

**PSC-700: Politics of Africa
Fall 2020**

T 9:30-12:15
Online, synchronous

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Virtual Office Hours: 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.

Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Course Requirement and Grading:

Memos (5)	25%
Participation	25%
Final Paper	50%

Five times over the course of the semester, you will write a memo synthesizing the main arguments of the week’s readings. Memo-writers for the week will also act as discussion leaders. 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 (acknowledging Covid-19 in the design is optional). Note that in either case, you will be expected to review literature beyond the sources included on the syllabus.

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

Class Format

Due to the classroom limitations this semester, our seminar will take place in an online, synchronous format via Zoom. While less than ideal, this format is the best option we have given limited classroom capacity. Long online sessions can be tedious; I will build in ample time for breaks. Our Zoom classroom can be accessed via Blackboard.

Zoom Etiquette

Remote learning is most effective when all participants can see each other, and therefore I require that you use a webcam for our remote sessions. If you do not have a camera or have reservations about this policy, please let me know. Please treat Zoom class as you would an in-person class: come fully clothed and be sure nothing is in view of your camera that you do not want to share. Feel free to use a virtual background to maintain privacy. In general, these sessions will not be recorded; if that changes, I will always warn you in advance of recording.

Electronics in Class

I typically do not allow electronics in class, as screens detract from the quality of discussion. While conducting the class virtually obviously complicates this issue, I ask you to restrict your screen use to class-related materials and to avoid accessing email, social media, etc. during our discussions.

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.

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

A note on “recommended” reading list: 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 by chronology rather than prominence.

BB denotes a scanned reading available on Blackboard. All other required readings are available electronically through SU’s library.

Week 1 (8/25) Introduction and Precolonial History

Required:

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.

BB Law, R. 1978. “Slaves, Trade and Taxes: The Material Basis of Political Power in precolonial West Africa,” *Research In Economic Anthropology* 1:37-52.

Recommended:

Vansina, Jan. 1966. *Kingdoms of the Savannah*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

- July, Robert. 1975. *Precolonial Africa: An economic and social history*. Scribner.
- 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*. New York: A.A. Knopf.
- Falola, Toyin. 2000. *Africa, Vol. 1: African History before 1885*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.
- Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. 2005. *The History of African Cities South of the Sahara: From Origins to Colonization*.
Princeton, NJ: Markus Weiner Publishers.
- Vansina, Jan. 2004. *How Societies are Born: Governance in West Central Africa before 1600*. University of Virginia Press.
- Green, Toby. 2012. *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300-1589*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hopkins, A.G. 2020. *An Economic History of West Africa, Second Edition*. New York: Routledge.

Week 2 (9/1) 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.

Beoku-Betts, Josephine. 1976. “Western Perceptions of African Women in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries,”
in ed. Andrea Cornwall *Readings in Gender in Africa* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. 20-25.

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

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 Musisi, and Jean Marie Allman, Eds. 2002. *Women in African Colonial Histories*.

- Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- 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 Sudan, 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 (9/8) 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?

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.

Recommended:

- Adichi, *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.
- 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.

Week 4 (9/15) Economic Crisis and Structural Adjustment

The oil shocks of the 1970s and the subsequent global commodity price slump sent most African economies into a tailspin in the 1980s, and many states turned to the IMF for relief. Things to consider: to what extent were economic crises internally generated (through bad policy) or externally generated (through global economic circumstances)? What was the effect of structural adjustment? Were there other policy options African governments could have pursued? What were the hallmarks of countries that did well versus those that faced economic ruin?

Required:

Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. New York, Cambridge University Press. Pgs 1-187 (remainder optional)

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

Recommended:

- 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.
- Mkandawire, Thandika and Adebayo O, Olukoshi. 1995. *Between Liberalisation and Oppression: The Politics of Structural Adjustment in Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- 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.
- Pitcher, Ann. 2012. *Party Politics and Economic Reform in Africa's Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Resnick, Danielle. 2013. *Urban Poverty and Party Populism in African Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Week 5 (9/22) Democracy's Third Wave (and Reverse Wave) in Africa

After the end of the Cold War, in the face of mounting international pressure, many countries in Africa transitioned (back) to multi-party democracy during the Third Wave. In most countries, however, new democratic institutions failed to consolidate or experienced reversals. Things to consider: Why did so many countries transition to democracy at the same time? Why didn't democracy stick in so many places? What are the challenges for maintaining democracy in African countries?

