CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN POLITICS

Political Science, GU4496 Columbia University, Fall 2016

Professor Kimuli Kasara Time: MW 10:10-11:25 Office: IAB 717 Location: 1219 IAB

Office Hours: W 2-4

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COURSE OBJECTIVES

This course explores how social scientists have tried to answer important questions concerning people with an interest in African politics: 1) Why have democratic governments flourished in some countries and not others? 2) What institutions enable Africans to hold their leaders accountable? 3) How do people participate in politics? 4) In what ways do aspiring African political leaders build public support? 5) To what extent does poverty on the continent have political causes? 6) Why is violence used to resolve some political disputes and not others? And 7) To what extent are political outcomes in contemporary Africa a consequence of its history, culture, and geography?

Political scientists seek to address these and other research questions using different types of evidence. Because many developments in African politics cannot be understood in isolation from African societies or their historical context, this course augments political science research with work by historians, economists, and anthropologists.

OVERVIEW

This course has six parts. First, we conduct a brief historical survey, concentrating on colonialism and its legacies. Second, we consider the state and political regimes. Third, we examine the identity and interest groups that have shaped political outcomes. Fourth, we examine economic policy. Fifth, we study parties, elections, and political behavior. Finally, we consider the causes and consequences of political violence.

REQUIREMENTS AND EVALUATION

The requirements are:

- Participation in lecture discussions 15% of the final grade for the class.

 You are expected to come to the lectures having done the required readings and to participate in class discussions.
- Map Quiz –September 26th in class 5%
 You will have to locate several African countries on a map.

○ Response Paper − 10%

You will write one response paper during the semester. Response papers should be an integrated critical assessment of two of the required readings for a topic. Summarize and discuss the validity of both the logic of the argument and the evidence used by the authors in 2 to 4 pages. Response papers should be emailed to me by 9 am on the day before the class session on which I've assigned that reading.

- Election Report November 29th & 30th 20% With other classmates, you will write a brief report on an upcoming African election. Your reports should describe the historical and institutional context of the election and the social and political issues at stake. Your reports are due by 9 am on November 29th, and you will present them in class on November 30th.
- o $Midterm\ Exam October\ 26^{th}\ 25\%$ The midterm will be a closed-book, in-class exam covering material from both the lectures and the required readings.
- \circ Final Exam December $12^{th} 25\%$ The final exam will be a closed-book, in-class exam covering material from both the lectures and the required readings.

LOGISTICS

There is no course reader for this class. All readings are available online or through the class website on Courseworks.

Late assignments will lose a third of a letter grade per day. You may not take make-up exams unless you have a medical excuse provided by a physician or medical office. If you would like to contest a grade, you must submit a written memo describing why your assignment warrants a higher grade.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Students are expected to do their own work on all tests and assignments for this class and act in accordance with the <u>Faculty Statement on Academic Integrity</u> and <u>Honor Code</u>. Students found to have cheated or plagiarized on an assignment can expect to receive a failing grade on that assignment and will be referred to the Dean's Discipline process.

READING

Session 1 (9/7): Introduction

There is no required reading for this lecture. Students who want a good introduction to some 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.

Session 2 (9/12): Pre-Colonial Political Structures

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

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.

Session 3 (9/14): Africa and Europe

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.

Young, Crawford. 1994. The Colonial State Institutionalized, Chapter 5 in *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Session 4 (9/19): Nationalism and Independence

Kaunda, Kenneth D. 1962. A Year of Decision, Chapter 17 in Zambia Shall be Free. London: Heinemann.

Coleman, James. 1954. "Nationalism in Tropical Africa." *American Political Science Review* 48 (2):404-426.

Sessions 5 & 6 (9/21 & 9/26): Legacies of Colonial Rule

Ekeh, Peter P. 1975. "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement."

Comparative Studies in Society and History 17 (1):91-112.

Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, Chapter 2.

Young, Crawford. 1994. The Afterlife of the African Colonial State: Concluding Reflections,

Chapter 8 in *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lee, Alexander, and Kenneth A. Schultz. 2012. "Comparing British and French Colonial Legacies: A Discontinuity Analysis of Cameroon." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7 (4):365-410.

Kiwanuka, M. Semakula. 1970. "Colonial Policies and Administrations in Africa: The Myths of the Contrasts." *African Historical Studies* 3 (2):295-315.

Sessions 7 & 8 (9/28 & 10/3): The State

- 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.
- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press., Chapters 1 & 5.
- Goldsmith, Arthur A. 1999. "Africa's Overgrown State Reconsidered: Bureaucracy and Economic Growth." *World Politics* 51 (4):520-546.

