

## CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN POLITICS

Political Science, W4496  
Columbia University, Fall 2006

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Time: Tues and Thurs, 9.10-10.25am  
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### COURSE OBJECTIVES

This course aims to teach students what, if any, answers social scientists have to the questions that trouble the lay observer of African politics: 1) Why do venal leaders remain in power? 2) Can the adoption of Western-style political institutions enhance accountability in Africa? 3) What explains poor economic growth on the continent? 4) Why does politically-motivated violence seem so common? and 5) To what extent are political and economic outcomes in contemporary Africa the inescapable consequence of its unique history, culture, and geography?

As political scientists, we seek to address these questions by constructing causal theories to explain political events and evaluating those theories using a variety of evidence. An important part of that exercise involves explaining why African countries or regions have differed from each other. Because many developments in African politics cannot be understood in isolation from African societies or their historical context, this course augments research by political scientists with the work of historians, economists, and anthropologists.

### OVERVIEW

This course has five parts. First, we conduct a brief historical survey, concentrating on colonialism and its impact on Africans. Second, we consider the state and forms of government in Africa since 1960. Third, we examine the identity and interest groups that have shaped political outcomes. Fourth, we examine economic policy in Africa and finally we consider current threats to African lives and livelihoods including political violence and the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

### REQUIREMENTS AND EVALUATION

The requirements are as follows:

- *Participation in weekly discussion sections – 15% of the final grade for the class.*  
Students are expected to have done the required readings for the week before they meet for section. The Teaching Fellow (Alex Scacco) may set additional assignments for section.
- *Map quiz – Tuesday, September 19<sup>th</sup>, in class – 5%*  
Students are required to locate several African countries on a map.

- *Two short response papers – (a) one due before October 24<sup>th</sup>, and (b) one due on or after October 24<sup>th</sup>–30%*

Your response papers should be integrated, critical assessments of at least two of the required readings and at least two of the additional readings for a particular week. You should summarize and discuss the validity of both the logic of the argument and the evidence used by the authors in approximately 800 to 1000 words. Response papers for a week's readings should be handed in to your teaching fellow by 9am on the Tuesday of that week and you may be asked to discuss them in section.

The additional articles and chapters listed as “Further Readings” are a resource for students. They complement the required readings and the lectures. They examine issues raised in the lectures in greater depth, describe how these issues relate to new cases, or provide a different perspective on a case we discuss in class.

- *Final exam – 50 %*

The final exam consists of three essay questions, which require you to incorporate material from different parts of the course. While this exam is open-book, students will need to attend the lectures and sections regularly and keep up with the readings in order to successfully complete the exam within the time limit.

The requirements for doctoral students are identical to those above except that a research paper replaces the final exam.

- *Research paper (Doctoral Students) – due Thursday, December 14<sup>th</sup> – 50%*

Your research paper must contain a theoretical argument related to one of the key themes of the course and test that argument empirically. You are strongly encouraged discuss your paper topic with me before you begin your work.

## LOGISTICS

There is no course reader for this class. All readings are on reserve at Lehman Library and almost all are available electronically through the class website on Courseworks (<https://courseworks.columbia.edu/>). Significant portions of the following three books are assigned and you may wish to purchase them:

- Bates, Robert H. 1981. *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- van de Walle, Nicholas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Young, Crawford. 1994. *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* New Haven: Yale University Press.

The penalty for late assignments will be one letter grade per day and final exams will be docked one letter grade per hour after the deadline.

## READINGS

### Lecture 1 (9/5): Introduction

There is no required reading for this lecture. Students who want a good introduction to some of the issues covered in this class should read Frederick Cooper's *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge University Press) especially pages 1-90.

### Lecture 2 (9/7): Pre-Colonial Political Structures

Bates, Robert H. 1983. The Preservation of Order in Stateless Societies: A Reinterpretation of Evans-Pritchard's *The Nuer*, Chapter 1 in *Essays on the Political Economy of Rural Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ehret, Christopher. 2002. Africa in the Era of the Slave Trade, 1640–1800, Chapter 9 in *The Civilizations of Africa: A History to 1800*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia.

