

# Prof. Jason Hickel, PhD

## Career positions

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2024-present	ICREA Professor, ICTA-UAB, Autonomous University of Barcelona
2021-2024	Professor, ICTA & Department of Anthropology, Autonomous University of Barcelona
2017-2021	Associate Professor / Senior Lecturer, Anthropology, Goldsmiths, University of London
2014-2017	Leverhulme Early Career Fellow, Dept of Anthropology, London School of Economics
2011-2014	Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Anthropology, London School of Economics
2010-2011	Instructor, Woodson Institute for Af/Am & African Studies, University of Virginia
2009-2010	Instructor, Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia

## Current and recent roles

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Chair Professor of Global Justice and the Environment, University of Oslo  
Visiting Professor, International Inequalities Institute, London School of Economics  
Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts  
Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Society  
Associate Fellow of the Higher Education Academy  
*Lancet* Commission on Sustainable Health  
Rodney Commission on Reparations and Redistributive Justice  
Associate Editor, *World Development*  
Advisory Panel, UN Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights  
Climate and Macroeconomics Roundtable of the US National Academy of Sciences  
Statistical Advisory Panel, UN Human Development Report 2020  
Advisory Panel, Green New Deal for Europe

## Education

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2012	London School of Economics and Political Science Postgraduate Certificate in Higher Education, Associate Level
2011	Ph.D., University of Virginia, Department of Anthropology
2008	M.A., University of Virginia, Department of Anthropology

## Major European Union research grants

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ERC Synergy Grant (Advanced). REAL: A Post-Growth Deal (ID: 101071647)  
Lead Co-PI. 2023-2029.

Horizon Europe Grant. MAPS: Models, Assessment, and Policies for Sustainability (ID: 101137914)  
Supervisor of UAB PI and affiliated researchers. 2024-2028.

Horizon Europe Grant. ToBE: Towards a Sustainable Wellbeing Economy (ID: 101137914)  
UAB PI. 2023-2026.

## Publications

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### *Monographs*

- 2020        *Less is More: How Degrowth Will Save the World*. London: Penguin Random House UK  
                 [320 pgs]
- 2017        *The Divide: Global Inequality and its Solutions*. London: Penguin Random House UK  
                 [368 pgs]
- 2015        *Democracy as Death: The Moral Order of Anti-Liberal Politics in South Africa*.  
                 Berkeley: University of California Press [268 pgs]

### *Edited books and journal volumes*

- 2018        *Hierarchy and Value: Comparative Perspectives on Moral Order*, with Naomi Haynes.  
                 Berghahn Press
- 2016        *Hierarchy, Value, and the Value of Hierarchy*, with Naomi Haynes, special issue of  
                 *Social Analysis* 60(4)
- 2014        *Ekhaya: The Politics of Home in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa*, with Meghan Healy.  
                 University of KwaZulu-Natal Press

### *Journal articles*

- 2024        “Unequal exchange of labour in the world economy, 1995-2021”, with Morena Hanbury  
                 Lemos and Felix Barbour, *Nature Communications*
- 2024        “How much growth is required to achieve good lives for all? Insights from needs-based  
                 analysis”, with Dylan Sullivan, *World Development Perspectives*
- 2024        “Downscaling down under: toward degrowth in Integrated Assessment Models”, with  
                 Jarmo Kikstra et al, *Economic Systems Research*
- 2024        “Confronting the dilemma of growth”, with Tim Jackson and Giorgos Kallis, *Ecological  
                 Economics*

