The "Inconvenient Continent"?:
Teaching "Africa" in Global and International History

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To the initiated and uninitiated alike, teaching African histories can be an intellectual and ethical minefield. How, why, and—indeed—who should teach African histories has occupied the preeminent scholars in the field, and numerous texts and journal special issues have been devoted to the subject.[1] Due to the particular experiences of the African continent and its peoples, and the myriad of ways these experiences have been interpreted, appropriated, and reclaimed, there are a pressing series of epistemological, pedagogical, and ethical challenges, especially for those who wish to include African content in predominantly non-Africanist spaces, such as large survey courses. Ensuring an appropriate level and breadth of knowledge, as well as attention to the intricacies and cartographies of cultural specificity, while remaining attuned to the politics of racialization and colonization can be an extremely difficult balance to maintain. Moreover, as global studies increase in popularity, attention to these issues will become more important.[2] For historians working at the intersection of the analytical concepts of global and international, teaching African content can be an even more perilous journey. There are three main approaches to transnational history— that is, histories that traverse national borders and narratives: world

history, international history, and global history. World, global, and international are complementary yet distinct analytical levels, and these distinctions are resonant for teaching African history content, as they point to the differing scales, registers, questions, tensions, and preoccupations within the historical profession.

This paper examines the specific intellectual and pedagogical challenges of teaching "Africa" in non-Africanist contexts, specifically introductory global and international history. It draws on insights gathered from a decade of working at the intersection of international history and International Relations (IR), with a focus on twentieth-century African liberation movements, as well as from several years of teaching global and international history to undergraduates.[3] It addresses the distinctions between transnational histories, as well as questions of Western epistemological and pedagogical practice, before offering a strategy for successfully including African and Afro-diasporic content in large survey courses in non-Africanist spaces with very specific parameters, goals, and limitations. This strategy is to apply an endogenizing imperative when selecting African content to share with students—that is, to deliberately seek African stories that emanate from the African continent and African or Afro-diasporic peoples, and emphasizes African agency and action. Too often, Africa is ignored in transnational histories, or Africa is presented merely as a site of European encroachment. Applying an endogenizing imperative re-casts familiar historical narratives in more internationalist *and* Africanist terms. This strategy introduces African content into pedagogical spaces where it might otherwise be absent, thereby making a contribution to remedying a general lack of knowledge outside of Africa about the continent's history. More importantly, this approach challenges preconceived notions not only about the African continent and its peoples, but also about how notions such as *the world*, *the global*, and *the international* are constructed and in turn influence conceptions about which events, ideas, and peoples have mattered and are constituent elements in the collective past.

Teaching "Africa": Challenges and Changes

Three interrelated sets of challenges are particularly germane to teaching African content in the context of global and international

history. The first challenges are both practical and philosophical, as "Africa" can refer simultaneously to geopolitical space, a set of peoples and a multifaceted diaspora, and multiple knowledge pathways. As a broad field of inquiry, African Studies embraces a multidimensional paradigm where the goal is "to constantly interrogate epistemological, methodological, and theoretical approaches to the study of Africa, inserting Africa and its people at the centre of that interrogation as subjects, rather than objects."[4] Africa is vast and diverse, but even within academia, there is a tendency to refer to the continent and its peoples as a unified actor. Is there another field of scholarly endeavour that regularly refers to its devotees in continental terms? Moreover, even the most learned scholar, whether born on the continent, of the diaspora, or otherwise, will not be an expert in all aspects of "Africa," despite the general "Africanist" label. This is further complicated in the field of history—a specialist on the medieval Maghreb is unlikely to also have expertise on apartheid-era South Africa. Thus, educators have to be mindful of George Sefa Dei's admonition against "intellectual aggression…where researchers claim expertise on African affairs some times with just cursory or partial knowledge of African peoples, cultures, and histories."[5]

Popular conversations can be even more problematic. Julia Gallagher, Carl Death, Meera Sabaratnam, and Karen Smith have analyzed common assumptions about Africa:

> These assumptions are rooted in particular fantasies about Africa as a continent, and its relationship with the West, that have a long problematic history, which are tied to the slave trade, the abolition of slavery and colonialism. These fantasies are reinforced by a theoretical tradition that is rooted in particular ideas of progress and modernity.[6]

In part, then, to teach African content means confronting the Afro-pessimist narrative that is so common amongst newscasters and celebrity charity campaigns—what Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie in 2013 called the "single story of catastrophe."[7] To confirm what others who teach African content have observed, is it not that students arrive with no knowledge of Africa.[8] Rather, it is that the majority of students have already been exposed to and internalized a vision of Africa "irreducibly linked to development crisis, somewhere that needs outsiders to sort it out."[9]

In a related set of challenges, within the academy there are serious questions of who can or should tell African stories, or what "African" even means. As Dei and others have noted, "For the better part of the last 500 years, Europe has been telling the story of Africa, and it has been doing so from a Eurocentric perspective."[10] Virtually all who study Africa have at some point encountered the need to "exorcize Hegel" and confront the distorted and deficient portrait of the continent in his most famous work, *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (1837).[11] As Olufemi Taiwo has written, the "ghost of Hegel dominates the hallways, institutions, syllabi, instructional practices, and journals of Euro-American philosophy."[12] In the historical profession, the earliest advocates were necessarily preoccupied with merely convincing the academy that Africa and Africans *had* history. When African history did become a recognized field, it was within the context of British elite institutions such as Cambridge University and largely dominated by European or American academics such as Melville Herskovits, Jan Vansina, Philip D. Curtin, and Terence Ranger, among others.[13] Nods to include more Africans and members of the African diaspora in the academy notwithstanding, even now, African scholars are still under-represented in academic contexts; key academic journals on Africa are in English and French and are mainly populated by European scholars, and European or North American universities remain the intellectual gatekeepers, "as if Africa were a tabula rasa with no intellectuals or knowledge production of its own."[14]

Just as contentious as the question of who should tell African stories is the question of who is "African." To quote one provocative interpretation:

> For those who question what constitutes an "African" in the heyday of multiple citizenships and transnational flows of goods, ideas, and people, an "African" has birthplace or bloodline ties to Africa, in the first instance. More importantly, however, an "African" has a psychological attachment to the continent and is politically committed to its transformation.[15]