#### *Further Reading*

Ambler, Charles H. 1988. The Formation of New Societies, Chapter 1 in *Kenyan Communities in the Age of Imperialism: The Central Region in the Late Nineteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Bates, Robert H. 1983. The Centralization of African Societies, Chapter 2 in *Essays on the Political Economy of Rural Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press

Chrétien, Jean-Pierre. 2003. The Formation of Monarchical States, Chapter 3 in *The Great Lakes of Africa: Two Thousand Years of History*. Zone Books: New York.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. 1940. The Political System, Chapter 4 in *The Nuer. A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Fairley, Nancy. 1987. Ideology and State Formation: The Ekie of Southern Zaire. In *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies*, edited by I. Kopytoff. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Kenyatta, Jomo. 1938. The Gikuyu System of Government, Chapter 9 in *Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu*. New York: Vintage. (See also Berman, Bruce J. 1996. Ethnography as Politics, Politics as Ethnography: Kenyatta, Malinowski, and the Making of Facing Mount Kenya. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 30 (3):313–344)

### **Lecture 3 (9/12): Africa and Europe**

- Crowder, Michael. 1964. Indirect Rule: French and British Style. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 34 (3):197–205.
- Curtin, Philip. 1994. The Impact of Europe. In *African History: From Earliest Times to Independence*, edited by P. Curtin, S. Feierman, L. Thompson and J. Vansina. London & New York: Longman.
- Lonsdale, John. 1975. The European Scramble and Conquest in African History. In *Cambridge History of Africa*, edited by J. D. Fage and R. Oliver. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Manning, Patrick. 1990. Transformations of Slavery and Society, 1650-1900, Chapter 7 in *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

#### *Further Reading*

- Davidson, Basil. 1995. Conquest and Colonial Rule, Chapter 7 in *Africa in History*. New York: Simon Schuster.
- Feierman, Steven. 1994. Social Change in Colonial Africa. In *African History: From Earliest Times to Independence*, edited by P. Curtin, S. Feierman, L. Thompson and J. Vansina. London & New York: Longman.
- Kiwanuka, Semakula M. 1970. Colonial Policies and Administrations in Africa: The Myths of the Contrasts. *African Historical Studies* 3 (2):295–303.
- Lovejoy, Paul E. 1989. The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature. *Journal of African History* 30 (3):365–94.
- Vail, Leroy. 1976. Mozambique's Chartered Companies: The Rule of the Feeble. *Journal of African History* 17 (3):389-416.
- Film*: Jean Jacques Annaud (1976) Noirs et blancs en couleur (Black and White in Color)

### **Lecture 4 (9/14): Nationalism and Independence**

- Bates, Robert H. 1983. The Commercialization of Agriculture and the Rise of Rural Political Protest, Chapter 4 in *Essays on the Political Economy of Rural Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Coleman, James. 1954. Nationalism in Tropical Africa. *American Political Science Review* 48 (2):404–426.
- Kaunda, Kenneth D. 1962. A Year of Decision, Chapter 17 in *Zambia Shall be Free*. London: Heinemann.
- Schmidt, Elizabeth. 2005. Top Down or Bottom Up? Nationalist Mobilization Reconsidered, with Special Reference to Guinea (French West Africa). *American Historical Review* 110 (4):975–1014.

#### *Further Reading*

- Berg, Elliot. 1960. The Economic Basis of Political Choice in French West Africa. *American Political Science Review* 54 (2):391–405.
- Berman, Bruce J. 1997. Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Modernity: The Paradox of Mau Mau. In *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History, and Representation*, edited by R. Grinker and C. B. Steiner. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

- Birmingham, David, and Terence Ranger. 1983. "Settlers and Liberators in the South, 1953-80." In *History of Central Africa*, ed. D. Birmingham and P. M. Martin. New York: Longman.
- Ibingira, Grace S. 1982. The Impact of Ethnic Demands on British Decolonization in Africa: The Example of Uganda. In *The Transfer of Power in Africa*, edited by G. Prosser and W. R. Louis. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Lonsdale, John. 1968. Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa. *Journal of African History* 9 (1):119-46.
- Maxell, Kenneth. 1982. Portugal and Africa: The Last Empire. In *The Transfer of Power in Africa*, edited by G. Prosser and W. R. Louis. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Film*: Ousmane Sembène (1988) Camp de Thiaroye – Senegal