- 2023 “Compensation for atmospheric appropriation,” with Andrew Fanning, *Nature Sustainability*
- 2023 “Capitalogenic disease: social determinants in focus”, with Guddi Singh, *BMJ Global Health*
- 2023 “Post-growth policy is key to averting climate breakdown,” with Aljosa Slamersak, Giorgos Kallis, Dan O’Neill, *OneEarth*
- 2023 “Is Green Growth happening? An empirical analysis of achieved versus Paris-compliant CO2-GDP decoupling”, with Jefim Vogel, *The Lancet Planetary Health*
- 2023 “How to pay for saving the world: MMT for a Degrowth Transition”, with Chris Olk and Colleen Schneider, *Ecological Economics*
- 2023 “Extreme poverty and capitalism in China: unprecedented progress or income deflation?” with Dylan Sullivan and Michail Moatsos, *New Political Economy*
- 2023 “Envisioning environmental equity: Climate change, health and racial justice”, with co-authors, *The Lancet*
- 2023 “On technology and degrowth”, *Monthly Review*
- 2023 “Capitalism, poverty, and the case for democratic socialism”, with Dylan Sullivan, *Monthly Review*
- 2023 “The double objective of ecosocialism”, *Monthly Review*
- 2023 “Comparing redistributive versus market-oriented sustainable development paradigms: Living Well and Green Economy in Bolivia and Korea”, with Karen Bell, Rob Arbon, Huzaifa Zoomkawala, *Sustainable Development*
- 2022 “Imperialist Appropriation in the World Economy: Drain from the Global South through Unequal Exchange, 1990-2015,” with Christian Dorninger, Hanspeter Wieldand, and Intan Suwandi, *Global Environmental Change*
- 2022 “Capitalism and extreme poverty: A global analysis of real wages, human height and mortality since the long 16<sup>th</sup> century,” with Dylan Sullivan, *World Development*
- 2022 “National responsibility for ecological breakdown: a fair-shares assessment of resource use, 2070-2017,” with Dan O’Neill, Andrew Fanning and Huzaifa Zoomkawala, *The Lancet Planetary Health*
- 2022 “Degrowth can work – here’s how science can help”, with Kallis, O’Neill, Steinberger, Victor, Jackson, Schor, Urge-Vorsatz. *Nature*
- 2022 “Existing climate mitigation scenarios perpetuate colonial inequalities,” with Aljosa Slamersak, *The Lancet Planetary Health*
- 2022 “Climate change, health and discrimination: action towards racial justice,” with Deivanayagam, Selvarajah, Guinto, de Moraes Sato, Bonifacio, English, Huq, Mulindwa, Nagginda, Sharma, Devakumar. *The Lancet*
- 2022 “Degrowth scenarios for emissions neutrality,” with Manfred Lenzen and Lorenz Keyßer. *Nature Food*
- 2021 “The social shortfall and ecological overshoot of nations,” with Andrew Fanning, Daniel O’Neill and Nicolas Roux, *Nature Sustainability*
- 2021 “Can we live within environmental limits and still reduce poverty?” with Stephane Hallegatte, *Development Policy Review*

- 2021 “Urgent need for post-growth climate mitigation scenarios,” with Paul Brockway, Giorgos Kallis, Lorenz Keyser, Manfred Lenzen, Aljosa Slamersak, Julia Steinberger, Diana Urge-Vorsatz, *Nature Energy*
- 2021 “The anti-colonial politics of degrowth,” *Political Geography*
- 2021 “Plunder in the Post-Colonial Era: Quantifying Drain from the Global South through Unequal Exchange, 1960-2018,” with Dylan Sullivan and Huzaifa Zoomkawala, *New Political Economy*
- 2021 “The (Anti) Politics of Central Banking: Monetary Policy, Class Conflict, and the Limits of Sovereignty in South Africa,” *Economy & Society*
- 2021 “Global vaccine equity requires reparative justice – not charity”, with Sophie Harman et al., *British Medical Journal* 6(6)
- 2021 “What does degrowth mean? A few points of clarification,” *Globalizations*
- 2021 “A Green New Deal without Growth?” with Riccardo Mastini and Giorgos Kallis, *Ecological Economics*
- 2020 “Quantifying National Responsibility for Climate Breakdown: An equality-based attribution approach for carbon dioxide emissions in excess of the planetary boundary,” *The Lancet Planetary Health*
- 2020 “The Sustainable Development Index: Measuring the Ecological Efficiency of Human Development in the Anthropocene,” *Ecological Economics* 167
- 2020 “Is Green Growth Possible?”, with Giorgos Kallis, *New Political Economy* 25(4)
- 2020 “Measuring Human Development in an Age of Ecological Breakdown,” Working Paper, *Human Development Report 2020*, United Nations Development Program
- 2019 “The Contradiction of the Sustainable Development Goals: Economic Growth vs Ecology on a Finite Planet,” *Sustainable Development* 27(5)
- 2019 “Degrowth: A Theory of Radical Abundance” *Real-World Economics Review* 87
- 2019 “The Imperative of Redistribution in an Age of Ecological Overshoot: Human Rights and Global Inequality,” *Humanity* 10(3)
- 2019 “Climate Change and Ethics in Anthropology,” Comment, *Anthropology Today* 35(4).
- 2018 “Is it Possible to Achieve a Good Life for All within Planetary Boundaries?” *Third World Quarterly* 40(1)
- 2017 “Is Global Inequality Getting Better or Worse?: A Critique of the World Bank’s Convergence Narrative,” *Third World Quarterly* 38(10)
- 2017 “The Development Delusion: Foreign Aid and Inequality,” *American Affairs* 1(3)
- 2016 “Hierarchy, Value, and the Value of Hierarchy,” with Naomi Haynes, *Social Analysis* 60(4)
- 2016 “The True Extent of Global Poverty and Hunger: Questioning the Good-News Narrative of the Millennium Development Goals,” *Third World Quarterly* 37(5)
- 2014 “‘Xenophobia’ in South Africa: Order, Chaos, and the Moral Economy of Witchcraft,” *Cultural Anthropology* 29(1)
- 2014 “‘The Girl Effect’: Liberalism, Empowerment, and the Contradictions of Development,” *Third World Quarterly* 35(8)

