PSC-700: Politics of Africa
Spring 2024

W 9:30-12:15
Eggers 100A

Professor: Erin Hern
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Office: 400B Eggers Hall
Office Hours:
(Zoom): W 11-12, Th 2-3
(In person): Fridays, by appointment

Course Description:
How can African politics deepen our understanding of concepts in comparative politics? Many theories of comparative politics were developed with the experience of Europe or European settler colonies in mind, while the experiences of other places were relegated to "regional studies" or "why don't our theories work there" thinking. This course applies concepts of comparative politics to African cases, seeking to uncover what CP concepts can explain about politics in Africa, while also illuminating how African experiences enrich our understanding of comparative politics.

Objectives:
1. Gain familiarity with generalizations of African politics alongside specific, historically contextualized experiences of various African countries.
2. Understand how theories of comparative politics apply to and are made more nuanced by African cases.
3. Demonstrate expertise in at least one area of comparative politics as it relates to Africa.

Required Texts:
Young, Crawford. 2012. *The Postcolonial State in Africa: Fifty Years of Independence*, 1960-2010. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Course Requirement and Grading:
Memos (3)   25%
Participation   25%
Final Paper   50%

Three times over the course of the semester, you will write a memo synthesizing the main arguments of the week's readings. The memo-writer for the week will also act as discussion leader for part of the seminar. Your memos should respond to some or all of the questions posed in the week's topic description, and should identify debates, controversies, or unanswered questions for discussion in class. Submission of these memos and participation in class (through leading and participating in discussion) constitute 50% of your total grade.

At the end of the semester, you will produce **either** a review essay or a research design. A review essay summarizes the state of the literature on a particular topic, identifying emerging points of consensus, ongoing debates, and new areas of exploration. A research design identifies an interesting and relevant question related to one of the course topics, presents hypotheses informed by the literature, and proposes a design and method for adjudicating between the hypotheses. The research design may be ambitious, but should be feasible with funding. Note that in either case, you will be expected to review literature beyond the sources included on the syllabus. I will provide more detailed instructions later in the semester.

Useful Resources:
African Affairs (Journal)
African Studies Review (Journal)
Journal of Modern African Studies (Journal)
Afrobarometer Working Paper Series
Academic Presses with good African Studies series: Cambridge U, Indiana U, U of Wisconsin, U of Michigan, Lynne Reinner, Palgrave McMillan
Political science journals: Comparative Political Studies, Studies in Comparative International Development, Comparative Politics
This Week in Africa (website/email list: news and research round up)

COURSE POLICIES

Late Work
I do not accept late work in this class. Memos are due prior to the class period in which we are discussing the readings; late submissions defy the purpose of the assignment. It is far better to submit something incomplete than nothing at all. Extensions are possible for the final paper under extenuating circumstances, but will likely require filing "incomplete" paperwork given the deadline for grade submission.

Course Policy on Use of AI
Use of ChatGPT or other AI-enabled tools to compose assignments for this course is plagiarism, just as copying text from Wikipedia or journal articles is plagiarism. However, ChatGPT and other AI programs can be very useful research tools. In class, I will discuss how to use AI tools appropriately. While I welcome the use of these tools, **presenting text or ideas as your own that were produced by any source other than yourself is plagiarism and will be treated as such.**

For example: you may want to use ChatGPT to brainstorm potential research questions related to your topic. You may use the questions generated by ChatGPT as a starting point to produce a question that reflects your specific interests and capabilities. You may NOT simply copy or paraphrase the ChatGPT output.

Please note: Use of AI-enabled editing tools like Grammarly is permitted, but you must disclose this use in advance.

If you are unsure whether your use of a tool is fair game in this class, please ask. The AI field is evolving quickly and the judgment calls around fair use may shift as the technology advances.

If you find a useful tool, let us know! We, as a class, can discuss appropriate and inappropriate usage. We are all navigating this rapidly changing technology environment together. My goal is to facilitate the use of helpful tools while maintaining intellectual integrity.