### **Lectures 5 & 6 (9/19 & 9/21): Legacies of Colonial Rule**

- Asiwaju, A.I. 1985. Introduction. In *Partitioned Africans: Ethnic Relations Across Africa's International Boundaries, 1884-1984*, edited by A. I. Asiwaju. London: C. Hurst.
- Ekeh, Peter P. 1975. Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17 (1):91-112.
- Kalck, Pierre. 1971. Emancipation of the Central African People, Chapter 3 in *Central African Republic: A Failure in Decolonization*. London: Pall Mall Press.
- Rodney, Walter. 1972. Colonialism as a System for Underdeveloping Africa, Chapter 6 in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press.
- Young, Crawford. 1994. Bula Matari and the Contemporary African Crisis and The Afterlife of the African Colonial State: Concluding Reflections, Chapters 1 & 8 in *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* New Haven: Yale University Press.

#### *Further Reading*

- Amin, Samir. 1972. Underdevelopment and Dependence in Black Africa: Origins and Contemporary Forms. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 10 (4):503-524.
- Davidson, Basil. 1992. The Road Not Taken, Chapter 2 in *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*. New York: Random House.
- Fanon, Frantz. 2002 [1963] Colonial War and Mental Disorders in *Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Firmin-Sellers, Kathryn. 2000. "Institutions, Context and Outcomes: Explaining French and British Colonial Rule in West Africa." *Comparative Politics* 32 (3):253-72.
- Golan, Tamar. 1981. A Certain Mystery: How Can France Do Everything that It Does in Africa and Get Away with It? *African Affairs* 80 (318):3-11 & Martin, Guy. 1985. "The Historical, Economic, and Political Bases of France's Africa Policy." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 23 (2):189-208.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, Chapters 1-3.
- Stasavage, David. 2003. Transnational Coalitions and the Franc Zone, Chapter 5 in *The Political Economy of a Common Currency: the CFA Franc Zone since 1945*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Touval, Saadia. 1966. Treaties, Borders, and the Partition of Africa. *Journal of African History* 7 (2):279-93.

*Film*: Jean-Marie Teno. 2004. *Afrique, je te plumerai* (Africa, I will Fleece You) – Cameroon

### **Lectures 7 & 8 (9/26 & 9/28): The State in Africa**

- Adu, Amshadi L. 1965. *The Civil Service in New African States*. New York: F.A. Praeger, Chapters 1 & 2.
- Ensminger, Jean. 1996. Collective Action: From Community to State, Chapter 6 in *Making a Market: The Institutional Transformation of an African Society*. New York & Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fleisher, Michael L. 2000. *Sungusungu*: State-Sponsored Village Vigilante Groups among the Kuria of Tanzania. *Africa* 70 (2):209-28.
- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. The Past and the Future of State Power in Africa, Chapter 9 in *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Little, Peter D. 2003. Introduction and Life Goes On, Chapters 1 & 6 in *Somalia: Economy without State*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Reno, William. 1997. War, Markets, and the Reconfiguration of West Africa's Weak States. *Comparative Politics* 29 (4):493-510.
- Young, Crawford. 1994. On the State, Chapter 3 in *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Film*: Ousmane Sembène (1968) *Mandabi* (The Money Order) – Senegal & Thierry Michel (1999) *Mobutu, King of Zaire: An African Tragedy*

### *Further Reading*

- Boone, Catherine. 1998. "Empirical Statehood" and Reconfigurations of Political Order. In *The African State at a Critical Juncture: Between Disintegration and Reconfiguration* edited by L. Villalón and P. A. Huxtable. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Bierschenk, Thomas, and Jean-Pierre Olivier de Sardan. 1997. Local Powers and a Distant State in Rural Central African Republic. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 35 (3):441–468.
- Chabal, Patrick, and Jean Daloz. 1999. Whither the State?, Chapter 1 in *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument*. Oxford: James Currey.
- Englebert, Pierre, and Rebecca Hummel. 2005. Let's Stick Together: Understanding Africa's Secessionist Deficit. *African Affairs* 104 (416):399-427.
- Helander, Bernhard. 2005. Who Needs a State? Civilians, Security & Social Services in North-East Somalia. In *No Peace, No War: An Anthropology of Contemporary Armed Conflicts*, edited by P. Richards. Oxford: James Currey.
- Jackson, Robert H., and Carl G. Rosberg. 1982. Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood. *World Politics* 35 (1):1-24.
- Laely, Thomas. 1997. Peasants, Local Communities and Central Power in Burundi. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 35 (4):695-716.
- MacGaffey, Janet. 1987. "State, Class and Power: The Effect of Administrative Decline on Class Formation, Chapter 8 in *Entrepreneurs and Parasites: The Struggle for Indigenous Capitalism in Zaire*. New York: Cambridge.
- Touval, Saadia. 1966. "Treaties, Borders, and the Partition of Africa." *Journal of African History* 7 (2):279-93.