- 2013 “The ‘Real Experience’ Industry: Student Development Projects and the Depoliticization of Poverty,” *Learning and Teaching: The International Journal of Higher Education in the Social Sciences* 6(2)
- 2012 “Social Engineering and Revolutionary Consciousness: Domestic Transformations in Colonial South Africa,” *History and Anthropology* 23(3)
- 2012 “Subaltern Consciousness in South Africa’s Labor Movement: ‘Workerism’ in the KwaZulu-Natal Sugar Industry,” *South African Historical Journal* 64(3)
- 2012 “Neoliberal Plague: The Political Economy of HIV Transmission in Swaziland,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 38(3)
- 2012 “The Culture of Capitalism and the Crisis of Critique,” with Arsalan Khan, *Anthropological Quarterly* 85(1)
- 2012 “Liberalism and the Politics of Occupy Wall Street,” *Anthropology of This Century* (4)
- 2009 “Not So Sweet History of Sugar Unions in South Africa,” *South African Labour Bulletin* 33(3)
- 2004 “Duration and Effect of Single-Dose Atropine,” with Robert W. Arnold, *Binocular Vision and Strabismus Quarterly* 19(2)

#### *Book chapters*

- 2022 “A new political economy for a healthy planet”, United Nations University and the UN Environment Program
- 2022 “Degrowth”, in *The Climate Book*, ed. Greta Thunberg, Penguin Random House.
- 2022 “Inequality”, in *Handbook of Economic Anthropology*, James Carrier, ed. Edward Elgar.
- 2018 “Preface: Toward a Political Anthropology of Hierarchy,” with Arsalan Khan, in *Hierarchy and Value: Comparative Perspectives on Moral Order*, Berghahn Press
- 2018 “Hierarchy and Value (with a response to David Graeber),” with Naomi Haynes, in *Hierarchy and Value: Comparative Perspectives on Moral Order*, Berghahn Press
- 2017 “International Development,” in *2017 Election Manifesto Poverty Audit*. London: Academics Stand Against Poverty.
- 2017 “Addressing the Structural Drivers of World Suffering,” in *Alleviating World Suffering: The Challenge of Negative Quality of Life*, Ronald Anderson, ed. Springer
- 2017 “All Change or No Change? Culture, Power, and Activism in an Unquiet World,” with Martin Kirk and Joe Brewer, *State of Power 2017*, Transnational Institute
- 2016 “Neoliberalism and the End of Democracy,” in *The Handbook of Neoliberalism*, Simon Springer et al, eds., Routledge
- 2016 “The Contradictions of Economic Growth in an Era of Ecological Limits,” in *Engineering a Better World*, London: Royal Academy of Engineering
- 2016 “Afterword (On the Imperative of Deschooling Society),” in *The Other Hundred Educators*, Oneworld Publications
- 2016 “The Age of Inequality: Causes, Discontents, and a Radical Way Forward,” with Alnoor Ladha, in *What Do We Do about Inequality? The Wicked Problems Collaborative*, Chris Oestereich, ed. The Journal Review Foundation

