**REBELLIOUS AFRICA:**

**IDENTITIES, INSTITUTIONS AND INSURGENCIES (SISU-419-018)**

Spring 2016 Dr. Carl LeVan

Mondays 11:45AM 02:25PM in MGC 312 levan@american.edu

RA: SIS room 343

http://carllevan.com Office hours: Mondays 3-6 and by appt

**COURSE DESCRIPTION**

This course explores the causes, consequences and complexities of organized political instability in Africa. The first part of the course studies different types of rebels, including nationalist movements that fought against European colonialism, liberation movements opposed to rule by racism, “warlords” who challenge state sovereignty by organizing alternative authorities, parochial rebels who seek wealth or control over resources, and others centered on ethno-nationalist demands. These readings begin from a historical and conceptual perspective before introducing more recent cases. Contemporary examples include countries where conflict has subsided or appears to have been resolved, as well as cases that face ongoing violence or a risk of violence. Unlike courses that focus on diplomacy, negotiation, or conflict resolution through civil society, this class examines relative successes and failures mainly through the lens of institutions and constitutional design. Countries discussed include Somalia, Uganda, Rwanda, Sudan, South Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. There is a strong emphasis on Kenya and Nigeria too.

The second half of the course shifts attention to insurgency and terrorism, assessing structural and comparative evidence for why violent extremist groups emerge, and then examining recruitment strategies and their micro-level appeals. Then as we turn to religious radicalization and the stress it places on democratic institutions, there will be a strong emphasis on Boko Haram in Nigeria. We conclude with discussions about the economic and political consequences of violent extremism, and a critical analysis of state responses to terrorism.

**LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

* Comparatively analyze across different levels various causes of violent extremism
* Acquire familiarity with strategies and motivations of violent organizations
* Critically assess state responses to terrorism and insurgency
* Design and execute a research project with a clear research question situated in relevant literature and drawing upon some primary source materials

Social movements (including non-violent ones) are often related conceptually and historically to some of these rebellions. However they are not a central focus of the course this semester. If you opt to focus on social movements for your Capstone, please be sure to consult the literature on revolutions, decolonization, and/or contentious politics and meet with the professor. Similarly, this is not a course on US foreign policy.

This is a seminar, with small teams of students often leading class discussions. Through this format, students are expected to take responsibility for their own learning and to exercise leadership. This also means that every student should be prepared to speak during every class; if you are not presenting, be prepared to answer questions about the readings or perhaps to pose well-informed questions about them. The class also utilizes an aggressive online learning environment. Finally, please note that while some weeks might have a bit more reading, other weeks have no assigned readings at all in order to allow you to focus on your research. Budget your time well and do not fall behind.

**The following required texts are available at the bookstore:**

* Reno, William. 2011. *Warfare in Independent Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
* Pérouse de Montclos, Marc-Antoine, ed. 2014. *Boko Haram: Islamism, Politics, Security, and the State in Nigeria*. Ibadan: French Institute for Research in Africa.
* Kuperman, Alan. 2015. *Constitutions and Conflict Management in Africa: Preventing Civil War through Institutional Design.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

**Recommended books:**

* Negri, Antonio. 2009. *Insurgencies: Constituent Power and the Modern State*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
* Williams, Paul. 2011. *Conflict in Africa.* Cambridge: Polity Press.
* Fanon, Franz. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth.* New York: Grove Press.
* Comolli, Virginia. 2015. *Boko Haram: Nigeria’s Islamist Insurgency.* London: Hurst & Co.