UNIVERSITY POLICIES

Academic Integrity:
Syracuse University's Academic Integrity Policy holds students accountable for the integrity of the work they submit. Students should be familiar with the policy and know that it is their responsibility to learn about course-specific expectations, as well as about university policy. The university policy governs appropriate citation and use of sources, the integrity of work submitted in exams and assignments, and the veracity of signatures on attendance sheets and other verification of participation in class activities. The policy also prohibits students from submitting the same written work in more than one class without receiving written authorization in advance from both instructors. The presumptive penalty for a first offense by an undergraduate student is course failure, accompanied by a transcript notation indicating that the failure resulted from a violation of Academic Integrity Policy. The standard sanction for a first offense by a graduate

student is suspension or expulsion. For more information and the complete policy, see
http://academicintegrity.syr.edu.

Disability Related Accommodations:
If you believe that you need accommodations for a disability, please contact the Office of Disability Services
(ODS), http://disabilityservices.syr.edu, located in Room 309 of 804 University Avenue, or call (315) 443-
4498, TDD: (315) 443-1371 for an appointment to discuss your needs and the process for requesting
accommodations. ODS is responsible for coordinating disability-related accommodations and will issue
students with documented Disabilities Accommodation Authorization Letters, as appropriate. Since
accommodations may require early planning and generally are not provided retroactively, please contact ODS
as soon as possible.

Religious Observances:
SU religious observances notification and policy, found at http://hendricks.syr.edu/spiritual-life/index.html,
recognizes the diversity of faiths represented among the campus community and protects the rights of
students, faculty, and staff to observe religious holidays according to their tradition. Under the policy,
students are provided an opportunity to make up any examination, study, or work requirements that may be
missed due to a religious observance provided they **notify their instructors before the end of the second
week of classes for regular session classes** and by the submission deadline for flexibly formatted classes.
An online notification process is available for students in **My Slice / StudentServices / Enrollment /
MyReligiousObservances / Add a Notification.**

COURSE SCHEDULE

<u>A note on "recommended" reading list</u>: this list is by no means a comprehensive accounting of important works on the subject, but is intended as a "jumping off" point if you decide to conduct further research on the topic. Some lists are longer than others and highlight certain countries, which reflects my personal expertise rather than importance in the field. Items on the recommended list are ordered alphabetically rather than by prominence.

BB denotes a scanned reading available on Blackboard. All other required readings, except the Young book, are available electronically through SU's library.

UNIT 1: HISTORICAL C ONTEXT

Week 1 (1/22) Introduction and Precolonial History
<u>Required:</u>
Mama, Amina. 2007. "Is it Ethical to Study Africa? Preliminary Thoughts on Scholarship and Freedom." *African Studies Review* 50(1): 1-26.

Walsh, Denise. 2017. "Making it Ethical to Study Africa: The Enduring Legacies of "Sitting on a Man." *Journal of West African History* 3(2):166-172.

Van Allen, Judith. 1972. "'Sitting on a Man': Colonialism and the Lost Political Institutions of Igbo Women." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 6(2):165-181.

Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000.*States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pages 1-57.

BB Diop, Cheikh Anta. 1987. *Precolonial Black Africa: a comparative study of the political and social systems of Europe and Black Africa from antiquity to the formation of modern states*. Westport, Conn: L. Hill. Part V: Political Organization.

<u>Recommended:</u>
Vansina, Jan. 1966. *Kingdoms of the Savannah*. University of Wisconsin Press.
July, Robert. 1975. *Precolonial Africa: An economic and social history*. Scribner.
Law, R. 1978. "Slaves, Trade and Taxes: The Material Basis of Political Power in precolonial West Africa," *Research In Economic Anthropology* 1:37-52.
Achebe, Chinua. 1994. *Things Fall Apart*. Penguin Books. (Fiction)
Greene, Sandra. 1996. *Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Change on the Upper Slave Coast: A History of the Anlo-Ewe*. Portsmouth: African Writers Series.
Reader, John. 1998. *Africa: A biography of the continent*. A.A. Knopf.
Falola, Toyin. 2000. *Africa, Vol. 1: African History before 1885*. Carolina Academic Press.
Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. 2005. *The History of African Cities South of the Sahara: From Origins to Colonization*. Markus Weiner Publishers.
Vansina, Jan. 2004. *How Societies are Born: Governance in West Central Africa before 1600*. U of Virginia Press.
Green, Toby. 2012. *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300-1589*. Cambridge UP
Mbah, Ndubueze. 2019. Emergent Masculinities: Gendered Power and Societal Change in the Biafran Atlantic Age. Ohio University Press
Hopkins, A.G. 2020. *An Economic History of West Africa, Second Edition*. Routledge.
Achebe, Nwando. 2020. *Female Monarchs and Merchant Queens in Africa*. Ohio University Press.