- 2015 “Beyond Aid,” in *2105 Political Manifesto Poverty Audit: The Flourishing Life Narrative*. London: Academics Stand Against Poverty.
- 2014 “On the Politics of Home,” with Meghan Healy, in *Ekhaya: The Politics of Home in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press / Ohio University Press
- 2014 “Engineering the Township Home: Domestic Transformations and Urban Revolutionary Consciousness,” in *Ekhaya*, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press / Ohio University Press
- 2014 “Aid in Reverse: How Poor Countries Develop Rich Countries,” in *The Donors’ Dilemma: Emergence, Convergence, and the Future of Aid*, Andrew Sumner and Tom Kirk, eds., Global Policy
- 2012 “Constituting the Commons: Oil and Development in Post-Independence South Sudan,” In *Exporting the Alaska Model: Adapting the Permanent Fund Dividend for Reform Around the World*, Widerquist and Howard, eds., Palgrave Macmillan

#### *Book reviews*

- 2019 “On Durban’s Docks: Zulu Workers, Rural Households, Global Labour,” by Ralph Callebert, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 45(1)
- 2018 “Healing the Exposed Being: A South African Ngoma Tradition,” by Robert Thornton, *Journal of Religion in Africa* 47
- 2018 “Edge of Chaos: Why Democracy is Failing to Deliver Economic Growth – and How to Fix It,” by Dambisa Moyo, *Africa is a Country*
- 2017 “The Fires Beneath: The Life of Monica Wilson, South African Anthropologist,” by Sen Morrow, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 23(3)
- 2017 “How Soon is Now? From Personal Initiation to Global Transformation,” by Daniel Pinchbeck, *LSE Review of Books*
- 2016 “Give a Man a Fish: Reflections on the New Politics of Distribution,” by James Ferguson, *Anthropological Forum: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Comparative Sociology* 26(2)
- 2016 “The Crises of Microcredit,” by Isabelle Guerin, Marc Labie, and Jean-Michel Servet, eds., *LSE Review of Books*
- 2016 “Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals: A Critical Look Forward,” by Alberto Cimadamore, Gabriele Koehler, and Thomas Pogge, eds., *LSE Review of Books*
- 2014 “Witchcraft, Intimacy, and Trust: Africa in Comparison,” by Peter Geschiere, *Journal of Modern African Studies* 52(3)
- 2014 “Capital in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century,” by Thomas Piketty, *Global Policy Journal*
- 2014 “The South Africa Reader: History, Culture, Politics,” by Clifton Crais and Thomas V. McClendon, eds., *LSE Review of Books*
- 2014 “The New Extractivism: A Post-Neoliberal Development Model or Imperialism of the Twenty-First Century?” by H. Veltmeyer and J. Petras, eds., *LSE Review of Books*
- 2012 “Occupy!: Scenes from Occupied America,” by Astra Taylor and Keith Gessen, eds., *LSE Review of Books*

2012 “A New Look at African Diaspora Studies,” by Vanessa Valdes, ed., *LSE Review of Books*

*Selected essays*

2024 “How to force capitalism to stop climate change”, *Foreign Policy*

2024 “The limits of basic income”, *Current Affairs*

2024 “Global poverty: What does the data show?” *LSE Inequalities Blog*

2024 “Imagining a post-capitalist world”, *Aperture*

2024 “Radical climate policy should empower working-class and rural communities”, *Barcelona Metropolis*

2024 “Anti-colonial revolution: the only way out of the ecological crisis”, *Metapolis*

2023 “Universal public services: the power of decommodifying survival”, *Monthly Review*

2023 “How universal public services can end the cost of living crisis”, *New Statesman*

2022 “How much should inequality be reduced?”, *Al Jazeera*

2022 “How British colonialism killed 100 million Indians in 40 years”, *Al Jazeera*

2022 “16 million and counting: the collateral damage of capital”, *New Internationalist*

2022 “The global South has the power to force radical climate action”, *Al Jazeera*