Yet there is no consensus on how to measure or validate "bloodline ties" or "psychological attachment," or how the continent might be "transformed." A word here on the distinctions between history and heritage. Many historians would agree that the two are distinct approaches to creating meaning from the past. To quote David Lowenthal, "History tells all who will listen what has happened and

how things came to be as they are. Heritage passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose…History is for all, heritage for ourselves alone."[16] Lowenthal has his critics, and history and heritage are increasingly seen as mutually constitutive, at times sharing methodologies. Both are interpretations of the past that are systematized, selective, and shared. And, yet, they "transmit different things to different audiences."[17] In principle, history should be accessible to all, whereas heritage can be seen to be more limited in scope, claimed by certain peoples, but not others. Thus, while history is re-examined and re-evaluated, heritage can be (re)claimed or recouped. The current climate of heightened concern over issues of appropriation can present challenges for non-Africans and Africa non-specialists. This can be especially difficult terrain for scholars of color who are not from Africa proper, as there is the double-burden of being the "black scholar in the white space," along with not being from the continent by birth or parentage.[18] Such questions of representation are not unique to African Studies and are unlikely to abate anytime soon.[19]

   Does including African content therefore bring with it an ethical responsibility to commit to an anticolonial or critical pedagogy that emphasizes recognition and resistance? From the 1980s on, critical theoretical perspectives such as Africanist, feminist, and postcolonial studies have gone a long way to critiquing assumptions of legitimate knowledge and gatekeeping, and to reinforcing the notion that knowledge, knowledge production, and dissemination are not neutral, but are deeply coded and hierarchical endeavours. Informed by the critical pedagogy traditions of Paolo Freire and others, these teaching approaches emphasize a need for student-centered personal growth and development and social justice in their teaching goals.[20] There is a need to acknowledge the specific historical and contemporary oppression faced by African and Afro-diasporic peoples in the classroom, as well as broader examples of structural and acute oppression. A pedagogy that encourages reflection can likewise encourage a posture of criticality outside of the academy as well. This is reflective not only of a moral imperative to create a Pan-Africanist or black critical knowledge for activist education (which some scholars may not share), but also to demonstrate that African history is as much global history in so far as historical patterns of oppression—gendered, raced, classed,

settler colonial, are themselves key shapers of the present. African history can often be a counter-hegemonic act that can illuminate the power imbalances wrought by racism, colonialism, neoliberalism, and post-Enlightenment notions of "progress" and "development."[21]

There is a third, underexplored challenge that is unique to teaching and thinking "Africa"—navigating the intellectual terrains of world, international, and global history. The distinctions between world history, international history, and global history are far from semantic, as they denote three different approaches to historical inquiry with significant methodological and pedagogical consequences. World history is the oldest of these approaches, first proposed in the 1960s. The World History Association once defined the approach in this way: "world history is macrohistory. It is transregional, transnational, and transcultural…The world historian also often engages in comparative history, and in that respect might be thought of as a historical anthropologist."[22] World historians typically employ a long chronology, often with a focus on comparative world civilizations that pre-date the age of European exploration.[23] However, the field is known for its diversity and eclecticism, covering topics as wide-ranging as disease and pandemics, periodization, time and chronology, and maritime spaces, as well as the more common themes of urban and rural life, gender relations, agriculture and foodways, religious experiences, and cultural production.[24] Nevertheless, world history took several decades to become firmly situated in university curricula.

Typically, African stories are better represented in world history and Africanists embraced and shaped the field from its earliest days. At The University of Chicago, William MacNeill emphasized the spread of technological adaptation and the impacts on human migration patterns, while Marshall Hodgson proposed the Afro-Eurasian Historical Complex, which considered the Eurasian landmass as a single ecumene. At the University of Wisconsin–Madison, Philip Curtin did pathbreaking work on the transatlantic slave trade, arguing for the idea of an Atlantic *system* post-1500, in which the capture and transport of Africans as slave labor was integral to the development of Western modernity.[25] Some historians argue that the inclusion of African content is limited to either a focus on the external dimensions of African history such as the gradual Portuguese circumnavigation of the continent, European exploration, the establishment of colonial

empires, and the problems that beset contemporary Africa or the glorious African past trope—"a concentration on ancient Egypt and its splendors, [and] the great empires such as Ghana, Mali, [Zulu]."[26] This so-called "standard model" of Africa in world history is more inclusive than other pathways, but as R. Hunt Davis points out, does not emphasize African linkages with "wider global contexts."[27]

While world history may have a standard model, however questionable, no such models exist for international or global history. International history is the traditional home of political and diplomatic history, but much has changed in the past two decades of scholarship. Due to the field's concerns with articulations and oscillations of power, the focus has tended to be on great powers and strong actors, typically in Europe and North America. However, international historians now focus on non-state actors and non-governmental organizations, and pay attention to endogenous actors, imperial encounters, and transnational concerns such as emigration or the environment.[28] International history now also explores how "'beliefs about national identity, ideology, race and ethnicity, gender, and class', together with other cultural attitudes, 'shaped the exercise of economic, political, or military power.'"[29] Not all practitioners have welcomed the transnational or cultural turns. For Joseph Maiolo, for example, while "non-national" approaches rightly acknowledge the transformative powers of transnational interactions, international history is at root concerned with "the origins, structures, processes, and outcomes of international politics, above all the causes of war and the conditions of peace."[30] And there are other concerns. Maiolo points to a 2014 study of transnational histories that suggests that in the academic eagerness to counter methodological nationalism, there is a risk of excising the state altogether or relegating all states to the role of "an 'opponent' to become overcome by 'heroic' transnational actors or as an obstacle to be pushed aside by the unstoppable forces of global integration."[31]

Not all agree with Maiolo's parsimonious definition. International history has always crossed national boundaries, but now legitimate claims can be made that the field also crosses cultural and thematic boundaries. Still, international history relies on analytical categories and frameworks that many argue are inherently Western or Eurocentric: nation, state, politics, revolution, empire, competition, power. These are categories that international historians do not

accept uncritically, but remain potentially problematic for those interested in African history, since the organization of political life in Africa has differed from European/Western arrangements.[32] According to Paul Zeleza:

> Perhaps there is no other region in the world that has suffered more from what Paulin Hountodji (1997) refers to as 'theoretical extraversion' than Africa, where externally derived intellectual perspectives, preoccupations, and perversions play such a powerful role in scholarship, not to mention policy formulation and even popular discourse.[33]