Week 2 (1/29) Colonialism
For most African countries, formal colonialism lasted only around 60 years, but fundamentally changed African societies and economies. Or did it? Issues to consider: Was the colonial state weak or strong? How and in what ways did colonialism alter African society (culturally, economically, politically)? How did the experience of colonialism vary (based on location with a colony, the colonial power, status within society)? Was colonialism a "blip," or did it alter the trajectory of African countries?

Required:
Young, Crawford. 1994. *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective.* Pgs. 73-181.

Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 37-137.

Berry, Sara. 1993. *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub-Saharan Africa.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. Chapter 2.

Allman, Jean. 1996. "Rounding Up Spinsters: Gender Chaos and Unmarried Women in Colonial Asante," *Journal of African History* 37(2): 195-214.

Recommended:
Akyeampong, E. and Fofack, H., 'The contribution of African women to economic growth and development in the pre-colonial and colonial periods: historical perspectives and policy implications', *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 29 (2014), pp. 42–73.
Allman, Jean, Susan Geiger, and Nakanyike Musisi, eds. *Women in African Colonial Histories.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Chanock, Martin. *Law, Custom, and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
Conklin, Alice. 1997. *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press
Cooper, Frederick. 1996. *Decolonization in African Society: The Labour Question in French and British Africa.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
Cooper, Frederick. 2005. *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Crehan, Kate. 1997. "'Tribes' and the People Who Read Books: Managing History in Colonial Zambia." *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 23(2): 203-218.
Geiger, Susan, Nakanyika Musisis, and Jean Marie Allman, Eds. 2002. *Women in African Colonial Histories.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
Gyasi, Yaa. *Homegoing* (fiction)
Hopkins, A.G. 2020. *An Economic History of West Africa, Second Edition.* New York: Routledge.
Lawrence, Benjamin, Emily Lynn Osborn, and Richard L. Roberts. 2006. *Intermediaries, interpreters, and clerks: African employees in the making of colonial Africa.* Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
Roberts, Richard and Kristin. Mann, Eds.1991. *Law in Colonial Africa* Portsmouth: Heinemann
Roberts, Richard. 2005. *Litigants and Households: African Disputes and Colonial Courts in the French Soudan,1895–1912.* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
Rodney, Walter, A.M. Babu, and Vincent Harding. 1981 *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.* Rev. pbk. ed. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press.
Vail, Leroy. 1989. *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa.* London: Currey.

Week 3 (2/5) Independence and Post-Independence Trajectories
After WWII, the modal experience was a negotiated independence, followed by a brief stint of multiparty democracy, followed by some form of dictatorship—but there was a lot of variation. Things to consider: Was independence top-down or bottom-up? What were the roles of colonial intermediaries versus resistance movements in ending colonialism? Why did most countries have such a brief experience of democracy? What forms did new authoritarian states take? How did the economic crises of the 1970s-80s and structural adjustment in the 1990s influence the possibilities for governance?

Required:
Young, Crawford. 2012. *The Postcolonial State in Africa: Fifty Years of Independence*, 1960-2010. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press. Chapters 1-4 (pgs 1-157)

Tripp, Aili Mari. 2009. *African Women's Movements: Transforming Political Landscapes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.

Mkandawire, Thandika. 2014. "The Spread of Economic Doctrines and Policymaking in Postcolonial Africa," *African Studies Review* 57(1): 171-198.

Recommended:
Adichi, Chimamanda Ngozi. *Half a Yellow Sun* (fiction)
Austin, Gareth. 1964. *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Chafer, Tony. 2002. *The End of Empire in French West Africa: France's Successful Decolonization?* New York: Berg
Durrani, Shiraz. 2018. *Kenya's War of Independence: Mau Mau and its Legacy of Resistance to Colonialism and Imperialism, 1948-1990*. Nairobi, Kenya:Vita Books.
El Awad Simsa'a, Layla. 1998. "Structural Adjustment Policies and Women in the Rural Areas in Africa: A Review of some Major Issues," *Africa Development* 23(3/4): 135-147.
Mkandawire, Thandika and Adebayo O, Olukoshi. 1995. *Between Liberalisation and Oppression: The Politics of Structural Adjustment in Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA.
Schmidt, Elizabeth. 2005. *Mobilizing the Masses: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in the Nationalist Movement in Guinea, 1939–1958*. Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann.
Skinner, Kate. 2015. *The Fruits of Freedom in British Togoland: Literacy, Politics, and Nationalism 1914–2014*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Tripp, Aili Mari. 1992. "The Impact of Crisis and Economic Reform on Women in Urban Tanzania," in Lourdes Beneria and Shelley Feldman, Eds. *Unequal Burden: Economic Crises, Persistent Poverty, and Women's Work*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge UP