**ASSIGNMENTS**

* **Two memos** on the readings for two class meetings of your choice. Each memo should be about three single-spaced pages in length, not including the works cited page. A good memo will (1) succinctly summarize the key claims; (2) explain how the readings relate to each other and link them to any other relevant broader literatures, (3) outline and critically assess the author’s empirical (or if appropriate, theoretical) claims, and (4) briefly discuss the implications and importance of the research. You are encouraged to you headings for each of the above sections and you may use bullet points. A good bullet point does not simply rephrase key sentences from the reading – it aggregates and analyzes information. This is hard to do well and it takes time. Strive for a good balance between parsimony and important details. Be prepared to lead class discussion in collaboration with the other students writing on that topic, referencing themes, debates, and major concepts covered in the week’s readings. Students *not* submitting a memo are expected to post a few, well-informed questions for class discussion on the blog. (Each memo is worth 10% of grade and should be uploaded to Blackboard the night *before* class.)
* **Essay** of about 7-10 pages discussing African rebellion and contemporary representation. You will be graded primarily on your command of the course readings but you are welcome to do some additional research. The strongest essays will formulate a clear research question, integrate and analyze relevant material, and conclude by *developing* one or two ideas for future research. If you choose, you may further develop one of those ideas for your Capstone project. Hardcopy due in class on February 29. (20% of grade.)
* **Class participation**. For each class meeting with assigned readings, formulate two or three discussion questions and post them as a comment on our class blog. You do not need to post discussion questions the week that you write a memo (10% of grade).
* **Capstone project** on a topic of your choosing. There are two options:

**(A) Research paper** – A strong paper will formulate and justify a clear research question, state a thesis, summarize relevant academic research in a distinct literature review section that *includes appropriate* *readings from the syllabus*, and analyze evidence that supports or challenges your thesis. Ideally, you should demonstrate some familiarity with primary sources. The conclusion should discuss the implications for future research and if appropriate, policy. Students working on similar topics are encouraged to coordinate with each other and may present their work as complementary presentations during the final class.

**(B) Creative project** – You may do a creative project instead of a research paper, but please be sure to discuss ideas with the professor *before* the Blackboard post on the topic is due. It will be important for you to combine intellectual and creative components. If you would like to do a team project, please make sure you establish a clear division of labor and describe your specific responsibilities to the professor because you will be graded individually.

Regardless of the option you choose, there are four components to this assignment:

* 1. **Capstone topic and research strategy** – post your topic on Blackboard no later than March 16. Briefly describe (in about 300-400 words) your capstone topic and outline about three specific steps you plan to take to research it. This could for example list sources you plan to consult, organizing them into two competing schools of thought. A good research question is framed in a way that justifies its importance and delimits its scope. DO NOT WAIT UNTIL THE LAST MINUTE TO PICK A TOPIC.
	2. **Literature review** –Please read the “lit review tips” on my web page under “student resources,” especially if you are having trouble getting started. Upload to Blackboard before class on March 28. Even if you do project Option B, I would still expect you to discuss research motivating the project, and probably outline a rough draft of what it will look like (20% of grade.)
	3. **Final presentation** – on the date as specified on the syllabus below. You will be evaluated based on the organization and clarity of your presentation, the quality of your research, and the originality of your analysis.
	4. **Capstone project/paper** – due on the scheduled final exam date and should be 20-30 pages long, plus bibliography. (30% of grade.)

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 83 is a B, 82 to 80 is a B-, etc. If you anticipate missing an assignment deadline due to a medical or other emergency, please notify the instructor before the due date. Late papers will be penalized. All papers must follow a standard formatting style such as Chicago, APSA or MLA. I strongly encourage you to consult my website for additional information; you can also find tips for taking notes and writing a literature review: <http://carllevan.com/teaching/student-resources/>

The University’s Academic Integrity Code will be strictly enforced. For information see: <http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code.cfm>. *Do not* *browse, email, text, etc. during class!* Not only is this rude, a fair amount of scientific research (summarized on my web page) reports that we cannot multi-task as well as we think we can.

This semester I also plan to experiment with making myself available for short periods on **Google hangout** for consultation and conversation. Please DO NOT send any course correspondence to my gmail account: acarllevan@gmail.com.

1. **Rights, Wrongs, and Rebellions (January 11)**

Reno, Chapter 1, “Evolving Warfare”

Reno, Chapter 3, “Majority Rule Rebels” (you can skim section on Namibia)

Mandela, Nelson, Address to the United Nations Security Council, July 15, 1992.

<http://www.mandela.gov.za/mandela_speeches/1992/920715_unsc.htm>

Recommended:

Berger, Iris. 2014. “African Women’s Movements in the Twentieth Century: A Hidden History,” *African Studies*

*Review* 54, 3 (December), 1-19.