For some, international history, like International Relations theory, "continues to suffer from a tyranny of place primarily because it remains an intellectual project directed by, and towards, knowledge courts of the Global North."[34]

African stories, examples, and agents appear less frequently in international history. Only recently has the robust and critical literature of the evolution of the twentieth-century international system begun to include the African continent, with international historians examining processes of decolonization as a constituent and important element of the twentieth century, and tangling with the tensions among the imperial, the international, and the postcolonial.[35] International history is still habituated to excluding political and intellectual currents from what anthropologist James Ferguson once memorably termed "the inconvenient continent." In his work, Ferguson takes on the positionality of an "empirically problematic" place called "Africa," elaborating the tensions between integration and marginalization in an increasingly globalized world. Africa is "inconvenient," of course, because it (whatever "it" is) is an awkward fit with "narratives of globalization and convergence." To quote Ferguson: "Africa has proved remarkably resistant to a range of externally imposed projects that have aimed to bring it into conformity with Western or 'global' models."[36] Because of this perceived lack of "fit," Africa is thought to exist "in the limbo of the international system," excluded from the global connections that have animated the past five centuries.[37]

Global history is the most recent of these approaches, emerging in full approximately a decade ago. There is by no means a consensus on the distinctions between global and world history, and the two terms are still often used interchangeably. As Ross Dunn, Laura

Mitchell, and Kerry Ward noted in an introductory chapter of their collection, when the London School of Economics and Political Science introduced their *Journal of Global History* in 2006, "The journal's table of contents show[ed] that its mission is not distinctively different from that of the *Journal of World History*."[38] Much scholarship distinguishes the international from the global by focusing on non-state or supra-statal connections, processes, and flows. According to Diego Olstein, "Global history adopts the interconnected world created by the process of globalization as its larger unit of analysis, providing the ultimate context for the analysis of any historical entity, phenomenon, or process."[39] Sebastian Conrad argued that global history was not an attempt to study the globe. Rather, he explained:

> Global history is both an object of study and a particular way of looking at history: it is both a process and a perspective, subject matter and methodology…Global history is one perspective among others. It is a heuristic device that allows the historian to pose questions and generate answers that are different from those created by other approaches.[40]

Global historians ask questions about "the history of everything; the history of connections; [or] history based on the concept of integration."[41] Thus, part of the decision that must be made when planning to add Africa-related content to a survey course is *which* vision of the world, the international, or the global is most resonant for the desired pedagogical objectives. In this case, while local actors, events, and knowledges are essential and need to be recouped, the remit of the program is global and international. Thus, the focus was on the history of connections—across borders, but also through networks of exchange of goods, ideas, and people. There are limits to what this level of analysis can illuminate, and global processes are not *a priori* the most important ways of looking at the past.[42] Conrad reminds historians to "not lose sight of those historical actors who were not integrated into extensive networks, lest they fall victim to the current obsession with mobility."[43] That noted, it would be equally mistaken to presume that only certain actors— elites, Westerners—had mobility and agency. Mobility need not only reference transoceanic or transcontinental movements. Africans of all walks of life have been implicated in networks of exchange and travel on differing registers.

One highly relevant question is whether there can be a true global history when so many of the distinguishing characteristics of large-scale integration and connection come from the project of European modernity. Conrad suggests that as many peoples "became subject to a global order dominated by Western Europe (and later the United States), they also adapted their own historical narratives to chronicle a story of nation-states and progress." But in Conrad's estimation, it can be argued that the very ideas of the "evolutionary concept of time, the compartmentalization of historical reality along nation-state lines, and the unity of the world" were largely the result of European hegemonic intellectual transfers.[44] Academic disciplines are products of Eurocentric ways of thinking and knowing, which compelled the "rest of the world to engage with European cosmologies and ways of interpreting the past."[45] Western preoccupations defined the terms of both the present and the past.[46]

Should scholars therefore even seek to address African stories in the broader narratives of global and international history? Are the very analytical categories of late/postmodernity even valid, useful, or appropriate in African contexts? In 2006, anthropologist James Ferguson anticipated a reply. As he noted in *Global Shadows*, "recent thinking about 'the globe' and 'the global' often evokes an image of a planetary network of connected points, and that 'Africa' is marginal to, and often completely disconnected from such dominant imaginations of 'the global'."[47] Ferguson wrote that "a wide range of social actors on the continent understand their own situations, and construct their strategies for improving them, in terms of an imagined 'Africa' and its place in a wider world."[48] Here, it must be noted that a "global Africa" does not necessarily imply a "globalized Africa"—that is, one perfectly in sync with technocratic neoliberality. Indeed, Ferguson's premise, later echoed by others, is that Africa does not fit the "smooth interconnectivity" paradigm implied by late twentieth-century narratives of globalization.[49] As Laura Routley noted, Africa's lack of fit is problematic not because Africa is excluded, but because the existing models emerged from outside of the continent: "The result is in many senses an undermining of our knowledge of Africa because it just tells us what Africa *is not*. It disrupts *other* content, but is not accorded any content of its own."[50] And yet, this perspective is increasingly challenged by Africans and Africanists who have questioned the

validity of an African experience removed from the processes of global integration, and instead looked at the myriad of ways that the African continent is, has been, and will continue to be a constituent and creative element of the global system.

There is no shortage of compelling intellectual commentary from African/a writers, who have critically engaged with the continent's sociopolitical, cultural, and epistemological concerns. Africans have been "writing back" for decades, but such studies have gained additional prominence since the rise of postcolonial critical studies. One of the most recognizable interventions has been Afrocentrism, which reorients and recoups knowledge around African pasts and ways of knowing. Afrocentric approaches are now found across disciplines, from education and pedagogy, through social work and elder care, to communications and cyberculture, though they came to prominence in the fields of classics, history, and cultural studies.[51] While intellectual antecedents can be found in the writings of Alexander Crummell, Edward Wilmot Blyden, W. E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, and the *Négritude* movement of the 1930s, Afrocentrism is most often associated with the post-World War II resurgence in racialized politics. Pioneers such as polymath Cheikh Anta Diop of Senegal, as well as Molefi Kete Asante and Maulana Karenga in the United States not only wrote foundational texts questioning the absolutism of Eurocentric history and anthropology, but also created academic collectives and programs devoted to reshaping critical dialogue about Africans and their history. For example, Asante created the first Ph.D. in Black Studies at Temple University in 1987.[52]

Like postcolonialism, Afrocentrism seeks to expose the racialized and hierarchical assumptions that undergird the contemporary world and are thus taken as natural and objective. Unlike postcolonialism, however, Afrocentric approaches focus mainly on the continent and its diaspora—colonialism and imperialism form just one part of the analysis. Thus, a strictly Afrocentric approach, while valuable in certain contexts, does not provide a strong strategy for "worlding" African history.

