

STATE AND SOCIETY IN AFRICAN POLITICS (SIS 654-001 / 471-001H)
American University, School of International Service

Fall 2013
Thursdays, 5:30 - 8 pm in Ward 301
Course TA: Yoonbin Ha (yoonbin.ha@gmail.com)
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Course Description and Objectives

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, conflict, economic development, and the nature of the state. The course balances regional knowledge with comparative theory in order to address questions about African exceptionalism, democracy, path dependence, and the effects of political institutions on governance.

The first unit analyzes colonial rule, including how it affected traditional bases of authority and transformed the structure of economic life. We examine the lasting impacts of nationalism and decolonization, and discuss the politics of the post-independence era including the rise of one-party states, increased political centralization, and economic experiments in socialism. The second unit explores the sources of instability and dictatorship, and studies the policy challenges presented by these phenomena. The third unit 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? We also evaluate the impact of economic liberalization and foreign aid. The last unit starts by considering some of the social transformations in Africa after the end of the cold war. We then compare different causes of democratization, and consider the role of patronage in sustaining contemporary illiberal regimes.

Learning Outcomes

- Identify core themes and ongoing debates in African politics, and situate them within comparative studies
- Prepare students for advanced political research through the use of scholarly resources
- Effectively apply theories and concepts from the course to practical problems facing Africa
- Learn how to identify and interpret emerging issues

REQUIRED MATERIALS

These books are available at the campus bookstore:

- Piot, Charles. 2010. *Nostalgia for the Future: West Africa after the Cold War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hyden, Goran. 2012. *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*. 2nd ed. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lange, Matthew. 2009. *Lineages of Despotism and Development: British Colonialism and State Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tripp, Aili Mari. 2010. *Museveni's Uganda: Paradoxes of Power in a Hybrid Regime*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

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. Please note that the syllabus may change; additional materials may be distributed in class or via Blackboard.

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING

Papers are graded on the following scale: 100 to 94 is an A, 93 to 90 is an A-; 89 to 87 is a B+, 86 to 84 is a B, 83 to 80 is a B-, etc. A passing grade cannot be awarded without completion of all course requirements. If you anticipate missing an assignment deadline due to a medical or other emergency, *please notify the professor before the due date*. Your course grade will be calculated based on the following distribution:

- In-class test on September 26 (20%)
- Policy analysis paper, due on October 18 (20%)
- Analytical essay on Unit 3 of the course, due November 1 (15%)
- Short review of *Nostalgia for the Future*, posted to Blackboard on November 14 (10%)
- In-class final exam on December 12 (25%)
- Class participation (10%)

Early papers are always welcome. Late papers will be penalized. Use one-inch margins, 12-point type, and double-spacing. All papers must follow a standard formatting style such as Chicago, APSA or MLA. The AU library has examples posted at: <http://subjectguides.library.american.edu/citation/>. If you use in-text (Author year, page) citations, you still must include a bibliography. Please consult the style guide on my website, where I have also posted tips, suggestions, and resources: <http://carllewan.com/teaching/student-resources/>. Papers will not be accepted by email without prior permission. AU's Academic Integrity Code will be strictly enforced. For information see: <http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code.cfm>.

UNIT 1: COLONIALISM AND NATIONALISM

(1) **Imperial Images** (August 29)

* Mamdani, Mahmood. 1999. "Historicizing Power and Responses to Power: Indirect Rule and its Reforms," *Social Research* 66(3): 859-886.
Lange, Chapters 1 and 2.

(2) **Nationalism** (September 5)

Class will meet at the library's media services center (lower level) to watch a video

- * 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.
 - * Nyerere, Julius. 1973. "Freedom and Development," in *Freedom and Development*, Oxford University Press: 58 – 71.
- Cabral, Amílcar. 1970. "National Liberation and Culture," presented at Syracuse University, New York (February 20). Available at: <http://www.historyisaweapon.org>
- Fanon, Frantz. 1959. "Reciprocal Bases of National Culture and the Fight for Freedom." Available at: <http://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/fanon/national-culture.htm>

(3) Colonial Legacies (September 12)

Prepare for a class debate on nationalism.

Finish reading Lange. You can skim chapters 6 and 7.

(4) Decolonization and Development (September 19)

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

Hyden, Chapter 4, “The Economy of Affection” and Chapter 6, “The Policy Deficit”

(5) In-class test (September 26)

- * Osaghae, Eghosa. 2010. “The Limits of Charismatic Authority and the Challenges of Leadership in Nigeria.” *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 28 (4):407-22.

Some recommended readings for Unit 1:

Crowder, M. 1964. “Indirect Rule: French and British Style,” *Africa* 34: 197–205.

Hyden, Goran. Chapter 1, “The Study of Politics and Africa”

Vasina, J. 1962. “A Comparison of African Kingdoms,” *Africa* 32 (October): 324–335.

Young, Crawford. 1994. *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press.

UNIT 2: AUTHORITARIANISM AND INSECURITY

(6) Dictatorship and Personal Rule (October 3)

Hyden, Chapter 5, “Big Man Rule”

- * Pitcher, Anne, Mary Moran, and Michael Johnston. 2009. “Rethinking Patrimonialism and Neopatrimonialism in Africa,” *African Studies Review* 52, 1 (April 2009): 125-156.
- * Lindberg, Staffan, and Clark John F. 2008. “Does Democratization Reduce the Risk of Military Interventions in Politics in Africa?” *Democratization* 15 (1):86-105.
- * Philip Roessler. 2011. “The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa,” *World Politics*, 63, 2, (April 2011): 300-346.