Sessions 9 & 10 (10/5 & 10/10): Forms of Government I – Regimes before c. 1989

- Hyden, Goran. 2006. Big Man Rule, Chapter 5 in African Politics in Comparative Perspective.

 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nugent, Paul. 2004. Khaki Fatigue: Military Rule in Africa, 1960-1985, Chapter 6 in Africa since Independence: A Comparative History. Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Session 11 (10/12): Identity and Interests – Ethnicity

- Bates, Robert H. 1983. Modernization, Ethnic Competition and the Rationality of Politics. In *State*<u>versus Ethnic Claims: African Policy Dilemmas</u>, 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.

Session 12 (10/17): 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.

Session 13 (10/19): 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., Chapter 1
- Maxwell, David. 2000. "'Catch the Cockrel Before Dawn': Pentecostalism and Politics in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 70 (2):249-77.

Session 14 (10/24): Identity and Interests – Gender

- Tripp, Aili Mari, Dior Konaté, and Colleen Lowe-Morna. 2006. Sub-Saharan Africa: On the Fast Track to Women's Representation. In Women, Quotas and Politics, edited by D. Dahlerup. New York: Routledge.
- Arriola, Leonardo R, and Martha C Johnson. 2014. "Ethnic Politics and Women's Empowerment in Africa: Ministerial Appointments to Executive Cabinets." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (2):495-510.

Session 15 (10/26): Midterm

Session 16 (10/31): Political Economy I

Bates, Robert H. 1981. *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The political basis of agricultural policies*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pages 12-30 & 81-119.

<u>van de Walle, Nicholas. 2001. Decision Making in Postcolonial Africa Chapter 3 in African</u>
<u>Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999. New York: Cambridge</u>
University Press.

Session 17 (11/2): Political Economy II

Easterly, William. 2001. The Loans that Were, the Growth That Wasn't (Ch. 6). In The Elusive Quest for Growth: Economists' Adventures and Misadventures in the Tropics. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Ferguson, James, and with Larry Lohmann. 1994. The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development" and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho. *The Ecologist* 24 (5):176-81.

Okonjo-Iweala, Ngozi. 2012. "Fighting Corruption." In *Reforming the Unreformable: Lessons from Nigeria*. Cambridge, Mass.; MIT Press.

Session 18 (11/7): University Holiday

Sessions 19 & 20 (11/9 & 11/14): Forms of Government II – Regimes after 1989

van de Walle, Nicholas. 2001. Democratization and the Prospects for Change, Chapter 6 in *African*<u>Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis</u>, 1979-1999. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Stasavage, David. 2005. "The role of democracy in Uganda's move to universal primary education." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 43 (01):53-73.

Session 21 (11/16): Forms of Government II – Candidates and Parties

Fombad, Charles Manga, and Jonie Banyong Fonyam. 2004. The Social Democratic Front, the Opposition, and Political Transition in Cameroon. In *The Leadership Challenge in Africa:*Cameroon under Paul Biya, edited by J. M. Mbaku and J. Takougang. Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press.

Ichino, Nahomi, and Noah L. Nathan. 2012. "Primaries on Demand? Intra-Party Politics and Nominations in Ghana." *British Journal of Political Science* 42 (04):769-791.

Session 22 (11/21): Forms of Government II – Voting Behavior

Baldwin, Kate. 2013. "Why Vote with the Chief? Political Connections and Public Goods
Provision in Zambia." *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (4):794-809.
Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Field
Experiment in Benin. *World Politics* 55 (3):399-422.

Session 23 (11/23): Thanksgiving

Session 24 (11/28): Forms of Government II – Constitutional Design

Barkan, Joel. 1995. Elections in Agrarian Societies. *Journal of Democracy* 6 (4):106-116. Reynolds, Andrew. 1995. The Case for Proportionality. *Journal of Democracy* 6 (4):117-124.

Session 25 (11/30): Forms of Government II – Election Case Studies

Group Presentations in Class

Session 26 (12/5): Political Violence – Communal and State-Sponsored Violence

Kasara, Kimuli. 2015. "Does Local Ethnic Segregation Lead to Violence"

Straus, Scott. 2006. Local Dynamics. In *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 65-94

Session 27 (12/7): Political Violence – Civil Wars & Recovering from Conflict

<u>Langer</u>, Arnim. 2004. "Horizontal Inequalities and Violent Conflict: The Case of Côte d'Ivoire."

<u>Center For Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (Oxford) Working</u>

Paper 13.

Bazenguissa-Ganga, Rémy. 1999. The Spread of Political Violence in Congo-Brazzaville. *African Affairs* 98 (390):37-54.

Autesserre, Séverine. 2009. "Hobbes and the Congo: Frames, Local Violence, and International Intervention." *International Organization* 63 (02):249-280.

Session 28 (12/12): Final