

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

Fall 2009
Thursdays, 5:30 – 8:00 pm
Location:
<http://dss.ucsd.edu/~clevan>

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Office hrs: Mon. 2-4/Thurs. 2-5

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: Princeton University Press.
- Hyden, Goran. 2006. *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Flint, Julie and Alex de Walle. 2008. *Darfur: A New History of a Long War*. London: Zed Books.

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 due on Friday, October 23 (20%)
- Analytical essay discussing Part 4 of the course, due on Friday, November 13 (20%)
- Final take home essay due on December 10 before 8:00 pm (30%).
- Class participation (10%), including online dialogue on Blackboard

E-mailed assignments will not be accepted without prior permission. American University's Academic Integrity Code will be strictly enforced. For information see: <http://www.american.edu/provost/registrar/regulations/reg80.cfm>.

PART 1: COLONIALISM AND DE-COLONIZATION

(1) The Pre-Colonial Polity (August 27)

- * Breten, Breytanbach. 2007. "Imagine Africa," opening remarks to the ARTerial Conference, March 5, 2007 in Senegal; reprinted in *Harper's Magazine*(June):15–18.
- * Vasina, J. 1962. "A Comparison of African Kingdoms," *Africa* 32 (October): 324–335.
- * Osadolor and Otiode. 2005. "State Formation in Precolonial Nigeria," in *Precolonial Nigeria: Essays in Honor of Toyin Falola*, ed. Akinwunmi Ogundiran. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Recommended:

Smith, Robert. 1988. *Kingdoms of the Yorub.*, 3rd Ed. London: James Currey.
Hyden, Goran. Chapter 1, "The Study of Politics and Africa"
Uchendu, Victor. 1965. *The Igbo of Southeast Nigeria*. New York: Holt, Rinehart.

(2) State Building in Africa (September 3)

Start reading Herbst, through part 3.

GUEST LECTURE: Nii Akuetteh, Co-founder of the Open Society Institute of West Africa, former Executive Director, Africa Action

→ In-class video: "The Wind of Change" DVD 4034

(3) Colonial Rule (September 10)

Finish reading Herbst.

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

(4) Nationalism and Decolonization (September 17)

Hyden, Chapter 2, "The Movement Legacy," and Chapter 3, "The Problematic State"

- * Azikiwe, Nnamdi. 1961. *Zik: A Selection from the Speeches of Nnamdi Azikiwe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 154 – 162.
- * Nkrumah, Kwame. 1965. "The Mechanisms of Neocolonialism," in *Neo-Colonialism: the Last Stage of Imperialism*. London: Nelson: 239 – 259.

Cabral, Amílcar. 1970. "National Liberation and Culture," presented at Syracuse University, New York (February 20). Available at: <http://www.historyisaweapon.org>

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 24)

Hyden, Chapter 6, "The Policy Deficit"

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

→ IN-CLASS EXAM

(6) Collective Action in Africa's Economies (October 1)

Hyden, Chapter 4, "The Economy of Affection"

* Robert Bates. 1981. Chapters 1 and 2 in *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The political basis of agricultural policies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

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

Recommended:

Hyden, Chapter 7, "The Agrarian Question"

(7) Authoritarianism and Personal Rule (October 8)

Hyden, Chapter 5, "Big Man Rule"

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

* Toungara, Jeanne Maddox. 2001. "Ethnicity and Political Crisis in Côte d'Ivoire." *Journal of Democracy* 12:63-72.

Please note: additional readings for today's class may be announced.

Recommended:

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

* Lindberg, Staffan and John Clark. 2008. "Does Democratization Reduce the Risk of Military Interventions in Politics in Africa?" *Democratization* 15(February): 86-105.

PART 3: THE POLITICS OF PEACE

(8) Darfur (October 15)

Flint, Julie and Alex de Waal. 2008. *Darfur: A New History of a Long War*. London: Zed Books. (You can skim Chapters 5 and 8.)