A brief survey of influential texts from continental writers includes Chinua Achebe's oeuvre, especially his 1975 talk, "An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's Heart of Darkness"; and Achille Mbembe's *On the Postcolony* (2001), *Critique of Black Reason*

(2017), and *Out of the Dark Night: Essays on Decolonization* (forthcoming in English in 2020). Ghanaian-British-American philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah is a leading contributor to the cosmopolitan tradition, and has written on ethics, morality, and linguistics. His 1993 work, *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture*, deals directly with the intersections of African/a identities and cosmologies and the Western academy. In two now classic texts, Valentin Y. Mudimbe argued for the *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (1988) and later *The Idea of Africa* (1994). Finally, Binyavanga Wainaina's "How to Write About Africa" is a tongue-in-cheek guide to the myriad of textual and visual clichés that populate mainstream cultural representations of Africa and its peoples (in 2012, Wainaina also published an updated essay in *The Guardian*).[53]

Teaching "Africa" in Non-Africanist Contexts: Thoughts and Strategies

In the midst of this pedagogical, theoretical, and ethical complexity, how might an educator proceed? In an abbreviated teaching season and a non-Africanist context, doing justice to the diverse array of African histories, experiences, and cosmologies is not possible. Attempts may meet with critique, if not outright criticism, from Africanists and from those who teach a more conventional curriculum. So why participate in this enterprise in the first place? The response is that not to do so replicates damaging fallacies that historians are supposed to challenge: first, that there is such a thing as the world or the global without the African continent, and second, that "international affairs" are emanations from the post-Enlightenment West that have been exported wholesale to other places and peoples. Interrogating the "known" Africa is perhaps the most effective way to disrupt and trouble popular notions of who or what constitutes the historical, as it is still very possible to find supposedly comprehensive and critical histories that barely mention the African continent except in the contexts of the transatlantic slave trade and imperialism.

Based in a public affairs faculty at a large comprehensive university in Ontario, Canada, the teaching site in question is a five-year-old multi- and inter-disciplinary undergraduate degree

that places heavy emphasis on international and global studies, attracting a diverse first-year cohort that self-selects as interested in education for global citizenship. The Bachelor of Global and International Studies (BGInS) program has thus far averaged an incoming cohort of approximately 250 first-year students each year; the majority are from within the province, but there is a robust and growing international student presence, with students from India, Nigeria, Russia, Norway, and the United States, among others. The program also professes a set of core values that undergird the degree intellectually, pedagogically, and programmatically: knowledge of global and international issues, multiple paths to knowledge, critical awareness of self and others, demonstrated intercultural competencies, and principled ways of thinking and acting, at home and in the world. All program endeavours aim to respect regional diversity and engage with global and international issues. Students must successfully complete a core course sequence that includes classes in the more typical disciplines of politics, law, and economics, along with less expected classes in history, ethics, literature, geography, and anthropology. Enrolled students also choose a specialization stream in a cognate field, such as African Studies, Migration and Diaspora Studies, or Law and Social Justice. Finally, students must demonstrate competence in a second language and must complete an international exchange or project requirement.

The program's commitment to multi- and inter-disciplinarity is not without some controversy. As Paul Zeleza has noted, "Interdisciplinarity is seen either as an interloper in, or the saviour from, the venerable or antiquated framework of intellectual activity."[54] Reactions from within the university itself have ranged from enthusiastic support, through benign indifference, to mild antipathy. Aside from "small-p political" concerns over resource allocation, other issues have included fears of intellectual dilettantism and a further weakening of the already embattled humanities. However, as Zeleza also indicated, disciplinary fixity is likely fictitious, as branches of knowledge have always seeped into each other and across boundaries, especially in the humanities and social sciences.[55] Thus, multi- and inter-disciplinary studies need not be seen as faddish, but rather as fields of inquiry that ask different questions of the world and encourage a multi-disciplinary and multi-sited approach to learning.[56]

Practically and structurally, the immediate limitations are those common to public teaching universities. First-year classes have enrollments typically between 100-150 students, with two to four teaching assistants, over a twelve-week term. In general, though this is anecdotal, the student body arrives with limited or narrow history education. Additionally, despite a robust and active Institute of African Studies at the university, less than two percent of students are enrolled in the African Studies specialization and stream.[57] Creating an engaging and foundational history course that covers global and international spaces, people, and themes, as well as basic historical literacy, is a difficult task. This task is further complicated by centering or incorporating African content.

Selecting "Illustrative Moments" in African History

What does it mean to "teach Africa" in this context? How to ensure that African stories are represented in a first-year history class with a wide remit? For many students, this may be their first and only university-level history course. As such, it is the only chance to actively challenge historical methods and narratives that have marginalized non-Western peoples. The goal is to tell a history of global and international interactions and processes with attention to the fact that these emerged as much from the African continent as they affected the African continent. In a context where there is only time to share a limited number of stories, the endogenizing imperative emphasizes African moments that highlight diversity and agency, aiming to disrupt prevalent narratives of victimization, under-development, and passivity. Thus, privileging an endogenizing imperative establishes criteria for selecting illustrative moments: (1) Aim for temporal and regional diversity; (2) demonstrate African/ Afro-diasporic agency; (3) illuminate a key course theme; (4) clearly demonstrate to students the international and transnational relevance; and (5) tell a startling story or present information in an unexpected, perhaps provocative way.

The first criterion, aiming for temporal and regional diversity, is arguably the most difficult from a practical perspective and a common issue in the historical profession. There is no way to tell all of the continent's stories and to represent the myriad of perspectives. Yet aiming for diversity (however limited) is worth

doing. First, such an approach problematizes too-familiar geographic designations—"Sub-Saharan Africa," "Middle East and North Africa," and "Black Africa" are all dubious designations that point to the ways that geopolitical categories that seemed fixed and natural were in fact shaped by cartographies of empire. Second, attempts at spatial and temporal diversity reinforce the idea that Africa is a continent comprised of difference, and that "Africa" is itself a problematic omission. Finally, students may only be familiar with limited cases, such as Ancient Egypt, the Rwandan Genocide, and, less frequently, apartheid South Africa. Though the highlight reel approach is somewhat endemic to large survey courses, there are compelling reasons for broadening student knowledge of African geography and diversity.