Required:

Young, Chapter 6 (pgs. 194-224)

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. 2015. "Africa's Waning Democratic Commitment," *Journal of Democracy* 26(1): 101-113

Amoah, Michael. 2020. "Sleight is Right: Cyber Control as a New Battleground for Elections," *African Affairs* 119(474): 68-89.

Recommended

Owusu, Maxwell. 1992. "Democracy in Africa: A view from the village," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 30(3): 369-396.

Ake, Claude. 1993. "The unique case of African democracy," *International Affairs* 69(2): 239-244.

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

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.

Gyimah-Boadi, Emmanuel. 1996. "Civil Society in Africa," *Journal of Democracy* 7(2): 118-130.

Schaffer, Frederick. 1998. *Democracy in translation*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

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 Mueller. 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.

Bleck, Jamie and Nicolas van de Walle. 2019. *Electoral Politics in Africa since 1990: Continuity in Change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tendi, Blessing-Miles. 2020. "The Motivations and Dynamics of Zimbabwe's 2017 Military Coup," *African*

Affairs 119(474): 39-67.

Week 6 (9/29) Neopatrimonialism, Patronage Networks, 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: What are the differences between “neopatrimonialism,” “patronage politics,” 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?

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.

*BB*Chabal, Patrick, and Jean-Pascal Daloz. 1999. *Africa Works: Disorder as a Political Instrument*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Introduction and Chapters 7-10 (pgs 93-141)

Beresford, Alexander. 2015. “Power, Patronage, and Gatekeeper Politics in South Africa,” *African Affairs* 114(455): 226-248.

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.

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

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.

Recommended

Bayart, Jean-Francois. 1993. *The State in Africa: Politics of the Belly*. London: Longman.

Kelsall, Tim. 2008. “Going with the Grain in African Development?” *Development Policy Review* 2008:627-655.

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

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.

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 7 (10/6) Ethnicity, Race, 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

- Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. "What is Ethnic Identity and Does it Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9:397-424.
- Osaghae, Eghosa. 1998. "Managing Multiple Minority Problems in a Divided Society: The Nigerian Experience," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 30(4): 625-641.
- Ferree, Karen. 2006. "Explaining South Africa's Racial Census," *Journal of Politics* 68(4): 802-814.
- 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.
- Dulani, Boniface, Adam S. Harris, Jeremy Horowitz, and Happy Kayuni. 2020. "Electoral Preferences Among Multiethnic Voters in Africa," *Comparative Political Studies*. DOI: [10.1177/0010414020926196](https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414020926196)

Recommended

- 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
- Elischer, Sebastian. 2013. *Political Parties in Africa: Ethnicity and Party Formation*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- 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 8 (10/13) 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.

Riedl, Rachel and Gwyneth McClendon. 2016. "Individualism and Empowerment in Pentecostal Sermons: New Evidence from Nairobi, Kenya," *African Affairs* 115 (458): 119-144.

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

Recommended:

Villalón, Leonardo. 1995. *Islamic Society and State Power in Senegal: Disciples and Citizens in Fatick*. Cambridge University Press.

Mamadou Diouf, Ed. 2013. *Tolerance, Democracy, and Sufis in Senegal*. New York: Columbia 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.

Boone, Catherine. 2014. *Property and Political Order in Africa: Land Rights and the Structure of Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press

Week 9 (10/20) Institutions and Party Politics

African countries with electoral institutions have tried many institutional configurations to ensure representation in divided countries, yet often wind up with political parties with indistinguishable platforms that cater to specific groups or regions, and incumbent advantage is entrenched in many areas. Things to consider: what have been the effects of quotas, proportional representation, consociationalism, and other forms of institutional engineering for better representation? What can countries do to promote parties with meaningful platforms? Is it possible to design institutions to diffuse incumbent advantage?