Young, Crawford, and Thomas Turner. 1985. The Crisis of the Zairean State, Chapter 13 in *The Rise and Decline of the Zairian State*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

### **Lecture 9 (10/3): Forms of Government I, 1960 – c. 1989**

- Jackson, Robert H., and Carl G. Rosberg. 1984. Personal Rule: Theory and Practice in Africa. *Comparative Politics* 16 (4):421–442.
- Toungara, Jeanne Maddox. 1995. Generational Tensions in the Parti Democratique de Côte d'Ivoire. *African Studies Review* 38 (2):11–38.
- Decalo, Samuel. 197. Military Coups and Regimes in Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 11 (1):105–127.

#### *Further Reading*

- Allen, Christopher. 1992. “Goodbye to All That” The Short Sad Story of Socialism in Benin. *Journal of Communist Studies* 8 (2):63–81.
- Austin, Dennis. 1985. The Ghana Armed Forces and Ghanaian Society. *Third World Quarterly* 7 (1):90-101.
- Clapham, Christopher. 1992. The Socialist Experience in Ethiopia and Its Demise. *Journal of Communist Studies* 8 (2):103–125.
- Decalo, Samuel. 1985. African Personal Dictatorships. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 23 (2):209–237.
- Ferme, Mariane C. 1999. “Staging *Politisi*: The Dialogics of Publicity and Secrecy in Sierra Leone.” In *Civil Society and the Political Imagination in Africa: Critical Perspectives*, ed. J. L. Comaroff and J. Comaroff. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Kilson, Martin L. 1963. Authoritarian and Single-Party Tendencies in African Politics. *World Politics* 15 (2):262–294.
- Widner, Jennifer. 1992. The Kenyan Party-State in Comparative Perspective, Chapter 7 in *The Rise of a Party-State in Kenya: From “Harambee!” to “Nyayo!”* Berkeley: University of California.
- Young, Crawford, and Thomas Turner. 1985. The Patrimonial State and Personal Rule, Chapter 6 in *The Rise and Decline of the Zairian State*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Zolberg, Aristide. 1968. The Structure of Political Conflict in the New States of Tropical Africa. *American Political Science Review* 62 (1):70-87.
- Film*: David Achkar (1991) Allah Tantou (God’s Will) – Guinaea

### **Lecture 10 (10/5): Identity and Interests – Ethnicity**

- Bates, Robert H. 1983. Modernization, Ethnic Competition and the Rationality of Politics. In *State versus Ethnic Claims: African Policy Dilemmas*, edited by D. Rothchild and V. A. Olunsorola. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Posner, Daniel. 2004. The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi. *American Political Science Review* 98 (4):529–45.
- Young, Crawford. 1965. The Politics of Ethnicity, Chapter 11 in *Politics in the Congo. Decolonization and Independence*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press (especially pages 246-52)

*Further Reading*

- Ambler, Charles H. 1988. Community and Identity, Chapter 2 in *Kenyan Communities in the Age of Imperialism: The Central Region in the Late Nineteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Cohen, Abner. 1966. Politics of the Kola Trade. Some Processes of Tribal Community Formation among Migrants in West African Towns. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 36 (1):18–36.
- Fearon, James. 2004. Ethnic Mobilization and Ethnic Violence. *Working Paper*. Stanford University.
- McEvoy, Frederick D. 1977. Understanding Ethnic Realities among the Grebo and Kru Peoples of West Africa. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 47 (1):62–80.
- Miles, William F. S., and David Rochefort. 1991. Nationalism Versus Ethnic Identity in Sub-Saharan Africa. *American Political Science Review* 85 (2):393–404.
- Miguel, Edward. 2004. Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania. *World Politics* 56 (3):327–62.
- Mitchell, J. Clyde. 1959. *The Kalela Dance: Aspects of Social Relationships among Urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia*. Vol. 27, *The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers*. Manchester: Manchester University.
- Posner, Daniel. 2005. Explaining Changing Patterns of Ethnic Politics: A Model of Political Institutions and Ethnic Cleavage Outcomes, Chapter 5 in *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Vail, Leroy. 1997. Ethnicity in Southern African History. In *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History, and Representation*, edited by R. Grinker and C. B. Steiner. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

