

**STATE AND SOCIETY IN AFRICA (SISG 676-004)**  
**American University, School of International Service**

Spring 2019  
Tuesdays, 5:30 - 8 pm in Watkins 114  
RA: Neil Edwards ([naedwards14@gmail.com](mailto:naedwards14@gmail.com))  
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Office hours: SIS room 343  
Tuesday 2-4 and Thursday 10-12

**Course Description and Objectives**

Colonial powers constructed African states to extract, control and coerce. When independence was won, key features of those states remained even as nationalists set out to integrate and develop the continent's new nations. Many post-colonial promises then slipped into dictatorship, economic decline, and insecurity. The resurgence of electoral democracy in the 1990s and the period of economic expansion that followed highlighted new possibilities of African adaptation, innovation and stabilization. Yet even as participation in governance expanded and accountability took root, a series of coups and constitutional crises highlighted the fragility of formality.

This course explores the varied dimensions of state-society relations in Africa today, including informal institutions, civil society activism, violent challenges to sovereign authority, and the persistence of traditional rulers. Key themes include democratization, civil society, terrorism, the relationship between regimes and economic growth, and global dimensions of African politics. The materials and lectures aim to balance comparative concepts and regional expertise in order to explore African exceptionalism, cultural contexts of governance, colonial legacies, ethnic politics, and other enduring questions of African studies.

We begin with an examination of nationalism and paths to decolonization, then move on to the rise of one-party states, neo-patrimonialism, and the complex legacies of the nationalist victories. Next, we consider in detail how economic uncertainty and physical insecurity shape institutional development and citizen participation in the case of Nigeria. This is followed by a study of economic issues including structural adjustment, neoliberalism's impact on state capacity, and current issues such as the viability of pastoralist lifestyles amidst ecological pressures. More broadly, we will identify long-term patterns of economic growth, and discuss encouraging signs of sustainability alongside aid's mixed record and the changing nature of debt. The course concludes by explaining why traditional chieftancy has persisted amidst competitive democratic politics.

**Learning Outcomes**

- Identify core themes and ongoing debates in African politics, and situate them within comparative studies
- Prepare students for advanced 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**

Please purchase the following books through [www.shopAmericanU.com](http://www.shopAmericanU.com) and then come to the campus store to pick them up. Using this site helps keep the cost of books down for other students.

- Hyden, Goran. 2013. *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*. 2nd edition. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

- LeVan, A. Carl. 2019. *Contemporary Nigerian Politics: Competition in a Time of Transition and Terror*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Baldwin, Kate. 2015. *The Paradox of Traditional Chiefs in Democratic Africa*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

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. If you have trouble accessing an article, please email the course assistant. If you need to read it right away, access the article through the library's website – most materials will not be accessible through a simple Google search.

### 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:

- **Test** in-class on February 12 (15%)
- **Research articulation** – Analyze and/or criticize some of the findings and claims in *Contemporary Nigerian Politics*. What research questions does it raise and how would you propose to answer them? In a 3-4 page paper, outline how you would engage the book, for example by testing additional hypotheses or extending the research by applying it to other cases. Due on Friday, February 22 by noon via Blackboard (10%)
- **Essay** – Write a short essay of 4-5 double-spaced pages responding to one of the following questions, due March 6 via Blackboard (10%). This assignment is meant to primarily evaluate your understanding of assigned readings.
 

Question 1: How does regime type shape economic performance in Africa? Consider both the theoretical issues and the empirical record as part of your answer, drawing upon the key course readings.

Question 2: Explain the economy of affection and social exchange theory, and critically evaluate them in light of recent developmental trends.
- **Fact sheet** – Author a fact sheet of approximately 2-3 single-spaced pages on behalf of an NGO of your choice pertaining to one the issues raised by the readings in *either week 9* (rural development, pastoralism) or *week 11* (debt, trade aid). The fact sheet should include (a) a succinct summary of information that characterizes the issue's importance. This could make use of a text box, bullet points or a well-designed graphic; (b) background on the issue, including an analytical critique of existing approaches. This should probably constitute the longest part of the paper; and (c) a brief discussion of possible recommendations. Note that the fact sheet will be due in class on the day of the respective readings. Supplemental outside research is permitted, but you should strive to engage questions raised by the assignments. I will also create discussion groups on Blackboard in order to facilitate coordination among students. (10%)
- **Literature review** – In a paper of 7-10 pages, formulate a clear research question generated by the Global Integrity's Africa Integrity Indicators (AII), and then provide an overview of

existing research on the topic. You should strive to utilize peer reviewed sources, but you may incorporate other sources as well. For example, you might want to take a look at HMaps and other great new resources from the OECD at <https://t.co/dnLTgrXxmb>. This is due March 26, and I will aim to return it in less than one week so that you have time to incorporate feedback into the final paper. I strongly encourage you to visit me during office hours early on in the semester as you begin formulating your topic. (10%)

- **Africa Integrity Indicators research paper** – In a paper of 10-15 pages that includes a reduced and significantly revised literature review, advance an empirically grounded argument in response to your research question, drawing upon evidence from AII and other relevant sources. Due on April 16. (15%)
- **Take home final paper** on the Baldwin book. You will receive the prompt at least one week in advance. Due on May 7. (20%)
- **Class participation** (10%)

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 also consult the style guide on my website, where I have also posted tips, suggestions, and resources: <http://carllewan.com/teaching/student-resources/>. AU's Academic Integrity Code will be strictly enforced. For information see: <https://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code.cfm>.