In the second criterion, illustrative moments should demonstrate the agency of African or Afro-diasporic actors, however qualified this agency may be. African and Afro-diasporic actors must be seen resisting oppression and unjust authority, while also actively endeavouring to integrate into broader global (perhaps hegemonic) epistemic and economic patterns, as well as actively shaping the world around them. African actors should not be portrayed solely as passive, but should be shown to be questioning and unpacking analytical categories spread by the racial and economic imperatives of colonization and imperialism—simplistic binaries such as slave and free, black and white, African and European. Whenever possible, it is useful to assign primary sources representing African or Afro-diasporic voices.

In the third criterion, examples should reflect wider course themes and objectives. This program's introductory course uses three broad analytical frameworks: identity and community; authority and resistance; and network and exchange. These frameworks help impose some order and clarity on an otherwise messy past, but also highlight the dynamics of interaction and integration that long predated the supposed start of globalization in the 1990s. The end of the Cold War and the rise of ultrafast communications technology dramatically compressed time and space and accelerated human interactions to unprecedented levels, but by no means did humans only begin to travel, contact each other, and encounter difference at the tail end of the twentieth century. This misleading vision of globalization in part accounts for Africa's marginalization in

such discussions, as the technological leitmotifs of late twentieth-century globalization—Internet access, high-speed transportation, digital media—were slower to achieve widespread penetration in African spaces (in part because of the disruptions caused by the socioeconomic dislocations of colonization).

The course's first analytical framework, identity and community, looks at how group identities are shaped and change over time, the benefits of group-hood, and what happened to those who were in some way excluded. Identities can range from extremely local, to entire ethno/racial and spatial categories (such as "African" or "indigenous"), to contemporary identities rooted in in-group politics and facilitated by media and communications technology. A related issue is the second framework of the spectrum of authority and resistance—how communities are "policed" and how the authority to rule is legitimatized (A traditional "Big Man"? The Mandate of Heaven? Consent of the governed? Theocracy?). Perhaps even more important is to question what modes of resistance existed, local or international, as it is essential to emphasize not only those who have power, but also those who challenge authority. The final framework emphasises the ways in which peoples have established the means to share goods, ideas, and biological material. Here, the emphasis can be on horizontal networks such as the Silk Routes, the Manila-Acapulco trade, or vertical, coercive networks such as imperial outposts or the Indian Ocean slave system. These frameworks offer merely one way to organize such a course, but have the advantage of being generally geographical and temporally inclusive, as well as lending themselves to cogent discussion about contemporary global politics.

This leads to the fourth criterion, which emphasizes African connections to the international and transnational. There is definite value to strictly African Studies courses, and one can never hope to replicate the specific enrichment that more traditional courses provide. A focus on long-distance or interstate connections is neither the only way to think about the collective past, nor is it necessarily the best way, yet a global and international studies approach can prove to be equally stimulating, provided attempts are made to be truly critical and inclusive.

Finally, the fifth criterion emphasizes that examples should be chosen to tell a good story. The neurological sciences are finally catching up to what historians have always known—good stories

"stick," and can help students understand the significance of what they are learning.[58] This is particularly important in a first-year or junior-level class, with students who have limited exposure to historical thinking and have yet to develop a historical consciousness. A good story can help students to learn that academic history is more than memorizing facts in chronological order to reinforce a widely accepted version of a collective past. Historians must constantly update and re-evaluate what they think they know and incorporate new information and perspectives.

Examples of "Illustrative Moments" in African History

Three concrete examples that help demonstrate the breadth and importance of African history and address contributions to historical and contemporary globalization include: Musa I of Mali, the rise of sugar, and African decolonization. The efficacy of the examples lie not in their novelty (no claims are made for unearthing untold stories), but in the telling, and because they fit in with course frameworks and objectives while emphasizing the five characteristics outlined above.

Musa I of Mali

A key theme of the first substantive lecture is that of encounters. Encountering others and responses to these encounters is a standard concept in world, international, and global histories. In many ways, the story of Musa I is an obvious choice. Mansa Musa Keita I (Musa I) of the Malian Empire in modern-day Guinea was the tenth emperor of the medieval Islamic empire and one of history's most enigmatic characters. In 1324 (Islamic year 724), Musa I left his capital of Niani, setting out with a large imperial retinue for the two-month crossing to Mecca to participate in the *hajj*. As Patrick Manning noted, "Musa had brought perhaps a hundred camel loads of gold dust for gifts and purchases. According to reports, his expenditures were so extravagant that the value of the *dirham*, the Egyptian currency, declined."[59] Several graphics and charts attest to the notion that Musa I was perhaps the wealthiest person ever (adjusting for inflation). This story illuminates the kinds of global connections and circulations that pre-date industrial capitalism and European contact. It also establishes African states and African wealth before 1500

(Musa I urbanized the city of Timbuktu by building schools, mosques, and a major university), and demonstrates the existence of complex African states and societies and their integration into the wider world. Students are generally fascinated to hear of a wealthy African (who is not a contemporary autocrat), particularly in a medieval past, which they can often only conceive of in European terms. True, Musa I does exemplify the passé great man, grand narrative style of African history. But for many students with limited exposure to historical studies in general and African history specifically, the great kingdom narrative has its merits. First, Musa's travels suggest that mobility—while not for everyone—was real and helped knit "separate" parts of the world together. Second, his journey points to the importance of the spread of Islam and the regional variations in the Islamic World, and how religious affiliation created affective and practical ties, including to the alternate conception of ordering the world, the *ummah*. It also demonstrates that non-Europeans were also travelers; "encountering others" was not limited to European imaginaries of non-European peoples. Finally, the Catalan Atlas (1375) by Majorcan Jewish cartographer Abraham Cresques can be shown to demonstrate Musa I's widespread recognition, and to re-emphasize the political and cultural aspects of cartography, as maps and projections are not neutral.