 **NO CLASS, MLK (January 18)**

1. **Rural Rebels, Rational Rebels? (January 25)**

\* Elkins, Caroline. Chapter 1, “Pax Britannica,” in Imperial Reckoning: the Untold Story of

 Britain’s Gulag in Kenya. New York: Holt (2005), 4-30.

\* Throup, D.W. 1985. “The Origins of Mau Mau,” *African Affairs* 84 (July 1985): 399-433.

\* Bates, Robert. 1983. “The Commercialization and the Rise of Rural Political Protest,” in

*Essays on the Political Economy of Rural Africa, 92-103.* Cambridge University Press.

Recommended:

Maathai, Wangari Chapter 3, “Education and the State of Emergency” in *Unbowed: A Memoir*. New York: Anchor

Books (2006), 53 – 72.

Reno, Chapter 2, “Anti-Colonial Rebels”

Scott, James C. 1976. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven

and London: Yale University Press.

1. **Political Representation and Social Cleavages (February 1)**

\* Lijphart, Arend. 2004. “Constitutions for Divided Societies” *Journal of Democracy* 15 (2):

96-109.

Kuperman, Chapter 1, “Designing Institutions to Reduce Domestic Conflict”

\* LeVan, A. Carl. 2011. “Power Sharing and Inclusive Politics in Africa's Uncertain

Democracies,” *Governance: A Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* 24 (1):31-53.

1. **Warlords in the Great Lakes and Beyond (February 8)**

\* Meredith, Martin. Chapter 26, “Black Hawk Down,” in Meredith, Martin. 2011. *The Fate of*

*Africa: a History of Fifty Years of Independence*. (Updated). New York: Public Affairs.

Reno, Chapter 4, “Reform Rebels” (skip pages 138-44 on TPLF)

Reno Chapter 5, Warlord Rebels (skip pages 175-87 on West Africa)

Kupferberg, Karly and Stafan Wolff. Chapter 5, “Sudan: ‘Successful’ Constitutional Reform

Spurs Localized Violence,” in Kuperman.

Recommended:

Autesserre, Severine. 2011. *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International*

*Peacebuilding*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Clunan, Anne L., and Harold A. Trinkunas. 2010. Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of

Softened Sovereignty. Stanford: Stanford Security Studies.

Gebrekidan, Getachew Zeru. 2015. *Tackling the South Sudan Conflict within a Complicated Regional Security*

*Complex*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center. <http://wilsoncenter.org>

1. **Political Competition and Political Violence (February 15)**

Reno, Chapter 6, “Parochial Rebels”

\* Chege, Michael. 2008. “Kenya: back from the brink?” *Journal of Democracy* 19 (4):125-39.

Khadiagala, Gilbert, Chapter 3, “Kenya: Gradual Pluralization Fails to Buffer Shocks” in

Kuperman.

Osaghae, Eghosa. Chapter 4, “Nigeria: Devolution to Mitigate Conflict in the Niger Delta” in

Kuperman.

Recommended:

Burchard, Stephanie M. 2015. *Electoral Violence in sub-Saharan Africa: Causes and Consequences*. Boulder,

Colorado: First Forum Press.

Mansfield, Edward, and Jack Snyder. 1995. “Democratization and the Danger of War,” *International Security*

20 (1):5-38.

1. **Representation: Cause of, or Solution to Conflict? (February 22)**

Zartman, William, Hillary Thomas-Lake, and Arame Tall, Chapter 7, “Senegal: the Limits of

Hyper-Centralization,” in Kuperman.

Poupko, Eli. Chapter 9, “Africa’s Domestic Institutions of Integration and Accommodation,” in

Kuperman.

Kuperman, Alan. Chapter 10, “Rethinking Constitutional Reform for Democracy and Stability,”

in Kuperman.

Aksoy, Deniz and David Carter. 2012. “Electoral Institutions and the Emergence of Terrorist

Groups,” *British Journal of Political Science* (44): 181–204.

Recommended:

Reynolds, Andrew. Chapter 8, “Zimbabwe: the Unintended Consequences of Authoritarian Institutions,” in

Kuperman.

