

AFRICA IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE (SIS 676 – 008/SIS 496)
American University, School of International Service

Fall 2008
Mondays, 5:30 – 8:00 pm
Location: SIS 203
<http://dss.ucsd.edu/~clevan>

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Office hrs: Mon. 10-12/Th. 9-12

COURSE OUTLINE

This course explores the economic, social, and political challenges facing sub-Saharan Africa today, placing them in historical and political contexts. Key themes include democratization, the origins of conflict, and path dependent development. The course balances regional knowledge with broader comparative theory in order to address questions about African exceptionalism, democracy, and the effects of political institutions on governance.

In the first unit on colonialism we will discuss colonial rule, including how it affected traditional bases of authority and transformed the structure of economic life. We'll then critically examine the lasting impact of nationalism and decolonization on economic and political development. The second unit analyzes the politics of the post-independence era including the rise of one-party states, increased political centralization, and economic experiments in socialism. In the third unit we examine the causes and consequences of social conflict. To study Darfur, the class will divide into several teams and students will prepare policy memoranda as part of a role playing scenario. Then following our study of the Niger Delta, each student will prepare a short profile of a rebel movement, assessing its consequences for African and American national security. The fourth section focuses on puzzles of African development: Why are so many countries rich in resources but poor in per capita terms? Have external actors helped or hurt post-colonial development? Do certain political institutions contribute to clientelism? We'll also evaluate the impact of economic liberalization and foreign aid. In the last unit we'll look at the causes of recent democratization trends, weighing structural, cultural, and historical factors.

REQUIRED MATERIALS

These books are available at the bookstore on campus and on reserve in the library:

- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton University Press.
- Hyden, Goran. 2006. *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis*. Cambridge University Press.

Required readings posted on Blackboard are marked with an *asterisk below; other required readings noted below are available via the Internet link provided in the syllabus. Additional required materials may be distributed in class or via Blackboard.

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING

Your grade will be calculated based on the following distribution:

- In-class exam on September 24 (20%)
- Policy memo/group project on Darfur due on October 15 (20%)

- Policy memo on a rebel movement to be posted on Blackboard Friday, October 31 (10%)
- Analytical essay discussing Part 4 of the course, due on Wednesday, November 19 (20%)
- Final essay due December 8 before 8:00 pm (20%).
- Class participation (10%), including dialogue on Blackboard

The literature review will be due during the time scheduled for the final exam. E-mailed assignments will not be accepted without prior permission. The Academic Integrity Code will be strictly enforced. For details, see: <http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code01.htm>.

PART 1: COLONIALISM AND DE-COLONIZATION

(1) The Pre-Colonial Polity (August 25)

- * Breten, Breytanbach “Imagine Africa,” opening remarks to the ARTerial Conference, March 5, 2007 in Senegal; reprinted in *Harper’s Magazine*, June 2007, pp. 15 – 18.
- * Vasina, J. “A Comparison of African Kingdoms,” *Africa* 32 (Oct. 1962): 324 – 335.
- * Osadolor and Otiode, “State Formation in Precolonial Nigeria,” in *Precolonial Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Toyin Falola*, edited by Ogundiran. 2005.

Recommended:

Hyden, Goran, Chapter 1, “The Study of Politics and Africa”
 Uchendu, Victor. 1965. *The Igbo of Southeast Nigeria*. New York: Holt, Rinehart (1965).
 Smith, Robert. 1988. *Kingdoms of the Yoruba*, London: James Currey (1988, 3rd edition).

→ University holiday, no classes (September 1)

(2) State Building in Africa (September 8)

Herbst

(3) Colonial Rule (September 15)

Herbst

- * Crowder, M. “Indirect Rule: French and British Style,” *Africa* 34 (July 1964): 197 – 205.
- * Ekeh, Peter. 1975. “Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17 (1975): 91 – 112.