2022 “Who is responsible for climate breakdown?”, *Al Jazeera*

2022 “How British colonizers caused the Bengal famine”, *New Internationalist*

2022 “El decreixement va de debo”, *Diari Ara*

2022 “Is it time for a worldwide minimum wage?”, *The Guardian*

2021 “The age of imperialism isn’t over – but we can end it”, *Current Affairs*

2021 “How to achieve full decolonization”, *New Internationalist*

2021 “What would it look like if we treated climate change as an emergency?” *Current Affairs*

2021 “Dit zijn de radicale stappen om van fossiele brandstoffen,” *De Correspondent*

2021 “How rich countries drained \$152 trillion from the global South”, *Al Jazeera*

2021 “A call for global vaccine justice”, with Parsa Erfani and Eugene Richardson, *Al Jazeera*

2021 “Stimulus is an environmental disaster waiting to happen”, *Foreign Policy*

2021 “Is the world poor, or unjust?” *Monthly Review*

2020 “Apartheid in the World Bank and the IMF”, *Al Jazeera*

2020 “The racist double standards of international development”, *Al Jazeera*

2020 “The world’s Sustainable Development Goals aren’t sustainable”, *Foreign Policy*

2020 “The myth of America’s green growth”, *Foreign Policy*

2020 “Why quality of life, not GDP, should be our measure of success”, *The Correspondent*

2020 “We can’t have billionaires and stop climate change,” *The Correspondent*

2020 “We can’t grow our way out of poverty,” *New Internationalist*

2020 “High-income nations are a threat to development,” *International Science Council*

2020 “We need a Green New Deal without growth”, *Monthly Review*

2020 “No, the Environmental Kuznets Curve won’t save us”, *Monthly Review*

2019 “The dark side of the Nordic model,” *Al Jazeera*

2019 “It’s not thanks to capitalism we’re living longer, but progressive politics”, *The Guardian*

2019 “The limits of clean energy,” *Foreign Policy*

2019 “The global food crisis is here,” *Foreign Policy*

2019 “Climate breakdown is coming. The UK needs a Greener New Deal”, *The Guardian*

2019 “Bill Gates says poverty is decreasing. It’s not quite so simple”, *The Guardian*

2019 “Robust scientific case for degrowth is stronger every day”, *Irish Times*

2019 “An open letter to Steven Pinker (and Bill Gates)”, *Jacobin*

2019 “On degrowth”, *Real-World Economics Review*

2019 “Progress and its discontents,” *New Internationalist*

2019 “Should we pursue boundless economic growth?” A debate with Lord Browne, *Prospect*

2019 “How to measure global inequality,” *Global Policy Journal*

2019 “The scandal of British aid”, *Global Policy Journal*

2019 “Global inequality: Do we really live in a one-hump world?” *Global Policy Journal*

2019 “How bad is global inequality, really?” *Global Policy Journal*

2019 “At this rate, it will take 200 years to end global poverty,” *Global Policy Journal*

2019 “Apartheid in the global governance system,” *Monthly Review*

2018 “Why Growth Can’t Be Green” *Foreign Policy*

2018 “The Nobel Prize in Climate Catastrophe,” *Foreign Policy*

2018 “The Hope at the Heart of the Climate Change Report,” *Foreign Policy*

2018 “How Britain stole \$45 Trillion from India,” *Al Jazeera*

2018 “Stability without Growth,” *Center for Economic Policy Research*

2018 “A new strategy for development in the 21<sup>st</sup> century,” with Joseph Stiglitz, Angus Deaton, James Heckman, Gael Giraud, *The Guardian*

2018 “Dambisa Moyo is wrong about the global economy – here’s why,” *Africa is a Country*

2018 “12 things we can agree on about global poverty,” *Center for Global Development*

2018 “Mexico is on the verge of a major human disaster,” with Paloma Martinez, *Al Jazeera*

2018 “Is it time for a post-growth economy?” *Al Jazeera*

2018 “The challenge of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is learning to consume less,” *World Economic Forum*

2018 “To stop climate change, we need to open borders,” *Al Jazeera*

2018 “The Paris Agreement is flawed – it’s time for a new deal,” *Al Jazeera*

2018 “Will technology save us from ecological crisis?” *Fast Company*

2017 “Want to avert the apocalypse? Take lessons from Costa Rica,” *The Guardian*