The Rise of Sugar

   The second story is one of commodities, caprices, and human suffering exemplified by the rise of sugar. By this point in the course, students have encountered the world-changing effects of the Columbian Exchange and the first iteration of a truly global trade regime, the 1571 Manila-Acapulco silver galleons. Ideally, students start to see how these monumental global transformations also slowly affected quotidian realities, and how daily life was changed by the quest for certain key commodities (spices, silver, and coffee/tea/cacao; later, diamonds, oil, and coltan). This is especially true of sugar. Surprisingly, students who can readily argue about the current politics of oil find it difficult to fathom that there have been other commodities with brutal pasts. Only after a lengthy discussion on the politics of commodities and commercialization, especially sugar's impacts on the diets of working-class Europeans and the rise

of social customs like high tea, are plantation economies and chattel slavery introduced. Sidney Mintz's classic argument in *Sweetness and Power* (1986) still resonates. Introducing the human suffering of African/Afro-diasporic peoples in the context of economics and commodification must be done with great care. Enslaved peoples worked in all manner of skilled and unskilled employs as artisans and domestics, but the importance of plantation economies to the wealth of the West and the histories of capitalism, industrialization, and imperialism cannot be denied. Students often attribute the transoceanic slave trades, slavery, and what we now call anti-black racism as largely the preserve of a few awful racists, rather than as systemic patterns of oppression, exclusion, and exploitation that were central to the development of the West. Illuminating the links between consumption, exploitation, and racism allows students to recognize the connections between world orders that were commercialized, stratified, and racialized. This is a key issue in the modern world, shaping the trajectories of millions who are still enmeshed in unequal and exploitative political and economic regimes.

African Decolonization

The third story reflects the key themes of empire and imperialism through the example of African decolonization. Like all political formations, empires rise, consolidate, justify themselves, are delegitimatized, and fall. The course covers several prominent empires and their declines—Mongolian, Qing, Ottoman, Russian, and Austro-Hungarian, and, finally, the ends of European empires after the Second World War. Often overlooked in the triumphal narrative of the western victory over the Axis in the Second World War was the fact that the fatally weakened European empires entered directly into another series of long, vicious battles to retain their colonial possessions. As with slavery, students tend to consign empires to the proverbial dustbin of the past and are surprised to learn how close and tangible the legacies of empire truly are.[60] After two devastating global conflicts in a generation had rendered the old justifications for colonial rule untenable, the twin sustaining myths of absolute white supremacy and the *mission civilisatrice* were permanently shattered. Struggles against formal empire were the origin of many twentieth-century conflicts, and many of the

century's most intractable crises were in some part the result of a decolonization process gone awry. If Cold War tensions were inscribed over civil or anticolonial conflicts, the results were often devastating. As a global phenomenon, decolonization was deeply dislocating and perhaps nowhere was marked by the politics of decolonization as Africa.[61]

This story is told through the experience of Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Émery Lumumba. In the short-lived period of euphoria after the formal transfer of power from Belgium on June 30, 1960, Léopoldville (now Kinshasa) served as an important example of successful African decolonization. The charismatic Lumumba was a prominent and somewhat romanticized international figure and a hero to many in the decolonizing world; for Western conservatives, he was a terrifying mixture of charismatic leadership, rising black nationalism, and socialism. Lumumba's fiery speeches alerted global audiences to the brutality, rapacity, and hypocrisy of European colonization. Students are rightly horrified to learn that Lumumba was murdered by a cabal of Katangan adversaries, Belgian mercenaries, and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency in what *The Guardian* once called "the most important assassination of the 20th century."[62] This is the element that most surprises students—that African stories do not end with the degradations of slavery and colonization, only to resume with current tales of famine, corruption, and war. There are multiple African histories throughout the postwar period, and they are often intimately connected to major patterns and developments in global politics. The twentieth-century world of nation-states, liberal institutions, the human rights regime, and contested and layered sovereignties are in many ways direct results of the challenges of decolonization and national liberation. As Els Bogaerts and Remco Raben noted:

> African and Asian writers make us aware of the innumerable tensions created by the twentieth-century transition to independence. Their plots, topics, and concerns are innumerable, but some subjects recur: the relations to the West, visions of modernity, the intrusions or ineffectiveness of the central and social inequalities and tensions connected to political independence and the task of reordering society.[63]

Lumumba's story also links African activists to more familiar global social and intellectual movements, such as the African American Civil Rights struggle (one of Dr. Martin Luther King's

major speeches was devoted to the world-changing moment of Ghanaian independence in 1957) or *Négritude* and Black Power.[64] As black peoples regained formal political power, "it immediately became necessary to launch superpolitical activity at the global level."[65] Progressive activists in the postwar period were inspired by the struggle for decolonization and the rise in black consciousness movements around the globe, and theorists such as Frantz Fanon entered the pantheon of revolutionary thinkers.[66] Finally, thinking about decolonization in Africa prompts important conversations about the role, legitimacy, and consequences of the vision of African desires for liberation from imperial rule manifested through the nation-state. Did Western-style nationalism "fail" Africans, and was decolonization a betrayal of the emancipatory possibilities of the moment, or is it time for a re-evaluation of post-independence Africa? Lumumba's story is at the center of a constellation of defining processes of the twentieth century: the upsurge of nation-states as the primary political form, the imprecise relationship between "nation" and "state," the rise of militant politics, and the lingering question of self-determination.

Conclusion

Teaching transnational histories is already a daunting task. Time and space limitations alone preclude the sort of deep, granular analysis that is conventionally the hallmark of the discipline. In courses that emphasize sweep and scope, special care must be taken not to replicate exclusionary, presentist narratives. Lack of expertise in African Studies or fear of misrepresenting the continent can further hamper the inclusion of African content in non-Africanist spaces, as can the erroneous perception that the global and international are registers that exclude African peoples and experiences. African histories do not always fit smoothly with established narratives and categories, but that is exactly why they are essential. Not only is it incumbent upon those who claim to teach "the world" that an entire continent is not excluded, but Africa's very "inconvenience" may be exactly the thing that compels students to interrogate and question the convenient geosocial fictions and spatial imaginaries of the global and the international.