UNIT 2: DEMOCRACY AND AUTOCRACY

Week 4 (2/12) Democracy in Africa, or African Democracy
The post-independence democratic moment and subsequent wave of democratization in the 1990s led to questions about the nature of African democracy—specifically, the relationship between public and private realms and between economic development and political reform. Things to consider: Is there an identifiable "African" democracy, and if so, what characterizes it? Has colonialism and distinct political culture produced a unique form of democracy in Africa? What can we learn about democracy by its practice in African countries, and vice versa?

Required:
Young, Chapter 6 (pgs. 194-224)

Ekeh, Peter. 1975. "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 17(1):91-112.

Robinson, Pearl T. 1994. "Democratization: Understanding the relationship between regime change and the culture of politics," *African Studies Review* 37(1):39-67.

Ake, Claude. 1993. "The Unique Case of African Democracy," *International Affairs* 69(2): 239-244.

Lindberg, Staffan. 2010. "What Accountability Pressures do MPs in Africa Face and How Do They Respond? Evidence from Ghana," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 48(1): 117-142.

Recommended:
Gazibo, Mamadou. 2016. "Democratisation in Africa: Achievements and Agenda," in Nduolo, Muna and Mamadou Gazibo (Eds), *Growing Democracy in Africa: Elections, Accountable Governance, and Political Economy*. GB: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
Gyimah-Boadi, Emmanuel. 1996. "Civil Society in Africa," *Journal of Democracy* 7(2): 118-130.
Gyimah-Boadi, Emmanuel. 2015. "Africa's Waning Democratic Commitment," *Journal of Democracy* 26(1): 101-113
Hern, Erin. 2020. "Infrastructure and Perceptions of Democracy in Zambia: Democracy Off the Rails," *African Affairs* 119(447):604-632.
Owusu, Maxwell. 1992. "Democracy in Africa: A view from the village," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 30(3): 369-396.
Schaffer, Frederick. 1998. *Democracy in translation.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
van Binsbergen, Wim. 1995. "Aspects of democracy and democratisation in Zambia and Botswana: Exploring African political culture at the grassroots," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 13(1): 3-33.
Schaffer, Frederick. 1998. *Democracy in translation.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Week 5 (2/19) Neopatrimonialism, Clientelism, and Distributive Politics
Many suggest that politics across Africa is characterized by neopatrimonialism and the selective distribution of resources through patronage networks or distributive politics. Things to consider: How is neopatrimonialsm different from patrimonialism? What are the differences between "patronage" and "clientelism," and "distributive politics"? Are these just different forms of politics, or are they corruption? Are they a manifestation of "African political culture," or a justification for elite-driven politics? How does (or doesn't) it affect political behavior?

Required

*BB*Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2007. "Meet the New Boss, Same as the Old Boss? The Evolution of Political Clientelism in Africa," in Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven Wilkinson, Eds. *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge University Press.

Pitcher, Anne, Mary Moran, and Michael Johnston. 2009. "Rethinking Patrimonialism and Neopatrimonialism in Africa." *African Studies Review* 52 (1): 125–56.

Arriola, Leonardo. 2009. "Patronage and Political Stability in Africa," *Comparative Political Studies* 42(10): 1339-1362.

Carlitz, Ruth D. 2017. "Money Flows, Water Trickles: Understanding Patterns of Decentralized Water Provision in Tanzania," *World Development* 93: 16-30.

Musonda, James. 2023. "He Who Laughs Last Laughs Loudest: The 2021 *donchi-kubeba* (don't tell) Elections in Zambia," *Review of African Political Economy* 50(175):71-89.