1. **CLASS DISCUSSION (February 29)**

Reno, Conclusion, “The Past and Future of Warfare in Africa”

**Spring Break – No Class (March 7)**

**DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE AGE OF**

**TERRORISM AND COUNTER-TERRORISM**

1. **Comparative Perspectives on the Causes of Extremism (March 14)**

USAID. 2009. *Guide to the Drivers of Violent Extremism*. Posted under Blackboard **content.**

* Part Two: Toward a More Sophisticated Understanding of the Relationship Between Socioeconomic Conditions and Vulnerability to Violent Extremism (pages 19-27)
* Part Three: Political Drivers (pages 27-50)

\* Dowd, Caitriona. 2015. “Grievances, governance and Islamist violence in sub-Saharan Africa,”

*Journal of Modern African Studies* (53,4): 505-31.

Mohammed, Kyari. Chapter 2, “The Message and Methods of Boko Haram,” in de Montclos.

\* LeVan, A. Carl. 2013. “Sectarian Rebellions in Post-Transition Nigeria Compared,” *Journal of*

*Intervention and Statebuilding* 7 (3): 335-52.

Recommended:

Aghedo, Iro. 2014. “Old Wine in a New Bottle: Ideological and Operational Linkages between Maitatsine and Boko

Haram Revolts in Nigeria,” *African Security* (7, 4): 229-250

Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. “Greed and Grievance in Civil War,” *Oxford Economic Papers* 56 (4):

563-95.

Gurr, Ted Robert. 1970. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Weeraratne, Suranjan. 2015. “Theorizing the Expansion of the Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria,” *Terrorism and*

*Political Violence*:1-25.

1. **Recruitment (March 21)**

USAID. 2009. *Guide to the Drivers of Violent Extremism*. Posted under Blackboard **content.**

 Part Four: Extremist Profiles and “At-Risk” Populations (pages 51-62)

Hoechner, Hannah. Chapter 4, “Traditional Quranic Students in Nigeria: Fair Game for Unfair

Accusations?” in de Montclos.

\* Asp, Erik, Kanchna Ramchandran, and Daniel Tranel. 2012. “Authoritarianism, Religious

Fundamentalism, and the Human Prefrontal Cortex,” *Neuropsychology*, 26(4): 414-421.

After the above, take a look at the following short articles posted on Blackboard under **content**:

* “The Bay’ah from West Africa,” *Inspire,* No. 8 (date unknown).
* Interview with Abū Muhrib as-Sūmālī. *Inspire*, No. 12 (date unknown).

Recommendations:

CLEEN Foundation. 2014. *Youths, Radicalisation and Affiliation with Insurgent Groups in Northern Nigeria*.

Lagos and Abuja: CLEEN Foundation.

Mustapha, Abdul Raufu. Ed. 2014. *Sects and Social Disorder: Muslim Identities and Conflict in Northern*

*Nigeria*. London: James Currey.

Saslow, Eli. 2011. “Muslim Activist in Minnesota Struggles as one-man Counter against Lure of Terrorism,”

*Washington Post.* July 9.

Sodipo, Michael Olufemi. 2013. “Mitigating Radicalism in Northern Nigeria,” *Africa Security Brief* *No. 26*

(August). <http://africacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/ASB-26-Aug-2013.pdf>

Speckhard, Anne. 2012. *Talking to Terrorists: Understanding the Psycho-Social Motivations of Militant Jihadi*

*Terrorists, Mass Hostage Takers and Suicide Bombers*.

1. **Literature review due (March 28)**
2. **Religion, Radicals, and Democratic Politics (April 4)**

Cooke, Jennifer and Richard Downie, eds. 2015. *Religious Authority and the State in Africa*.

Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies.

<http://csis.org/files/publication/151028_Cooke_ReligiousAuthorityStateAfrica_Web.pdf>

* Cook, Jennifer. “Introduction: The Intersection of Religion and Politics in Africa,” (pages 1-9)
* Umar, M. Sani. Chapter 4, “The Politics of Ethno-Religious Balancing and the Struggle for Power in Nigeria” (pages 65-85)

Mang, Henry Gyang. Chapter 5, “Christian Perceptions of Islam and Society in Relation to Boko

Haram and Recent Events in Jos and Northern Nigeria,” in de Montclos.