**Lecture 11 (10/10): Identity and Interests – Race & Class**

- de Waal, Alex. 2005. Who are the Darfurians? Arab and African Identities, Violence and External Engagement. *African Affairs* 104 (415):181-205.
- Jung, Courtney Elizabeth. 2000. In Defense of Whiteness: The Politics of Afrikaner Identity, 1978-90. In *Then I was Black: South African Political Identities in Transition*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Melson, Robert. 1971. Ideology and Inconsistency: The ‘Cross-Pressured’ Nigerian Worker. *American Political Science Review* 65 (1):161-71.
- Sklar, Richard L. 1979. The Nature of Class Domination in Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 17 (4):531-52

*Further Reading – Race*

- Deng, Francis M. 1995. Boundaries of Identity, Chapter 10 in *War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in the Sudan*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institute.
- Diamond, Jared. 1997. How Africa Became Black, Chapter 19 in *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Ferree, Karen. 2006. Explaining South Africa's Racial Census. *Journal of Politics* 68 (4).
- Horowitz, Donald L. 1973. Color Differentiation in the American Systems of Slavery. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 3 (3):509-541.

- Mamdani, Mahmood. 2001. The Racialization of the Hutu/Tutsi Difference Under Colonialism, Chapter 3 in *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Marx, Anthony W. 1996. Race-Making and the Nation-State *World Politics* 48 (2):180-208.
- Morris, H.S. 1957. "Communal Rivalry among Indians in Uganda." *The British Journal of Sociology* 8 (4):306-17. & Jamal, Vali. 1976. Asians in Uganda: Inequality and Expulsion. *Economic History Review* 29 (4):602-616.
- Posel, Deborah. 2001. Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth Century South Africa. *African Studies Review* 44 (2):87-113.
- Senghor, Leopold Sedar. 1997. Negritude: A Humanism of the Twentieth Century. In *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History, and Representation*, edited by R. Grinker and C. B. Steiner. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

*Further Reading – Class*

- Boone, Catherine. 1990. The Making of a Rentier Class: Wealth Accumulation and Political Control in Senegal. *Journal of Development Studies* 26 (3):425-49.
- Elster, Jon. 1985. Class Consciousness and the Class Struggle, Chapter 7 in *Making Sense of Marx*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lofchie, Michael F. 1972. The Uganda Coup - Class Action by the Military. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 10 (1):19-35.
- Sandbrook, Richard. 1977. The Political Potential of African Urban Workers. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 11 (3):411-33.
- von Freyhold, Michaela. 1987. Labor Movements or Popular Struggles in Africa. *Review of African Political Economy* 39:23-32.

**Lecture 12 (10/12): Identity and Interests – Religion**

- Cruise O'Brien, Donal B. 2003. Supping with the Devil: The Mouride Brotherhood and the Senegalese State. In *Symbolic Confrontations: Muslims Confronting the State in Africa*. New York: Palgrave.
- Ellis, Stephen, and Gerrie ter Haar. 1998. Religion and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 36 (2):175–201.
- Maxwell, David. 2000. "'Catch the Cockerel Before Dawn': Pentecostalism and Politics in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 70 (2):249-77.

*Further Reading*

- Brenner, Louis. 1993. Constructing Muslim Identities in Mali. In *Muslim Identity and Social Change in Sub-Saharan Africa* edited by L. Brenner. Indiana, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Brinkman, Inge. 2003. War, Witches and Traitors: Cases from the MPLA's Eastern Front in Angola (1966-1975). *Journal of African History* 44 (2):303-326
- Chabal, Patrick, and Jean Daloz. 1999. The Taming of the Irrational: Witchcraft and Religion. In *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument*. Oxford: James Currey, pp. 63–75
- De Boeck, Filip. 2004. On Being *Shege* in Kinshasa: Children, the Occult and the Street. In *Reinventing Order in the Congo: How People Respond to State Failure in Kinshasa*, edited by