Recommended
Beresford, Alexander. 2015. "Power, Patronage, and Gatekeeper Politics in South Africa," *African Affairs* 114(455): 226-248.
Bach, Daniel C., and Mamoudou Gazibou. 2012. *Neopatrimonialism in Africa and Beyond.* New York: Routledge
Abdulai, Abdul-Gafaru and Sam Hickey. 2016. "The Politics of Development Under Competitive Clientelism: Insights from Ghana's Education Sector," *African Affairs* 115(458): 44-72.
Kramon, Eric. 2017. *Money for Votes: The Causes and Consequences of Electoral Clientelism in Africa.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
Kramon, Eric, and Dan Posner. 2013. "Who Benefits from Distributive Politics? How the Outcome One Studies Affects the Answer One Gets," *Perspectives on Politics* 11 (2): 461–74.
Harris, J. Andrew and Daniel Posner. 2019. "(Under What Conditions) Do Politicians Reward Their Supporters? Evidence from Kenya's Constituencies Development Fund," *American Political Science Review* 113(1): 123-139.

Week 6 (2/26) Ethnicity and Identity Politics
Ethnic conflict and "tribalism" are among the more familiar tropes of African politics. Things to consider: Why is ethnicity salient in some countries, but not others? When does ethnicity (or other forms of identity) become political salient? Are ethnic politics "bad" for African governance?

Required
Koter, Dominika. 2023. "Africa and Ethnic Politics" *Nationalities Papers* 51(2): 245-57.

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): 529-545

Ichino, Nahomi and Noah L Nathan. 2013. "Crossing the Line: Local Ethnic Geography and Voting in Ghana," *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 344-361.

Ferree, Karen and Jeremy Horowitz. 2010. "Ties that Bind? The Rise and Decline of ethno-regional partisanship in Malawi, 1994-2009. *Democratization* 17(3): 534-563

Dulani, Boniface, Adam S. Harris, Jeremy Horowitz, and Happy Kayuni. 2020. "Electoral Preferences Among Multiethnic Voters in Africa," *Comparative Political Studies.* 54(2): 215-407.

Recommended
Ejdemyr, Simon, Eric Kramon, and Amanda Robinson. 2018. "Segregation, Ethnic Favoritism, and the Strategic Targeting of Distributive Goods," *Comparative Political Studies* 51(9): 1111-1143.
Elischer, Sebastian. 2013. *Political Parties in Africa: Ethnicity and Party Formation.* New York: Cambridge University Press
Ferree, Karen. 2006. "Explaining South Africa's Racial Census," *Journal of Politics* 68(4): 802-814.
Gisselquist, Rachel, Stefan Leiderer, and Miguel Niño-Zarazúa. 2016. "Ethnic Heterogeneity and Public Goods Provision in Zambia: Evidence of a subnational 'Diversity Dividend,'" *World Development* 78: 308-323.
Koter, Dominika. 2016. *Beyond Ethnic Politics in Africa.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
Adida, Claire, Jessica Gottlieb, Eric Kramon, and Gwyneth McClendon. 2017. "Reducing or Reinforcing In-Group Preferences? An Experiment on Information and Ethnic Voting," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 12:437-477.
Gadjanova, Elena. 2017. "Ethnic Wedge Issues in Electoral Campaigns in Africa's Presidential Regimes," *African Affairs* 116(464): 484-507.
Nathan, Noah. 2019. *Electoral Politics and Africa's Urban Transition: Class and Ethnicity in Ghana.* New York:

Cambridge University Press.
Berge, Lars Ivar Oppedal, Kjetil Bjorvatn, Simon Galle, Edward Miguel, Daniel Posner, Bertil Tungodden, and Kelly Zhang. 2020. "Ethnically Biased? Experimental Evidence from Kenya," *Journal of the European Economic Association,* 18(1): 134-164.

Week 7 (3/4) Parties and Party Systems
Parties in African countries are often described as poorly institutionalized, and in many countries the party system is marked by one dominant party. Things to consider: What are the implications for political competition, alternation of power, and political accountability? How do voters navigate these party systems?

Required
BB Bleck, Jamie and Nicolas van de Walle. 2019. "Political Parties and Electoral Competition," Chapter 4 in *Electoral Politics in Africa since 1990: Continuity in Change*. Cambridge UP. *Note: full book available in the library*

Sigman, Rachel. 2023. *Parties, Political Finance, and Governance in Africa.* Chapters 1-3.