Notes

1.   The literature on African Studies is vast; the literature on Africanist pedagogies is slightly less so, but still substantive. For recent textbooks, see Dorothy L. Hodgson and Judith A. Byfield, eds., *Global Africa: Into the Twenty-First Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2017); Erik Gilbert and Jonathan T. Reynolds, *Africa in World History: From Prehistory to the Present*, third ed. (Boston, MA: Pearson, 2011); and Robert Harms, *Africa in Global History with Sources* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2018). On questions of transnational African history, politics, and literature, see Andrew Zimmerman, "Africa in Imperial and Transnational History: Multi-Sited Historiography and the Necessity of Theory," *The Journal of African History* 54, no. 3 (2013): 331-340; Mojúbàolú Olúfúnké Okome and Olufemi Vaughan, eds., *Transnational Africa and Globalization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Edward Shizha, ed., *Remapping Africa in the Global Space: Propositions for Change* (Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sense Publishers, 2014); Mamadou Diawara, Bernard C. Lategan, and Jörn Rüsen, *Historical Memory in Africa: Dealing with the Past, Reaching for the Future in an Intercultural Context* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010); Brenda Cooper and Robert Morrell, eds., *Africa-Centred Knowledges: Crossing Fields and Worlds* (Suffolk, United Kingdom: James Currey, 2014); James Ferguson, *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); and Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

2.   This article references the Canadian context, but Global Studies is on the rise internationally, as are more traditional International Affairs programs. See, for example, "Global Education for Canadians: Equipping Young Canadians to Succeed at Home & Abroad," Report of the Study Group on Global Education, Centre for International Policy Studies at the University of Ottawa and the Munk School of Global Affairs at the University of Toronto, November 2017; and David L. Wank and James Farrer, "The Rise of Global Studies in East Asia: Institutions and Ideology in National Education Systems," *global-e* 10, no. 13 (28 February 2017). As more students come to expect classes with a global outlook, historians will have to become more practiced at including content from Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

3.   I regularly teach world history, histories of International Relations, and foreign affairs history at Canadian universities. My own research interests are on the Cold War and imperial and racial orders, the challenges of decolonization, and the rise and impacts of national liberation movements.

4.   Robtel Neajai Pailey also argues that African Studies should incorporate more than just history, politics, and "development," but also African aesthetic values and cultural production, such as "drama, fiction, visual art, and dance forms, produced and taught by Africans." Robtel Neajai Pailey, "Where is the 'African' in African Studies?" *African Arguments*, 7 June 2016, <https://africanarguments.org/2016/06/07/where-is-the-african-in-african-studies/>.

5.   George J. Sefa Dei, *Teaching Africa: Towards a Transgressive Pedagogy (Explorations of Educational Purpose 9)* (New York: Springer, 2010), 57.

6.   Julia Gallagher, Carl Death, Meera Sabaratnam, and Karen Smith, "Teaching Africa and International Studies: Forum Introduction," *Politics* 36, no. 4 (2016): 443.

7.   Gallagher, Death, Sabaratnam, and Smith, "Teaching Africa and International Studies," 443.

8.   Laura Routley, "Teaching Africa, Presenting, Representing and the Importance of Who is in the Classroom," *Politics* 36, no. 4 (2016): 483.

9.   Gallagher, Death, Sabaratnam, and Smith, "Teaching Africa and International Studies," 443.

10.   Dei, *Teaching Africa*, 1.

11.   Olufemi Taiwo, "Exorcizing Hegel's Ghost: Africa's Challenge to Philosophy," *African Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (1998): 3-16; Hegel's *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte* (Lectures on the Philosophy of History) was originally published in 1837, followed by numerous translations and editions.

12.   Taiwo, "Exorcizing Hegel's Ghost," 5.

13.   For a concise review of the development of African historiography, see Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, "L'historiographie africaine en Afrique," *Revue Tiers Monde*, no. 216 (October-December 2013): 111-127; and Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Afrique: une histoire universelle," *Revue Projet*, no. 351 (2016): 12-20; Chloé Maurel, "UNESCO's General History of Africa: An African-Centered Project of Transnational Intellectual Cooperation (1964-1999)," *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 54, no. 215 (2014): 715-737; as well as Bogumil Jewsiewicki and Valentin Y. Mudimbe, eds., *History Making in Africa* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1993); and William G. Martin. "The Rise of African Studies (USA) and the Transnational Study of Africa," *African Studies Review* 54, no. 1 (April 2011): 59-83. For commentary on the contributions and legacies of Terence Ranger and Jan Vansina, see David Newbury, "Contradictions at the Heart of the Canon: Jan Vansina and the Debate over Oral Historiography in Africa, 1960-1985," *History in Africa* 34 (2007): 213-254; and Joseph C. Miller, "No Rest for the Weary—or: A Historian's Work is Never Done—or: One Damned Thing Always Leads Dubiously to Another" (review), *History in Africa*, Supplement Special 40th Anniversary Issue, 40 (2013): s19-s22.

14.   Pailey, "Where is the 'African' in African Studies?"

15.   Pailey, "Where is the 'African' in African Studies?"

16.   David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 128-129.

17.   Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past*, 128.

18.   My positionality as a woman of color affects how and why I engage with African history. However, my identity as a member of the African diaspora, but born and raised in the West has not protected me from accusations of "intellectual aggression" and appropriation on the one hand, and over-dramatizing the dynamic between race, history, and geography on the other. On this issue, see George J. Sefa Dei (Nana Sefa Atweneboah I), "The African Scholar in the Western Academy," *Journal of Black Studies* 45, no. 3 (April 2014): 167-179.

19.   Members of African/a communities are not the only one facing such questions; representation is also a key part of the discussion among indigenous communities, particularly those in settler contexts. See Brett Bundale, "University Under Fire Over Residential Schools Course Taught by White Prof," Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), 13 May 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/university-under-fire-over-residential-schools-course-taught-by-white-prof-1.4660716>.

20.   Gallagher, Death, Sabaratnam, and Smith, "Teaching Africa and International Studies," 442.

21.   "In this undertaking Indigenous resistance to Western power is thwarted. Given the nature of globalization there is the need for political, cultural, and ideological spaces to challenge and resist these forces scripting the lives of African peoples. Teaching about Africa today has implications for the conduct of the struggle of resistance to Western dominance." Dei, *Teaching Africa*, 47-48.

22.   World History Association, "What is World History?" February 2017, <https://www.thewha.org/about/what-is-world-history/>.

23.   This is distinct again from "Big History," which explores the links between history and anthropocentricity, to focus instead on "the general evolution of life" and tectonic shifts over geological time. Craig A. Lockard, "The Rise of World History Scholarship," in *The New World History: A Field Guide for Teachers and Researchers*, ed. Ross E. Dunn, Laura J. Mitchell, and Kerry Ward (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016), 29.