(4) Nationalism and Decolonization (September 22)

Hyden, Chapter 2, “The Movement Legacy,” and Chapter 3, “The Problematic State”

- * Azikiwe, Nnamdi. *Zik: A Selection from the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1961), pp. 154 – 162.
 - * Nkrumah, Kwame. “The Mechanisms of Neocolonialism,” in *Neo-Colonialism: the Last Stage of Imperialism*. London: Nelson (1965), pp. 239 – 259.
- Cabral, Amilcar. “National Liberation and Culture,” speech delivered at Syracuse University, New York, February 20, 1970. Available at: <http://www.historyisaweapon.org>

→ IN-CLASS VIDEO: “The Wind of Change”

Recommended:

Chilcote, Ronald. 1991. Chapter 1, "Cabral and His Historical Context," in *Amilcar Cabral's Revolutionary Theory and Practice*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner.

PART 2: THE POST-COLONIAL MOMENT

(5) Mobilizing for Development (September 29)

Hyden, Chapter 6, "The Policy Deficit"

* Nyerere, Julius "Freedom and Development," in *Freedom and Development*, Oxford University Press (1973), pp. 58 – 71.

→ IN-CLASS EXAM

(6) Collective Action in Africa's Economies (October 6)

Hyden, Chapter 4, "The Economy of Affection"

* Robert Bates, Chapters 1 and 2 in *Markets and States in Tropical Africa* (1981)

* Beuing, J. Joost. 2006. "Nigerien Second-Hand Car Traders in Cotonou: A Sociocultural Analysis of Economic Decision Making," *African Affairs* 105 (2006): 353-373.

Recommended:

Hyden, Chapter 7, "The Agrarian Question"

Olsen, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*.

(7) Authoritarianism and Personal Rule (October 13)

Hyden, Chapter 5, "Big Man Rule"

* Mazuri, Ali. 1976. "Soldiers as Traditionalizers: Military Rule and the Re-Africanization of Africa," *World Politics* 28 (Jan. 1976): 246 – 272.

* Schneider, Leander. 2006. "Colonial Legacies and Postcolonial Authoritarianism in Tanzania," *African Studies Review* 49 (April): 93-118.

* Jourde, Cedric. 2007. "The International Relations of Small Neauthoritarian States: Islamism, Warlordism, and the Framing of Stability," *International Studies Quarterly* 51 (June 2007): 481 – 503.

Recommended:

McGowan, Patrick J. 2003. "African Military Coups d'etat, 1956 - 2001: Frequency, Trends and Distribution," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 41 (2003):339-70.

PART 3: THE POLITICS OF PEACE

(8) Darfur (October 20)

* Nick Grono. 2006. "Briefing – Darfur: the International Community's Failure to Protect," *African Affairs* 105 (2006): 621-631.

Michael Kevane, "Rainfall in Darfur Prior to the Conflict of 2003" to be posted on Blackboard.

Recommended:

Dinaw Mengestu, "The Tragedy of Darfur," *Rolling Stone* (September 21, 2006): 58 – 64, 94.

Smith, Gayle "Peacekeeping for Protection in Darfur," ENOUGH Darfur Strategy Paper No. 4 available at: http://www.enoughproject.org/reports/peacekeeping_20070626.php

(9) Sovereignty, Secession, and Security (October 27)

- * Eberlein, Ruben. 2006. "On the Road to the State's Perdition? Authority and Sovereignty in the Niger Delta, Nigeria," *JMAS* 44 (2006): 573 – 596.
- * Englebert and Hummel. 2005. "Let's Stick Together: Understanding Africa's Secessionist Deficit," *African Affairs* 104 (2005): 399 – 427.
- Sebastian Junger, "Blood Oil," *Vanity Fair* February 2007.
Available at: <http://www.vanityfair.com/politics/features/2007/02/junger200702>.
- Juhasz, Antonia. "Will the Next Oil War Be in Africa?" *Foreign Policy in Focus*, June 17, 2008.
Available at: <http://www.fpif.org/fpifxt/5301>
- Opening Statement of Congressman Ike Skelton (D-MO), Hearing on the United States Africa Command, House Armed Services Committee. November 14, 2007. Available online.