### **(1) Nationalism, Independence and Integration** (January 15)

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

\* Nkrumah, Kwame. 1965. "The Mechanisms of Neocolonialism," in *Neo-Colonialism: the Last Stage of Imperialism*. London: Nelson, pp. 239 – 259.

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

#### Recommended:

Lange, Matthew. 2009. *Lineages of Despotism and Development: British Colonialism and State Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lechler, Marie, and Lachlan McNamee. 2018. "Indirect Colonial Rule Undermines Support for Democracy: Evidence from a Natural Experiment in Namibia." *Comparative Political Studies* no. 51 (14):1858-1898.

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

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

### **(2) Post-colonial Political Development** (January 22)

Hyden, Chapter 2, "The Supremacy of Politics"

Hyden, Chapter 3, "The Problematic State"

LeVan, Chapter 1: "Introduction"

### **(3) Dictatorship and Personal Rule** (January 29)

Hyden, Chapter 5, "Big Man Rule"

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

Omer, Rabah. 2018. "Young People Lead the Resistance in the Sudan," 5 November. <https://africasacountry.com/2018/11/youth-revive-resistance-in-sudan>  
Associated Press. 2019. "Sudan Under Al-Bashir: Long History of Turmoil, Conflicts," 3 January. <https://nyti.ms/2GQDUyQ>

**(4) Negotiating (or Demanding?) Political Power** (February 5)

- \* National Intelligence Council. 2018. *Sub-Saharan Africa: Pitched Contests for Democratization through 2022*. Washington, DC: Director of National Intelligence.
- \* Morse, Yonatan L. 2018. "Presidential power and democratization by elections in Africa," *Democratization* 25(4): 709-727
- LeVan, Carl Chapter 2: "The End of a New Beginning: Nigeria's Transition, 1999-2015"

Recommended:

- Behuria, Pritish, Lars Buur, and Hazel Gray. 2017. "Studying political settlements in Africa." *African Affairs* no. 116 (464):508-525.
- Englebert, Pierre. 2018. *Reclaiming the State and the Future*. U.S. Agency for International Development. Washington, DC.
- Harris, Adam S., and Erin Hern. 2018. "Taking to the Streets: Protest as an Expression of Political Preference in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* no. 0 (0):0010414018806540.

**(5) In-class test** (February 12)

**(6) Transition, Terrorism and Turnover in Nigeria** (February 19)

- LeVan, Carl
  - Chapter 3, "The Rational Counter-Terrorist?"
  - Chapter 4, "Voting Against Violence"
  - Chapter 5, "Electoral Integrity, Ethnic Affinity, and Religious Revival"

**(7) The Socially Embedded Economy** (February 26)

- Hyden, Chapter 4, "The Economy of Affection"
- \*Badejo, Adedamola, Ayodele Majekodunmi, et al. 2017. "The Impact of Self-Help Groups on Pastoral Women's Empowerment and Agency," *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice* 7 (28): 1-12.
- \*Beuving, Joost. 2006. "Nigerien Second-Hand Car Traders in Cotonou: A Sociocultural Analysis of Economic Decision Making," *African Affairs* 105 (2006): 353-373.

➔ Introduction to the Africa Integrity Index  
[https://aii.globalintegrity.org/scores-map?stringId=transparency\\_accountability&year=2018](https://aii.globalintegrity.org/scores-map?stringId=transparency_accountability&year=2018)

Recommended:

- Berrou, Jean-Philippe, and François Combarrous. 2018. "Beyond Solidarity and Accumulation Networks in Urban Informal African Economies." *The European Journal of Development Research* no. 30 (4):652-675.
- MacLean, Lauren M. 2010. *Informal Institutions and Citizenship in Rural Africa: Risk and Reciprocity in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Olivier de Sardan, J.P. 1999. "A Moral Economy of Corruption in Africa?" *Journal of Modern African Studies* no. 37:25-52.
- Scott, James C. 1976. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

### **(8) Patterns of Governance and Growth (March 5)**

Hyden, Chapter 6, “The Policy Paradox”

- \* Mkandawire, Thandika. 2015. “Neopatrimonialism and the Political Economy of Economic Performance in Africa: Critical Reflections.” *World Politics* no. 67 (3):563-612.
- Patel, Nirav. 2018. “Understanding Poverty in Africa.” Brookings Institution, Africa in Focus. 21 November. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2018/11/21/figure-of-the-week-understanding-poverty-in-africa/>