2017 “The Paris climate deal won’t save us – our future depends on degrowth,” *The Guardian*

2017 “How to stop the global inequality machine,” *The Guardian*

2017 “Basic income isn’t just a nice idea. It’s a birthright,” *The Guardian*

2017 “Aid in reverse: how poor countries are developing rich countries,” *The Guardian*

2017 “Britain’s bloody heirloom: We must address our colonial past,” *Prospect*

2017 “There’s only one way to avoid climate catastrophe,” *International Politics and Society*

2017 “Don’t be scared about the end of capitalism,” with Martin Kirk, *Fast Company*

2017 “Are you ready to consider that capitalism might be the problem?” *Fast Company*

2016 “To deal with climate change we need a new financial system,” *The Guardian*

2016 “Our best shot at cooling the planet might be right under our feet,” *The Guardian*

2016 “Clean energy won’t save us – only a new economic system can,” *The Guardian*

2016 “Global inequality may be much worse than we think,” *The Guardian*

2016 “Does the West really care about development?” *The Guardian*

2016 “To save ourselves, we need to break the sacred rule of the economy,” *Fast Company*

2015 “Enough of aid. Let’s talk reparations,” *The Guardian*

2015 “Global poverty is worse than you think – could you live on \$1.90 a day?” *The Guardian*

2015 “It will take 100 years for the world’s poorest people to earn \$1.25 a day,” *The Guardian*

2015 “The Microfinance Delusion: Who Really Wins?” *The Guardian*

2015 “The Hunger Numbers: Are we counting right?” *The Guardian*

2015 “The Pope v. the UN: Who will save the world first?” *The Guardian*

2015 “Using design thinking to eradicate poverty creation,” *Stanford Social Innovation Review*

2015 “Five reasons to think twice about the Sustainable Development Goals,” *LSE Africa*

2015 “The SDGs aim to save the world without transforming it,” *Jacobin*

2015 “3 Ways Humans Create Poverty,” with Martin Kirk and Joe Brewer, *Fast Company*

2015 “Take it from an American: Britain’s NHS is worth defending,” *openDemocracy*

2015 “The Death of International Development,” *Red Pepper*

2014 “The Death of ‘International Development,’” *Al Jazeera*

2014 “Exposing the Great ‘Poverty Reduction’ Scandal,” *Al Jazeera*

2014 “South Africa at 20: Storms Behind the Rainbow,” *Al Jazeera*

2014 “The New Shock Doctrine: ‘Doing Business’ with the World Bank” *Al Jazeera*

2014 “Flipping the Corruption Myth,” *Al Jazeera*

2013 “‘Free Trade’ and the Death of Democracy,” *Clare Market Review / Al Jazeera*

2013 “The Madness of Capital: Rethinking GDP Growth,” *Al Jazeera*

- 2013 “It’s Time for a Global Minimum Wage,” *Al Jazeera*
- 2013 “The Truth about Extreme Global Inequality,” *Al Jazeera*
- 2012 “Neoliberal Plague: AIDS and Global Capitalism,” *Al Jazeera*
- 2012 “The World Bank and the Development Delusion,” *Al Jazeera*
- 2012 “The Advent of ‘Democracy’ in Egypt,” *Le Monde Diplomatique*
- 2012 “Neoliberal Egypt: The Hijacked Revolution,” *Al Jazeera*
- 2012 “Postpartum Blues: Oil in Independent South Sudan,” *The Africa Report*
- 2012 “A Short History of Neoliberalism (And How We Can Change It),” *New Left Project*
- 2011 “Sweatshop Sugar: Labor Exploitation in South Africa’s Cane Fields,” *The Africa Report*
- 2011 “Rethinking Sweatshop Economics,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*
- 2011 “Saving Uganda from its Oil,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*
- 2011 “The Fallacy of ‘Freedom’: USAID and Neoliberal Policy in Egypt,” *The Africa Report*
- 2011 “AGOA and US Economic Policy for Africa,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*
- 2010 “Prosperity or Plunder?: Nigeria Slipping at an Oily Crossroads,” *Monthly Review*
- 2010 “Africa, Nature, and the March of the Development Technocrats,” *Monthly Review*