- T. Trefon. London: Zed Books.
- Hutchinson, Sharon E. 2005. Spiritual Fragments of an Unfinished War. In *Religion and African Civil Wars*, edited by N. Kastfelt. London: C. Hurst.
- Laitin, David. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change among the Yoruba*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (especially pp. 1–11 & 171–85).
- Larkin, Brian, and Brigit Meyer. 2006. Pentecostalism, Islam & Culture: New Religious Movements in West Africa. In *Themes in West Africa's History*, edited by E. K. Akyeampong. Oxford: James Currey.
- Marshall, Ruth. 1995. 'God is not a Democrat': Pentecostalism and Democratization in Nigeria. In *The Christian Churches and Democratization in Africa*, edited by P. Gifford. Leiden: EJ Brill.
- Miguel, Edward. 2005. Poverty and Witch Killing. *Review of Economic Studies* 72 (4):1153-72.
- Newell, Jonathan. 1995. 'A Moment of Truth?' The Church and Political Change in Malawi. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 33 (2):243–62.
- Peel, J.D.Y. 2002. Gender in Yoruba Religious Change. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 32 (2):136–66.
- Film*: Ousmane Sembène (1993) *Guelwaar* – Senegal  
Allison Berg (2005) *Witches in Exile* – Ghana

### **Lecture 13 (10/17): Identity and Interests – Gender**

- Gray, Leslie, and Michael Kevane. 1999. Diminished Access, Diverted Exclusion: Women and Land Tenure in Sub-Saharan Africa. *African Studies Review* 42 (2):15–39.
- Goetz, Anne Marie. 2002. No Shortcuts to Power: Constraints on Women's Political Effectiveness in Uganda. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 40 (4):549–75.
- Mikell, Gwendolyn. 1997. *African Feminism: The Politics of Survival in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 1–50

#### *Further Reading*

- Allman, Jean Marie. 1996. Rounding up Spinsters: Gender Chaos and Unmarried Women in Colonial Asante. *Journal of African History* 37 (2):195-214.
- Chernoff, John M. 2003. *Hustling is Not Stealing: Stories of an African Bar Girl*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Kevane, Michael. 2004. *Women and Development in Africa: How Gender Works*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Kevane, Michael, and Leslie Gray. 1995. Local Politics in the Time of Turabi's Revolution: Gender, Class and Ethnicity in Western Sudan. *Africa* 65 (2):271–295.
- Geisler, Gisela. 1992. Moving with Tradition: The Politics of Marriage amongst the Toka of Zambia. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 26 (3):437–61.
- Geisler, Gisela. 1995. Troubled Sisterhood: Women and Politics in Southern Africa: Case Studies from Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. *African Affairs* 94 (377):545–78.
- Grundfest Schoepf, Brooke. 2004. AIDS in Africa: Structure, Agency, and Risk. In *HIV and AIDS in Africa: Beyond Epidemiology*, edited by E. Kalipeni, S. Craddock, J. Oppong and J. Ghosh. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hallam, Rebecca. 1994. *Crimes without Punishment: Sexual Harassment and Violence against Female Students in Schools and Universities in Africa* Edited by A. de Waal and R. Omaar, *African Rights Discussion Paper*. London: African Rights.

- Mama, Amina. 1997. Feminism or Femocracy? State Feminism and Democratization. In *Expanding Democratic Space in Nigeria*, edited by J. Ibrahim. Dakar: CODESRIA. & Ibrahim, Jibrin. 2004. The First Lady Syndrome and the Marginalization of Women from Power: Opportunities or Compromises for Gender Equality. *Feminist Africa* 3.
- Shell-Duncan, Bettina, and Ylva Hernlund. 2000. "Female 'Circumcision' in Africa": Dimensions of the Practice and Debates." In *Female "Circumcision" in Africa: Culture, Controversy, and Change*, ed. B. Shell-Duncan and Y. Hernlund. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Goldstein, Markus, and Chris Udry. 2004. "Gender, Power and Agricultural Investment in Ghana." *Working Paper, Yale University*.
- van Allen, Judith. 1972. "Sitting on a Man: Colonialism and the Lost Political Institutions of Igbo Women". *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 6 (2):165–181.
- Film*: Adama Drabo (1997) Taafe Fanga (Skirt Power) – Mali  
 Florence Ayisi and Kim Longinotto (2005) Sisters in Law – Cameroon