(7) State building and Counter-terrorism (October 10)

- * Obadare, Ebenezer, and Wale Adebani. 2010. “Introduction: Excess and Abjection in the Study of the African State.” In *Encountering the Nigerian State*, ed. E. Obadare and W. Adebani. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- * Verhoeven, Harry. 2009. “The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy of Failed States: Somalia, State Collapse, and the Global War on Terror,” *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 3, 3 (November 2009): 405-425.
- * Englebert, Pierre, and Rebecca Hummel. 2005. “Let’s Stick Together: Understanding Africa’s Secessionist Deficit,” *African Affairs* 104: 399 – 427.
- * Miles, William F.S. 2012. “Deploying Development to Counter Terrorism: Post 9/11 Transformation of U.S. Foreign Aid to Africa.” *African Studies Review* 55 (3):27-60.

(8) Islam and Insecurity (October 17)

Walker, Andrew. 2012. “What is Boko Haram?” Special Report, U.S. Institute of Peace
www.usip.org/publications/what-boko-haram

- * LeVan, A. Carl. 2013. “Sectarian Rebellions in Post-Transition Nigeria Compared.” *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* (2013): 1-18.

* Omitola, Bolaji. 2012. "Terrorism and the Nigerian Federation." *African Security Review* 21 (4):4-16.

IRIN. "Conflict Gives Rise to Food Crisis in Northeast Nigeria," 22 August 2013.

<http://allafrica.com/stories/201308221562.html?viewall=1>

→ Hardcopy of policy analysis paper **due on October 19** by noon – put under my office door

Some recommended readings for Unit 2:

Buss, Terry F., ed. 2011. *African Security and the African command: Viewpoints on the US role in Africa*. Sterling, VA; Pittsburgh: Kumarian Press; Matthew B. Ridgway Center for International Security Studies.

Cargill, Tom. "Our Common Strategic Interests: Africa's Role in the Post-G8 World," *Chatham House Report*, July 2010. Available for free at: <http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/publications/papers/view/-/id/888/>

Johnson, Toni. 2011. "Backgrounder: Boko Haram," Council on Foreign Relations. www.cfr.org/africa/boko-haram/p25739

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

Meehan, Patrick, and Jackie Speier. 2011. *Boko Haram: Emerging Threat to the U.S. Homeland*. U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Homeland Security, Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence.

Engel, Ulf. 2012. "Unconstitutional Changes of Government – New AU Policies in Defense of Democracy," Africa Center for Strategic Studies. africacenter.org/

UNIT 3: DEVELOPMENT PARADOXES AND PARADIGMS

(9) Economic Reform, Aid, and Debt (October 24)

GUEST: Victoria Ayer, Senior Anti-corruption and Good Governance Advisor, USAID

Hyden, Chapter 10, "The External Dimension"

Piot, Charles. Chapter 5.

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

* Easterly, William. "How the Millennium Development Goals are Unfair to Africa," *World Development* 37, 1 (2009): 26–35.

(10) Explaining (Old and New) Patterns of African Growth (October 31)

* Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2010. "Why is Africa Poor?" *Economic History of Developing Regions* 25: 21-50.

* Fosu, Augustin Kwasi. 2012. "The African Economic Growth Record, and the Roles of Policy Syndromes and Governance." In *Good Growth and Governance in Africa*. Eds. A. Noman, K. Botchwey, H. Stein and J. E. Stiglitz. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sirleaf, Ellen Johnson. Introduction to *Emerging Africa: How 17 Countries are Leading the Way*. www.cgdev.org/doc/books/Emerging_Africa/CGD_EmergAfrica_FM_intro-FINAL.pdf

Recommended readings for Unit 3:

Bates, Robert. 2008. *When Things Fell Apart*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ake, Claude. 1996. *Democracy and Development in Africa*, Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

Bratton, Michael. 2013. "Briefing: Citizens and cell phones in Africa." *African Affairs* 112 (447):304-19.

* Ndulu, Benno and Stephen O'Connell. 2008. "Policy Plus: African Growth Performance, 1960-2000," in *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960 – 2000*, Vol. 1: 3-75. eds. Benno Ndulu, Stephen O'Connell, et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

UNIT 4: POLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN AFRICAN STATE & SOCIETY

(11) Civil Society Transformations (November 7)

Hyden, Chapter 7, “The Agrarian Question”

- * Ekeh, Peter. 1975. “Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17 (July): 91–112.
- * Kraus, Jon. 2007. “Trade Unions in Africa’s Democratic Renewal and Transitions.” In *Trade Unions and the Coming of Democracy in Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 1-34.
- * LeVan, A. Carl. 2011. “Questioning Tocqueville in Africa: Continuity and Change in Nigeria’s Civil Society during Democratization.” *Democratization* 18 (1): 135-59.

(12) African Cultures at the “End of History” (November 14)

Piot, Charles. Read all except for Chapter 5.

→ Online book review due at the beginning of class.

(13) Explaining Democratization (November 21)

- * 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 2007): 816-841.
- * Nasong’o, Shadrack Wanjala. 2007. “Political Transition without Transformation,” *African Studies Review* 50, 1 (April 2007): 83-109.

Tripp, Introduction and Chapter 1.

THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY (November 28)

(14) Illiberal Politics and the Case of Uganda (December 5)

Finish reading Tripp.

Recommended Reading for Unit 4:

- Lynch, G. and G. Crawford. 2011. “Democratization in Africa 1990–2010,” *Democratization* (18, 2).
- Lindberg, Staffan. 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.