Bertrand, Eloise. 2021. "Opposition in a Hybrid Regime: The Functions of Opposition Parties in Burkina Faso and Uganda," *African Affairs* 120(481): 591-610.

Weghorst, Keith, and Staffan Lindberg. 2013. "What Drives the Swing Voter in Africa?" *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (3): 717–34

Recommended
Arriola, Leonardo, Donghuyn Danny Choi, Justine Davis, Melanie Phillips, and Lise Rakner. 2021. "Paying to Party: Candidate Resources and Party Switching in New Democracies," *Party Politics* 28(3): 507-520.
Hern, Erin. 2020. "Preferences without Platforms: How Voters make Choices in Zambia's Elections," in Banda, Tinenengi, O'Brien Kaaba, Marja Hinfelaar, and Muna Ndulo, Eds. *Democracy and Electoral Politics in Zambia.* Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Publishers.
Opalo, Ken Ochieng. 2019. *Legislative Development in Africa: Politics and Postcolonial Legacies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Riedl, Rachel. 2014. *Authoritarian Origins of Democratic Party Systems in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Wahman, Michael. 2017. "Nationalized Incumbents and Regional Challengers: Opposition- and Incumbent-Party Nationalization in Africa," *Party Politics* 23(3): 309-322.

Week 8 (3/18) Traditional Authorities and Religious Leaders
Non-state authorities (NSAs)—particularly "chiefs" and religious leaders—continue to hold great sway in many African countries. Chiefs sometimes complement state institutions, sometimes undermine state authority, and sometimes act as brokers. Things to consider: what are the different types of political roles that NSAs play? Are NSAs good or bad for governance in African countries (or, under what conditions are they good or bad? Or, for whom are they good or bad?)? What are the possible effects of states institutionalizing their relationships to NSAs?

Required:
Logan, Carolyn. 2013. "The Roots of Resilience: Exploring Popular Support for Traditional Authorities," *African Affairs* 112(448): 353-376.

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.

Adotey, Edem. 2019. "Parallel or Dependent? The State, Chieftaincy, and Institutions of Governance in Ghana," *African Affairs* 118(473): 628-645.

Beck, Linda. 2001. "Reigning in the Marabouts? Democratization and Local Governance in Senegal," *African Affairs* 100(401): 601-621.

Onohanga, Kelvin. 2018. "Pentecostalism, Power, and Politics in Nigeria," in Adolayan, Adeshina, Olajumoke Yacob-Haliso, and Toyin Falola, Eds. *Pentecostalsim and Politics in Africa*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Recommended:
Boone, Catherine. 2014. *Property and Political Order in Africa: Land Rights and the Structure of Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press
Harding, Robin and Kristen Michelitch. 2019. "Candidate Coethnicity, Rural Dwelling, and Partisanship in Africa," Working Paper 2, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.
Honig, Lauren. 2022. *Land Politics: How Customary Institutions Shape State Building in Zambia and Senegal*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Mamadou Diouf, Ed. 2013. *Tolerance, Democracy, and Sufis in Senegal*. New York: Columbia University Press
McClendon, Gwenyth and Rachel Riedl. 2015. "Religion as a Stimulant of Political Participation: Experimental Evidence from Nairobi, Kenya," *Journal of Politics* 1045-1057.
Sperber, Elizabeth and Erin Hern. 2018. "Pentecostal Identity and Citizen Engagement in Africa: New Evidence from Zambia." *Politics and Religion* 11(4):830-862.
Villalón, Leonardo. 1995. *Islamic Society and State Power in Senegal: Disciples and Citizens in Fatick*. Cambridge University Press.

Week 9 (3/25) Varieties of Autocracy: Dominant Party Systems and Hybrid Regimes

Required
BB Meng, Anne. 2020. *Constraining Dictatorship: From Personalized Rule to Institutionalized Regimes*. Cambridge UP. Chapters 1 and 3.

BB Morse, Yonatan. 2018. *How Autocrats Compete: Parties, Patrons, and Unfair Elections in Africa*. Cambridge UP. Chapters 1 and 3.

Letsa, Natalie Wenzell. 2020. "Expressive Voting in Autocracies: A Theory of Non-Economic Participation with Evidence from Cameroon," *Perspectives on Politics* 18(2): 439-453.