Recommended:

- Kevane, Michael and Leslie Gray. 2008. "Darfur: Rainfall and Conflict," *Environmental Research Letters* 3: 1–10.
Posted on Blackboard with course files.
- Grono, Nick. 2006. "Briefing – Darfur: the International Community's Failure to Protect," *African Affairs* 105: 621-631.
- Smith, Gayle. 2007. "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 22)

- * Eberlein, Ruben. 2006. "On the Road to the State's Perdition? Authority and Sovereignty in the Niger Delta, Nigeria," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 44: 573–596.
- * Englebert, Pierre and Rebecca Hummel. 2005. "Let's Stick Together: Understanding Africa's Secessionist Deficit," *African Affairs* 104: 399 – 427.

Recommended:

- U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations hearings "Resource Curse or Blessing? Africa's Management of its Extractive Industries." September 24, 2008.
- Ellis, Stephen. 2003. "Briefing: West Africa and Its Oil," *African Affairs* 102: 135-38.
- Lubeck, Paul, Michael Watts, and Ronnie Lipschutz. 2007. "Convergent Interests: U.S. Energy Security and the 'Securing' of Nigerian Democracy," *International Policy Report*. Washington, DC: Center for International Policy (February).

→ POLICY MEMO DUE on Friday, October 23 before 2 pm in my office.

PART 4: DEVELOPMENT PARADOXES AND PARADIGMS

(10) A "Growth Tragedy"? (October 29)

Van de Walle, Introduction.

- * Collier, Paul and Jan Willem Gunning. 1999. "Why Has Africa Grown Slowly?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 13(3)(Summer): 3-22.
- * Ndulu, Benno and Stephen O'Connell. 2008. "Policy Plus: African Growth Performance, 1960-2000," in *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960 – 200.*, Vol. 1: 3-75. eds. Benno Ndulu, Stephen O'Connell, et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Recommended:

- Easterly, William and Ross Levine. 1997. "Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112: 1203 – 1250.

(11) Transforming African Economies (November 5)

Van de Walle, Chapters 1 – 4

→ **In class video:** Malawi: Nation going hungry (DVD 4428)

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

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

Hyden, Chapter 10, "The External Dimension"

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

- Annan, Kofi. 2009. "Africa: Global Crisis Hits Africa Twice," *AllAfrica.com*, March 27.
Available free at: <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200903270155.html>

Moyo, Dambisa. 2009. "Why Foreign Aid Is Hurting Africa," *Wall Street Journal*, 21 March 2009. Available free at: <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB123758895999200083.html#>

* Schlesinger, Victoria. 2008 "The Continuation of Poverty: Rebranding foreign aid in Kenya" *Harper's Magazine*, May: 58–66.

Recommended:

Ake, Claude. 1996. "A Confusion of Agendas," in *Democracy and Development in Africa*, Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution: 18 – 41.

→ **Hardcopy of the short essay due by Friday, November 13 at 2:00 pm.**

PART 5: DEMOCRACY AND DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA

(13) Ethnicity, Patronage, and Public Goods (November 19)

* 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: 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* 42:163-87.

→ Thanksgiving holiday November 26, No Class

(14) Democratization (December 3)

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

* Jennifer Widner. 1994. "Political Reform in Anglophone and Francophone African Countries," in *Economic Change and Political Liberalization in Sub-Saharan Africa*. ed. Jennifer Widner. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press: 49–79.

* Jensen, Nathan and Leonard Wantchekon. 2004. "Resource Wealth and Political Regimes in Africa," *Comparative Political Studies* 37(7)(September): 816-841.

* Lindberg, Staffan Lindberg. 2006. "The Surprising Significance of Elections in Africa," *Journal of Democracy* 7: 139-151.

EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS

In the event of a declared pandemic (influenza or other communicable disease), American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency.

Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence due to illness. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of a declared pandemic or other emergency, students should refer to the AU Web site (www.prepared.american.edu) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/ college-specific information.