, "(Michigan State University Press, forthcoming); and Simms Hamilton, "Toward a Conceptualization of Modern Diasporas: Exploring Contours of African Diaspora Social Identity Formation," in H. Eric Schockman, Eui-Young Yu, and Kay Songs, eds., *Contemporary Diasporas: A Focus on Asian Pacifics*, University of Southern California, The Center for Multiethnic and Transnational Studies Occasional Paper Series (Monograph Paper No. 3, Vol. II, 1997)..

123 Melville J. Herskovits, "The Significance of West Africa for Negro Research," *Journal of Negro History* 21/1 (January 1936): 15-30..

124 The African Diaspora Research Project, *A Report on Progress, 1986-1993*.

125 Joseph Harris attended Howard University, where he was a student of Leo Hansberry. Ruth Hamilton is a graduate of Talladega College in Talladega, Alabama.

126 Joseph E. Harris, *The African Presence in Asia: Consequences of the East African slave trade* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1971).

127 The International Predissertation Fellowship Program (IPFP) was an effort to forge stronger links between disciplines and area studies for students pursuing field research in "developing" nations. With funding from The Ford Foundation, the SSRC awarded nearly 350 training fellowships to students from 23 eligible U.S. universities between 19891 – 2000. The program also sponsored workshops and conferences. See "Haugerud and Cadge, "Forging Links Between Disciplines and Area Studies," pp. 8-10.

128 Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983).

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130 Patterson and Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations," p. 16.

131 Ronald Walters, *PanAfricanism in the African Diaspora: An Analysis of Modern AfroCentric Movements* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993).

132 Emmanuel Akyeampong, "Africans in the Diaspora: The Diaspora and Africa," *African Affairs*, 99 (2000), p. 213.

133 Akyeampong, "Africans in the Diaspora," p. 188.

134 Patterson and Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations," pp. 19-24.

135 Announcements of runaway slaves frequently assigned ethnic identities. Gomez was able to roughly match overall patterns of slave importation with references to specific individuals and communities. Michael Gomez, *Exchanging our Country Marks: The transformation of African identities in the colonial and antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

136 Herskovits, cited in Gomez, *Country Marks*, Ch. 1.

137 Judith Carney, *Black Rice*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

138 Edward Alpers, "The African diaspora in the Northwest Indian Ocean: reconsideration of an old problem, new directions for research," *Comparative Studies in South Asia, Africa and the Middle East,* 17, no. 2 (1997), 61-80. Patterson and Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations," pp. 13-14.

139 Anthropologist Jonetta Cole, an African-American Africanist, was president of Spelman College when Gomez and Patterson were recruited to the faculty.

140 Their frameworks for understanding black internationalism in the modern world are 1) the trans-Atlantic system, 2) Diaspora, 3) international socialism, 4) women's peace and freedom, 5) anticolonialism, 6) Third World solidarity, and 7) Islam.

141 Patterson and Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations," p. 13.

142 Yvette Djachechi Monga, "Dollars and Lipstick: The United States through the Eyes of African Women," *Africa* 70, no.2 (2000), 192-208.

143 Djachechi Monga, "Dollars and Lipstick," p. 201.

144 Djachechi Monga, "Dollars and Lipstick," p. 193.

145 For a discussion of Afro-American Africanists, see Robinson and Elliott P. Skinner, eds., *Transformation and Resiliency in Africa*.

146 Fredrick Cooper authored the first JCAS African Research Overview paper on the theme "Africa and the World Economy," *African Studies Review* 24 no. 2/3 (June/September 1981), 1-86.

147 Zeleza, "Imagining PanAfricanism for the 21st Century," in *Manufacturing African Studies and Crises,* p. 518.

148 Eileen Julien, a specialist in Comparative Literature, has served as president of the African Language and Literature Association, and as Director of the Darkar-based West African Research Consortium. Edmond Political Scientist Edmond Keller is a past president of the African Studies Association and served for a decade as Director of UCLA's Title VI African Studies Center. Both are African-Americans.

149 Zeleza, "Imagining PanAfricanism for the 21st Century," p. 518.

150 Zeleza, "Trends and Inequalities in the Production of Africanist Knowledge."