Recommended
Van Vliet, Martin. 2014. "Weak Legislatures, Failing MPs, and the Collapse of Democracy in Mali," *African Affairs* 113(450):45-66.
Abrahamsen, Rita and Gerald Bareebe. 2016. "Uganda's 2016 Elections: Not Even Faking It Anymore," *African Affairs* 751-765.
Elischer, Sebastian and Lisa Meuller. 2019. "Niger Falls Back off Track," *African Affairs* 118(471): 392-406.
Powell, Jonathan, Mwita Chacha, and Gary E Smith. 2019. "Failed Coups, Democratization, and Authoritarian Entrenchment: Opening Up or Digging In?" *African Affairs* 118(471): 238-258.
Tendi, Blessing-Miles. 2020. "The Motivations and Dynamics of Zimbabwe's 2017 Military Coup," *African Affairs* 119(474): 39-67.

UNIT 3: POLITICAL ECONOMY

Week 10 (4/1) Resource-Driven Development
Economists often lament that African economies suffer from the resource curse, or are stuck in a low-output low-revenue cycle, or are crippled by corruption. Yet, some success stories indicate that economic stagnation is not inevitable. Things to consider: Why have so many African countries apparently fallen prey to the resource curse? Why have some countries managed to avoid it? What types of conditions need to be in place for broad-based, shared economic development to occur?

<u>Required</u>
Vicente, Pedro. 2010. "Does Oil Corrupt? Evidence from a Natural Experiment in West Africa," *Journal of Development Economics* 92:28-38.

Frynas, Jedrzej George, Geoffrey Wood, and Timothy Hinks. 2017. The Resource Curse without Natural Resources: Expectations of Resource Booms and their Impact," *African Affairs* 116(463): 233-260.

Gyimah-Boadi, Emmanuel and H. Kwasi Prempeh. 2012. "Oil, Politics, and Ghana's Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 23(3): 94-108.

Ayelazuno, Jasper Abembia and Emmanuel Graham. 2021. "It is Still Extractive Imperialism in Africa: Ghana's Oil Rush, Extractivist Exploitation, and the Unpromising Prospects of Resources-Led Industrialization,' in *The Palgrave Handbook of Africa and the Changing Global Order* 345-366.

Hillbom, Ellen. 2012. "Botswana: A Development-Oriented Gate-Keeping State," *African Affairs* 111(442): 67-89.

<u>Recommended</u>
Roessler, Philip, Yannick Pengl, Robert Marty, Kylie Sorlie Titlow, and Nicolas van de Walle. 2020. "The Cash Crop Revolution, Colonialism, and Legacies of Spatial Inequality: Evidence from Africa," CSAE Working Paper WPS/2020-12.
Steinberg, Jessica. 2019. *Mines, Communities, and States: The Local Politics of Natural Resource Extraction in Africa.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
Onditi, Francis. 2019. "From Resource Curse to Institutional Incompatibility: A Comparative Study of Nigeria and Norway Oil Resource Governance," *Africa Review* 11(2): 152-171.
McFerson, Hazel. 2009. "Governance and Hyper-Corruption in Resource-Rich African Countries," *Third World Quarterly* 30(8): 1529-1547.

Week 11 (4/8) Foreign Aid and Investment
Colonialism is over, but foreign organizations are still omnipresent in African countries through aid agencies, NGOs, private foreign investment, and state-run foreign investment. Things to consider: are aid and foreign investment economically helpful? What are the political effects of foreign aid and aid agencies? What are the economic effects of foreign investment? Are African countries experiencing neoimperialism? Why or why not?

<u>Required</u>
Briggs, Ryan. 2012. "Electrifying the Base? Aid and Incumbent Advantage in Ghana." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 50 (4): 603–24

Seim, Brigitte, Ryan Jablonski, and Johan Ahlback. 2020. "How Information About Foreign Aid Affects Public Spending Decisions: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Malawi," *Journal of Development Economics*. DOI: 10.1016/j.jdeveco.2020.102522

*BB*Lee, Ching Kwan. 2017. *The Specter of Global China: Politics, Labor, and Foreign Investment in Africa.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 1.

Bodomo, Adams. 2017. *The Globalization of Foreign Investment in Africa: The Role of Europe, China, and India.* Bingley: Biggleswade: Emerald Publishers Limited. Chapter 4.

Soulé, Folashadé. 2020. "'Africa+1' Summit Diplomacy and the 'New Scramble' Narrative: Recentering African Agency," *African Affairs* 119(477): 633-646.