#### **Lecture 14 (10/19): Pork Politics**

- de Sardan, Olivier. 1999. A Moral Economy of Corruption in Africa? *Journal of Modern African Studies* 37 (1):25-52.
- Kapściński, Ryszard 1986. *The Child Support Bill in the Tanganyikan Parliament*. Translated by W. Brand. New York: Vintage.
- Kasara, Kimuli. 2006. Tax Me If You Can: Ethnic Geography, Democracy, and the Taxation of Agriculture in Africa. *American Political Science Review*, forthcoming
- Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin. *World Politics* 55 (3):399–422.

#### *Further Reading*

- Barkan, Joel D., and Michael Chege. 1989. "Decentralizing the State: District Focus and the Politics of Re-allocation in Kenya." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 27 (3).
- Dresang, Dennis L. 1974. Ethnic Politics, Representative Bureaucracy and Development Administration: The Zambian Case. *American Political Science Review* 68 (4):1605-1617.
- Herbst, Jeffrey. 1990. Ethnic and Class Claims on Health Services, Chapter 8 in *State Politics in Zimbabwe*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fearon, James D. 1999. Why Ethnic Politics and "Pork" Tend to go Together. *Working Paper. Stanford University*.

#### **Lecture 15 (10/24): Civil Society**

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- Film*: Issa Serge Coelo (2005) *Daresalam – Chad*  
Johnathan Stack (2005) *Liberia: An Uncivil War*.

## **Lecture 23 (11/28): Political Violence – Civil War Cases**

Students should read about two of the cases listed below one from Group A and one from Group B.

### Group A

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- Stockwell, John. 1978. *In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story*. New York: W.W. Norton. (Chapters 2, 8, 9, 13, 15)
- Hodges, Tony. 2001. *Angola: From Afro-Stalinism to Petro-Diamond Capitalism* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press (pages 1-43, 123-175).

#### *Sudan – Darfur*

- Flint, Julie, and Alexander de Waal. 2005. *Darfur: A Short History of a Long War*. London: Zed Books.

*Sudan – Southern Sudan*

- Johnson, Douglas H. 2003. *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*. Oxford: James Currey. Chapters 3 – 9
- International Crisis Group. 2005. "The Khartoum-SPLM Agreement: Sudan's Uncertain Peace." *Africa Report* 96.

Group B

*Democratic Republic of Congo*

- International Crisis Group. 2006. Congo's Elections: Making or Breaking the Peace *Africa Report* 108
- Nzongola-Ntalaja, Georges. 2002. Conflict in the Great Lakes Region, Chapter 7 in *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A People's History*. London: Zed Books.
- Prunier, Gérard. 2004. Rebel Movements and Proxy Warfare: Uganda, Sudan and the Congo. *African Affairs* 103 (412):359-383.

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- Bellows, John, and Edward Miguel. 2006. War and Institutions: New Evidence from Sierra Leone. *American Economic Association Papers and Proceedings* 96 (2):394-99.
- Dorman, Sara Rich. 2003. Eritrea's Nation and State-building: Re-assessing the Impact of 'The Struggle'. *Queen Elizabeth House Working Paper* QEHWPS105.
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- Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy Weinstein. 2006. Disentangling the Determinants of Successful Demobilization and Reintegration. *Working Paper*.
- Manning, Carrie. 1998. Constructing Opposition in Mozambique: Renamo as Political Party. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24 (1):161-89.

- Rogge, John R. 1994. "Repatriation of Refugees: A Not so Simple 'Optimum' Solution" and Kabera, J.B., & C. Munyanja. 1994. "Homecoming in the Luwero Triangle." In *When Refugees go Home: African Experiences*, ed. T. Allen and H. Morsink. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Widner, Jennifer A. 2001. Courts and Democracy in Post Conflict Transitions: A Social Science Perspective on the African Case. *American Journal of International Law* 95 (1):64-876.
- Film*: Zézé Gamboa (2005) *O Herói (The Hero)* – Angola  
 Frances Reid and Deborah Hoffman (2000) *Long Night's Journey into Day* – South Africa

### **Lecture 25 (12/5): The HIV/AIDS Epidemic**

- Epstein, Helen. 2004. Why is AIDS Worse in Africa? *Discover* 25 (2):68.
- Parkhurst, Justin, and Louisiana Lush. 2004. The Political Environment of HIV: Lessons from a Comparison of Uganda and South Africa. *Social Science and Medicine* 59 (9):1913–1924.
- Schoofs, Mark. 1999. AIDS: The Agony of Africa (Parts 1–8). *Village Voice*.
- Whiteside, Alan, Alex de Waal, and Tsadkan Gebre-Tensae. 2006. AIDS, Security and the Military in Africa: A Sober Appraisal. *African Affairs* 105 (419):201-18.