Recommended:

- * Ellis, Stephen, "Briefing: West Africa and Its Oil," *African Affairs* 102 (2003): 135-38.
- Lubeck, Paul, Michael Watts, and Ronnie Lipschutz, "Convergent Interests: U.S. Energy Security and the 'Securing' of Nigerian Democracy," *International Policy Report*. Washington, DC: Center for International Policy, February 2007.
- Watts, Michael. 2004. "Resource Curse? Governability, Oil and Power in the Niger Delta, Nigeria," *Geopolitics* 9 (2004): 50-80.
- United Nations. 2006. *Niger Delta Human Development Report*. Abuja: United Nations Development Programme.

PART 4: DEVELOPMENT PARADOXES AND PARADIGMS

(10) A "Growth Tragedy"? (November 3)

- * Collier, Paul and Jan Willem Gunning, "Why Has Africa Grown Slowly?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 13:3 (Summer 1999): pp. 3-22.
- * Easterly and Levine, "Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112 (1997), pp. 1203 – 50.
- Van de Walle, Introduction

(11) Transforming African Economies (November 10)

Van de Walle, Chapters 1 – 4

Recommended:

- * Herbst, Jeffrey. 1990. "The Structural Adjustment of Politics in Africa," *World Development* 18 (1990): 949-958.

(12) Debt, Trade, and Aid (November 17)

Hyden, Chapter 10, "The External Dimension"

Van de Walle, Chapter 5, "The Crisis and Foreign Aid"

U.S. Agency for International Development. "The Governance Dimensions of Food Security in Malawi." (June 2005). To be posted on Blackboard.

- * Schlesinger, Victoria, "The Continuation of Poverty: Re-branding Foreign Aid in Kenya," *Harper's Magazine* May 2007, pp. 58 – 66.

→ **VIDEO:** Malawi: Nation going hungry (DVD 4428)

Recommended:

- * Collier, Paul. 1999. "Learning from Failure: The International Financial Institutions as Agencies of Restraint in Africa," in *The Self-Restraining State*, Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, and Marc Plattner, editors. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Claude Ake. "A Confusion of Agendas," in *Democracy and Development in Africa*, Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution (1996), pp. 18 – 41.
The Center for Global Development's blog: http://blogs.cgdev.org/globaldevelopment/2007/08/post_3.php

→ **Hardcopy of the short essay due Wednesday, November 19 by 5:00 pm.**

PART 5: DEMOCRACY AND DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA

(13) Ethnicity, Patronage, and Public Goods (November 24)

NOTE: Class will meet for dinner at 4201 Cathedral Avenue, NW. Details to follow.

- * Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. "Clientelism and Voting Behavior: A Field Experiment in Benin," *World Politics* 55 (April): 399-422.
- * Berman, Bruce. 1998. "Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State," *African Affairs* 97 (1998): 305-41.
- * Miguel, Edward. 2004. "Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania," *World Politics* 56:3 (April): 327-62
- * Alence, Rod. 2004. "Political Institutions and Developmental Governance in Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 42 (2004):163-87.

(14) Democratization (December 1)

Nicolas van de Walle, Chapter 6, "Democratization and the Prospects for Change."

- * Jennifer Widner. "Political Reform in Anglophone and Francophone African Countries," in *Economic Change and Political Liberalization in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Jennifer Widner, editor. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press (1994), pp. 49 – 79.
 - * Nathan Jensen and Leonard Wantchekon, "Resource Wealth and Political Regimes in Africa," *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 37, no. 7 (Sept. 2004), pp. 816-841.
- Staffan Lindberg, "The Surprising Significance of Elections in Africa," *Journal of Democracy* 7 (1): 139-151. Available for free at: <http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/lindberg/downloads.html>

Recommended:

- Reynolds, Andrew. 1999. *Electoral Systems and Democratization in Southern Africa*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bratton, Michael and Eric C.C. Chang. 2006. "State Building and Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (Nov. 2006): 105-1083.