Recommended
Brautigam, Deborah and Sigrid-Marianella Stensrud Ekman. 2012. "Rumours and Realities of Chinese Agricultural Engagement in Mozambique," *African Affairs* 111(444): 483-492.
Brautigam, Deborah. 2016. *Will Africa Feed China?* New York: Oxford University Press.
Harchaoui, Tarek, Robbert K.J. Maseland, and Julian Watkinson. 2021. "Carving Out Empire? How China Strategically Uses Aid to Facilitate Chinese Business Expansion in Africa," *Journal of African Economies* 30(2): 183-205
Oqubay, Arkebe and Justin Yifu Lin. 2020. *China-Africa and an Economic Transformation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Yates, Douglas. 2014. "Port-Gentil: From Forestry Capital to Energy Capital," in Joseph Pratt, Ed. *Energy Capitals: Local Impact, Global Influence.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Week 12 (4/15) Africa, Decarbonization, and Green Energy Futures: Threats and Opportunities
Note: this is a new and rapidly changing topic that the field of political science has not kept up with. Most of the pieces assigned for today are from journalistic sources or other disciplines. They fall into two categories: the impact of carbon markets on land use in Africa, and race to secure access to critical minerals.

Source Material. "The Carbon Con"

Source Material. "Scramble for Africa: Inside Carbon Offsetting's Megadeal"

Source Material. "Total's Congo Offsetting Project 'Snatched Our Land"

Kalantzakos, Sophia. 2020. "The Race for Critical Minerals in an Era of Geopolitical Realignments," *The International Spectator* 55(3):1-16.

The Guardian. January 2, 2024. "How Many More Must Suffer in DRC Before the West Stops Enabling Tshikedi?"

Katz-Lavigne, Sarah. 2024. "Framing Spaces as (il)legitimate: 'dirt' cobalt and the (mis)uses of artisanal and small-scale sites in south-eastern Democratic Republic of Congo," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* DOI: 10.1080/00083968.2023.2273500

Week 13 (4/22) Conflict and Coups
The nature of conflict in Africa has shifted over time. In the contemporary period, most conflict is intra-
rather than inter-state, and is dominated by coups and related civil conflict, resource-motivated conflict, and
the growing challenge of Islamist terrorism. Things to consider: why has there been such a dramatic increase
in coups recently? Has religion supplanted ethnicity as the primary form of identity-based conflict? How can
states best manage conflicts to prevent coups, civil war, or insurgency?

BB McCauley, John. 2017. *The Logic of Ethnic and Religious Conflict in Africa.* Cambridge UP. Chs. 1 and 6

Elischer, Sebastian. 2019. "Governing the Faithful: State Management of Salafi Activity in the Francophone
Sahel," *Comparative Politics* 15(2): 119-218.

Afoaku, Osita. 2017. "Islamist Terrorism and State Failure in Northern Nigeria," *Africa Today* 63(4): 21-42.

Roessler, Philip. 2011. "The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa," *World Politics*
63(2): 300-346.

Singh, Naunihal. 2022. "The Myth of Coup Contagion," *Journal of Democracy* 33(4):74-88.

Recommended
Jose, Betcy and Peace A. Medie. 2015. "Understanding why and how civilians resort to self-protection in
        armed conflict," *International Studies Reivew* 17(4): 515-535
McCauley, John F. 2017. *The Logic of Ethnic and Religious Conflict in Africa.* New York: Cambridge University
        Press.
Harkness, Kristen A. 2018. *When Soldiers Rebel: Ethnic Armies and Political Instability in Africa.* New York:
         Cambridge University Press.
Bornu-Mai, Zainab Ladan. 2020. *Political Violence and Oil in Africa: The Case of Nigeria.* Palgrave McMillan
Mampilly, Zacariah and Megan A. Stewart. 2020. "A Typology of Rebel Political Institutional Arrangements,"
        Journal of Conflict Resolution DOI: 10.1177/0022002720935642
Sweet, Rachel. 2020. "Bureaucrats at War: The Resilient State in the Congo," *African Affairs* 119(475): 224-
        250.
Lewis, Janet. 2020. *How Insurgency Begins: Rebel Group Formation in Uganda and Beyond.* New York: Cambridge
        University Press

Week 14 (4/29) Paper Workshop (details TBD)