Onuoha, Freedom. Chapter 8, “Boko Haram and the Evolving Salafi Jihadist Threat in Nigeria,”

in de Montclos.

Recommended:

al-Saud, Abdullah bin Khaled. 2013. Chapter 3, “Religion, Radicalisation and Violence,” in *Militancy and Violence*

*in West Africa*, ed. J. Gow, F. Olonisakin and E. Dijxhoorn. Boulder: Routledge (pages 15-43).

Alao, Charles Abiodun. 2014. “Islamic Radicalisation and Violence in Nigeria,” in Militancy and Violence in West

Africa, eds. J. Gow, F. Olonisakin and E. Dijxhoorn. Boulder: Routledge (pages 43-89).

Azumah, John. 2015. “Boko Haram in Retrospect,” *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 26 (1):33-52.

Dowd, Robert. 2015. *Christianity, Islam, and Liberal Democracy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McBride, Michael T. and Gary Richardson. 2012. Chapter 6, “Religion, Conflict and

Cooperation,” in Michelle Garfinkel and Stergios Skaperdas, eds., *The Oxford Handbook*

*of the Economics of Peace.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pages 110-26.

Paden, John N. 2005. *Muslim Civic Cultures and Conflict Resolution: the Challenge of Democratic Federalism in*

*Nigeria*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Suberu, Rotimi T. 2009. “Religion and institutions: Federalism and the management of conflicts over Sharia in

Nigeria,” *Journal of International Development* 21 (4):547-60.

1. **Economic and Political Consequences (April 11)**

de Montclos, Marc-Antoine Pérouse, Chapter 7, “Boko Haram and Politics: from Insurgency to

Terrorism”

\* Prestholdt, Jeremy. 2011. “Kenya, the United States, and Counterterrorism,” *Africa Today* 57,

4 (summer): 2-27.

\* Schneider, Fredrich, Tilman Brück, Daniel Meierrieks. 2015. “The Economics of

Counterterrorism: A Survey,” *Journal of Economic Surveys* 29,1 (February): 131-57.

Mercy Corps. 2015. “The Economic Costs of Conflict and the Benefits of Peace: Effects of

Farmer-Pastoralist Conflict in Nigeria’s Middle Belt on Households. Posted under

content on Blackboard**.**

Recommended:

Anderson, David, and Jacob McKnight. 2015. “Kenya at war: Al-Shabaab and its enemies in Eastern Africa,”

*African Affairs* 114 (454):1-27.

Brück, Tilman, Olaf de Groot, and Carlos Bozzoli. 2012. “How Many Bucks in a Bank: On the Estimation of the

Economic Costs of Conflict,” in Michelle Garfinkel and Stergios Skaperdas, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Economics of Peace.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pages 252-74.

1. **State Responses (April 18)**

**FIELD TRIP: Meet at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1616 Rhode Island Avenue NW, a few blocks east of the Dupont Circle Metro**

\* Walsh, James I. and James A. Piazza. 2010. “Why Respecting Physical Integrity Rights

Reduces Terrorism,” *Comparative Political Studies* 43, 5 (April): 551–577

Serrano, Rafael and Zacharias Pieri, Chapter 9, “By the Numbers: The Nigerian State’s Efforts to

Counter Boko Haram,” in de Montclos

\* Isaac Terwase Sampson, “Between Boko Haram and the Joint Task Force: Assessing the

Dilemma of Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights in Northern Nigeria,” *Journal of*

*African Law*, 59, 01 (April 2015), pp 25 - 63

Recommended:

Civilians in Conflict. 2015. *When We Can’t See the Enemy, Civilians Become the Enemy.*

<http://civiliansinconflict.org/resources/pub/living-through-nigerias-six-year-insurgency>

1. **Class presentations (April 25)**

**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](http://www.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.

**CAPSTONE PROJECT/PAPER DUE ON MAY 2**