#### *Further Reading*

- Asingwire, Narathius, and Swizen Kyomuhendo. 2006. Turning the Tide: How Openness and Leadership Stemmed the Spread of HIV/AIDS in Uganda. In *Attacking Africa's Poverty: Experience from the Ground*, edited by L. Fox and R. Liebenthal. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Butler, Anthony. 2005. South Africa's HIV/AIDS Policy, 1994–2004: How Can it Be Explained? *African Affairs* 104 (417):591–614.
- Barnett, Tony, Tsetsele Fantan, Bekezela Mbakile, and Alan Whiteside. 2002. *The Private Sector Responds to the Epidemic: Debswana - A Global Benchmark* Geneva: UNAIDS.
- Epstein, Helen. 2005. God and the Fight Against AIDS. *New York Review of Books* 52 (7).
- Garner, Robert C. 2000. Safe Sects? Dynamic Religion and AIDS in South Africa. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 38 (1):41–67.
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 Tsitsi Dangaremba. 1996. *Everyone's Child* – Zimbabwe

### **Lecture 26 (12/7): Conclusion**

## AFRICAN POLITICS RESOURCES

(Originally written by Prof. Macartan Humphreys , Spring 2004)

To keep up with the day-to-day politics there is a host of new on-line resources that we can use

We have no excuse not to be able to keep up with the news: Regular news sources available online include:

- <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/default.stm>
- <http://allafrica.com/>
- Africa news (LexisNexis)  
<http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3324754>

In addition you can sign up for the United Nations IRIN (<http://www.irinnews.org/>) news bulletins for Africa here: <http://www.irinnews.org/subscriptions/subslogin.asp>. these will give you regular feeds of news on the continent as soon as it comes in.

There is even a host of radio stations you can listen to:

- <http://www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/radio.html>
- <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/default.stm>
- [http://allafrica.com/partners/rfi/en\\_rfi.html](http://allafrica.com/partners/rfi/en_rfi.html) (RFI )

Fortunately, Columbia University Libraries has a very rich page of links to on-line resources on Africa:

- <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/cuvl/>

Other rich **portals** for information on Africa include:

- <http://www.africa.upenn.edu/AS.html>
- <http://www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/guide.html>
- <http://www.worldbank.org/afr/>
- <http://www.afrika.no/>
- <http://www.africaonline.com>
- <http://worldviews.igc.org/awpguide/>
- *Country Pages:* [http://www.africa.upenn.edu//Home\\_Page/Country.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu//Home_Page/Country.html)

And fortunately too, many of the **academic journals** writing on Africa are available on-line to Columbia students. Make use of these resources! See the listing of on-line journals here:

- <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/ejournals.html>

Browse through:

- Africa (1992-) <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3430148>
- Africa Confidential <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?ATT2410>
- Africa Insight <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio5575656>
- Africa Renewal (UN) <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?ANJ4439>
- Africa Research Bulletin (Political)  
<http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3430150.001>
- African Studies Review (1970-99)  
<http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3383975>
- Africa Today  
1988-98 <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3324755.002>  
1999- <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3324755.001>
- African Affairs  
1944-99 <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3383971.002>  
2001-2006 <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3383971.001>  
1996-present <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3383971.003>
- African Studies Quarterly <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?ANJ4491>
- African Studies Review  
1970-2002 <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3383975.001>  
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2005-present <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3383975.002>
- The Journal of Modern African Studies  
1997- <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3326904.001>  
1963-2000 <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3326904.002>
- Journal of African Economies (1996-)  
<http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3398895.004>
- Review of African Political Economy  
1997-2000 <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3431221.001>  
2003-present <http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/resolve?clio3431221.002>