24.   As seasoned world history practitioner and teacher Antoinette Burton put it in a design manual for world history teachers: "you might be committed to the global via a focus on big processes, or to comparison between ecumenes or civilizations or eras. You may be interested in spinning your world history course on the pivot of the environment, on cultural encounters, on trade and economic exchange, on units of space organized by ocean currents, or on slices of time framed by cataclysmic events, natural or human-made." Antoinette Burton, *A Primer for Teaching World History: Ten Design Principles* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 4.

25.   Lockard, "The Rise of World History Scholarship," 26-27.

26.   R. Hunt Davis, Jr., "Teaching about the African Past in the Context of World History," *World History Connected* 2, no. 1 (November 2004). See also Jonathan T. Reynolds, "Africa and World History: From Antipathy to Synergy," *History Compass* 5, no. 6 (November 2007): 1998-2013.

27.   Davis, "Teaching about the African Past."

28.   Patrick Finney, *Palgrave Advances in International History* (Basingstoke, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 17.

29.   Finney, *Palgrave Advances in International History*, 17.

30.   Joseph Anthony Maiolo, "Systems and Boundaries in International History," *The International History Review* 40, no. 3 (2018): 576-577.

31.   Maiolo, "Systems and Boundaries in International History," 576. Maiolo quotes Ann-Christina L. Knudsen and Karen Gram-Skjoldager: "[W]hen the state appears in transnational narratives at all, the authors contend, it is usually in the shape of an 'opponent' to become overcome by 'heroic' transnational actors or as

an obstacle to be pushed aside by the unstoppable forces of global integration." Cited in Maiolo, 583. For the full analysis, see Ann-Christina L. Knudsen and Karen Gram-Skjoldager "Historiography and Narration in Transnational History," *Journal of Global History* 9, no. 1 (March 2014): 143-161.

32.   Reynolds, "Africa and World History."

33.   Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "The Disciplinary, Interdisciplinary and Global Dimensions of African Studies," *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies* 1, no. 2 (2006): 209.

34.   Peter Vale, "If International Relations Lives On the Street, What is It Doing in the Classroom?" *International Relations* 28, no. 2 (2014): 142.

35.   See, for example, Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York: New Press, 2007).

36.   Ferguson, *Global Shadows*, 27.

37.   Jean-François Bayart, "Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion," *African Affairs* 99, no. 395 (April 2000): 217.

38.   Ross E. Dunn, Laura J. Mitchell, and Kerry Ward, "Introduction," *The New World History: A Field Guide for Teachers and Researchers*, ed. Ross E. Dunn, Laura J. Mitchell, and Kerry Ward (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016), 11.

39.   Diego Olstein, *Thinking History Globally* (London, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 24.

40.   Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 11.

41.   Conrad, *What is Global History?* 6.

42.   Conrad, *What is Global History?* 15-16.

43.   Conrad, *What is Global History?* 16.

44.   Conrad, *What is Global History?* 27-28.

45.   Conrad, *What is Global History?* 25.

46.   Conrad, *What is Global History?* 17.

47.   Ferguson, *Global Shadows*, 6.

48.   Ferguson, *Global Shadows*, 6.

49.   I thank Blair Rutherford for this language.

50.   Emphasis in original. Compare with Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), 9. Cited in Routley, "Teaching Africa," 486.

51.   Afrocentrism remains controversial for several reasons. Detractors claim it wilfully distorts the historical record for political gains, a charge most Afrocentrists would happily level at the Eurocentric/Western academy, which they argue has distorted African truths for centuries. Others claim the modern iteration of the ideology began outside of Africa in the maelstrom of civil rights in the United States and Anglophone Caribbean, and thus speaks to diasporic concerns rather than African realties. Still others insist that Afrocentrism provides intellectual cover for an essentialist type of Black autarky. For a brief overview of rebuttals to these arguments, see Midas Chawane, "The Development of

496 of 26

Afrocentricity: A Historical Survey," *Yesterday & Today*, no. 16 (December 2016): 78.

52.   For Maulana Karenga's own reflections, see "Founding the First PhD in Black Studies: A Sankofa Remembrance and Critical Assessment of Its Significance," *Journal of Black Studies* 49, no. 6 (2018): 576-603.

53.   Binyavanga Wainaina, "How Not to Write About Africa in 2012—A Beginner's Guide," *The Guardian*, 3 June 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/jun/03/how-not-to-write-about-africa>.

54.   Zeleza, "The Disciplinary, Interdisciplinary and Global Dimensions of African Studies," 197.

55.   Zeleza, "The Disciplinary, Interdisciplinary and Global Dimensions of African Studies," 197.

56.   To quote a recent argument: "a few universities have created first-year seminars that are broadly interdisciplinary, emphasizing global studies as a foundation for the college experience. This approach prioritizes global thinking and engagement with other cultures to shape how undergraduates integrate the rest of their learning in college. Global studies then becomes a scaffold upon which later learning can be integrated." Jeffrey Scott Coker, Rosemary Haskell, and Thomas Nelson, "Teaching Global Studies to All Undergraduates: A Required First-Year Course," *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* 13, no. 1-2 (January 2014): 268.

57.   Figures correct as of June 2018.

58.   Paul J. Zak, "Why Inspiring Stories Make Us React: The Neuroscience of Narrative," *Cerebrum* 2 (January-February 2015): 1-13.

59.   Patrick Manning, *The African Diaspora: A History through Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 35.

60.   This is despite the prevalence of terms such as "neo-colonialism" and "neo-imperialism" in contemporary discourse, and the common use of "decolonize" as a verb.

61.   United Nations Organization, "The United Nations and Decolonization," <https://www.un.org/dppa/decolonization/en>.

62.   Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, "Patrice Lumumba: The Most Important Assassination of the 20th Century," *The Guardian*, 17 January 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2011/jan/17/patrice-lumumba-50th-anniversary-assassination>.

63.   Els Bogaerts and Remco Raben, "Beyond Empire and Nation," in *Beyond Empire and Nation: Decolonizing Societies in Africa and Asia, 1930s-1970s*, ed. Els Bogaerts and Remco Raben (Leiden, Netherlands: KITLV Press, 2012), 10.

64.   Martin Luther King Jr., "The Birth of a New Nation," sermon delivered at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, 7 April 1957, *Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project*, The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, Stanford University, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/birth-new-nation-sermon-delivered-dexter-avenue-baptist-church>.

65.   Manning, *The African Diaspora*, 302.

66.   Manning, *The African Diaspora*, 269.