And read one of the following:

- \* Carbone, Giovanni Marco, Vincenzo Memoli, and Lia Quartapelle. 2016. “Are Lions Democrats? The Impact of Democratization on Economic Growth in Africa, 1980–2010,” *Democratization* 23(1): 27-48.
- \* Masaki, Takaaki and Nicolas van de Walle. 2015 “The Impact of Democracy on Economic Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1982 – 2012” In *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics, Volume 1: Context and Concepts*, eds. Monga, Celestina and Justin Yifu Lin, 659-74. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Recommended:

- Behuria, Pritish, and Tom Goodfellow. 2018. “Leapfrogging Manufacturing? Rwanda’s Attempt to Build a Services-Led ‘Developmental State’.” *The European Journal of Development Research*.
- Olopade, Dayo. 2015. *The Bright Continent: Breaking Rules and Making Change in Modern Africa*. New York: Mariner Books.

## **SPRING BREAK (MARCH 12) NO CLASS**

### **(9) Politics and Development of Rural Africa (March 19)**

Hyden Chapter 7, “The Agrarian Question”

- \* Benjaminsen, Tor A. and Boubacar Ba. 2018. “Why do pastoralists in Mali join jihadist groups? A Political Ecological Explanation,” *The Journal of Peasant Studies* (June): 1-20.
- Food and Agriculture Organization. 2018. *Pastoralism in Africa’s Drylands: Reducing Risks, Addressing Vulnerability and Enhancing Resilience*.  
<https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/ca1312en.pdf>

Recommended:

- Bagu, Chom and Katie Smith. 2017. *Past is Prologue: Criminality and Reprisal Attacks in Nigeria’s Middle Belt*. Washington, DC: Search for Common Ground.
- Bates, Robert H. 1983. *Essays on the Political Economy of Rural Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boone, Catherine. 2013. *Property and Political Order: Land Rights and the Structure of Politics in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Higazi, Adam. 2016. “Farmer-Pastoralist Conflicts on the Jos Plateau, Central Nigeria: Security Responses of Local Vigilantes and the Nigerian State,” *Conflict, Security & Development* 16 (4): 365-85.
- Hill, Polly, and Julia Hill. *Studies in Rural Capitalism in West Africa*. Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- LeVan, Carl, Chapter 6: “Subnational Subversion and Institutional Stress”
- Oakland Institute. 2018. *Losing the Serengeti: The Maasai Land that was to run Forever*.  
<https://www.oaklandinstitute.org/tanzania-safari-businesses-maasai-losing-serengeti>
- Searcey, Dionne. “Nigerian Herders Face Threat from Farmers Competing for Land,” *New York Times* 22 Sept 2018.  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/22/world/africa/africa-nigeria-herders-farmers-battle.html>

Thaut Vinson, Laura. 2018. "Pastoralism, Ethnicity and Subnational Conflict Resolution in the Middle Belt." In *Oxford Handbook of Nigerian Politics*, edited by A. Carl LeVan and Patrick Ukata, 681-98. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

**(10) Literature review due (March 26)**

**(11) Aid, Trade and Debt (April 2)**

Hyden, Chapter 10, "External Dimension" and pages 255-67 in Chapter 12, "Quo Vadis Africa"

\* Addison, Tony, Saurabh Singhal, and Finn Tarp. 2015. "Aid to Africa: The Changing Context." In *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics, Volume 2: Policies and Practices*, edited by Celestin Monga and Justin Yifu Lin, 698-710. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Olopade, Dayo. 2018. "American Shithole," *Foreign Policy*, 17 January 2018.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/01/17/american-shthole/>

Ward, George. 2018. "African Debt – A Growing Problem?" *Africa Watch* Vol. 21 (October 18).

<https://www.ida.org/ExploreIDAResearch/ResearchRelatedPages/AfricaWatch>

Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network. 2017. *Guiding Principles of Effective U.S. Assistance*.

<http://modernizeaid.net/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/MFAN-goals-principles-2017.pdf>

**(12) Ethnicity and Traditional Authority (April 9)**

Hyden, Chapter 9, "The Ethnic Factor"

Baldwin, Chapters 1 -4

Recommended:

der Windt, P. V., Humphreys, M., Medina, L., Timmons, J. F., & Voors, M. (2018). Citizen Attitudes Toward Traditional and State Authorities: Substitutes or Complements? *Comparative Political Studies*.

**(13) Research paper due (April 16)**

**(14) Chiefs, Development and Elections in Zambia and Beyond (April 23)**

Baldwin, Chapters 5-9

➔ Skype chat at 7:00 pm with Professor Kate Baldwin, Yale University

**(15) Take home essay on Baldwin book due (May 7)**

### **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.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.