Required

Ejobowah, John Boye. 2008. "Integrationist and Accommodationist Measures in Nigeria's Constitutional Engineering: Successes and Failures," in Choudary, Sujit, Ed. *Constitutional Design for Divided Societies: Integration or Accommodation?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brautigam, Deborah. 1997. "Institutions, Economic Reform, and Democratic Consolidation in Mauritius," *Comparative Politics* 30(1): 45-62

Bauer, Gretchen and Jennie E. Burnet. 2013. "Gender Quotas, Democracy, and Women's Representation in Africa: Some Insights from Democratic Botswana and Autocratic Rwanda." *Women's Studies International Forum* 41: 103-112.

Bleck, Jamie and Nicolas van de Walle. 2013. "Valence Issues in African Elections: Navigating Uncertainty and the Weight of the Past," *Comparative Political Studies* 46(11): 1394-1421.

Wahman, Michael. 2017. "Nationalized Incumbents and Regional Challengers: Opposition- and Incumbent-Party Nationalization in Africa," *Party Politics* 23(3): 309-322.

Bob-Milliar, George, and Jeffrey Paller. 2018. "Democratic Ruptures and Electoral Outcomes in Africa: Ghana's 2016 Election," *Africa Spectrum*. DOI: 10.1177/000203971805300102

Recommended

- Kang, Alice. 2013. "The Effect of Gender Quota Laws on the Election of Women: Lessons from Niger," *Women's Studies International Forum* 41:94-102.
- Riedl, Rachel. 2014. *Authoritarian Origins of Democratic Party Systems in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bauer, Gretchen. 2016. "'A Lot of Head Wraps': African Contributions to the Third Wave of Electoral Gender Quotas," *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4(2):196-213.
- Cheeseman, Nic. 2018. *Institutions and Democracy in Africa: How the Rules of the Game Shape Political Developments*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Morse, Yonatan. 2018. *How Autocrats Compete: Parties, Patrons, and Unfair Elections in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Opalo, Ken Ochieng. 2019. *Legislative Development in Africa: Politics and Postcolonial Legacies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Meng, Anne. 2020. *Constraining Dictatorship: From Personalized Rule to Institutionalized Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Harris, J. Andrew. 2020. "Election Administration, Resource Allocation, and Turnout: Evidence from Kenya," *Comparative Political Studies*. DOI: [10.1177/0010414020938083](https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414020938083)

Week 10 (10/27) Political Behavior

Most African countries have electoral regimes, but most are deeply flawed. Things to consider: How do citizens make decisions about political participation in these contexts? What accounts for participation gaps between men and women, and young and old? How do models of political participation differ from the standard models in European and American politics (in terms of voting, collective behavior, protest, etc)?

Required

Kuenzi, Michelle, and Gina M. S. Lambright. 2010. "Who Votes in Africa? An Examination of Electoral Participation in 10 African Countries." *Party Politics* 17 (6): 767–99.

Resnick, Danielle, and Daniela Casale. 2014. "Young Populations in Young Democracies: Generational Voting Behaviour in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Democratization* 21 (6): 1172–94.

Gottlieb, Jessica. 2016. "Why Might Information Exacerbate the Gender Gap in Civic Participation? Evidence from Mali," *World Development* 86, 95-110.

Gottlieb, Jessica, Guy Grossman and Amanda Lea Robinson. 2016. "Do Men and Women Have Different Policy Preferences in Africa? Determinants and Implications of Gender Gaps in Policy Prioritization," *British Journal of Political Science*, doi:10.1017/S0007123416000053

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

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

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Week 11 (11/3) Economic Development: Predatory and Developmental States

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?

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Week 12 (11/10) Taxation and the Politics of Public Services

Rates of taxation in African countries are low, as is public service provision, indicating rupture in the fiscal contract. Things to consider: why is taxation so challenging in the African context? What (dis)incentives do citizens have to pay taxes? What (dis)incentives do governments have to levy taxes? Is it possible to build good state-society relations without a functioning fiscal contract?

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Ali, Merima, Odd-Helge Fjeldstad, and Ingrid Home Sjørusen. 2014. "To Pay or Not to Pay? Citizens' Attitudes Toward Taxation in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and South Africa," *World Development* 64:828-842.

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Week 13 (11/17) Foreign Aid, Foreign Investment, and Neoliberalism

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 neoliberalism? Why or why not?

Required

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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

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- Brautigam, Deborah and Sigrid-Marianella Stensrud Ekman. 2012. "Rumours and Realities of Chinese Agricultural Engagement in Mozambique," *African Affairs* 111(444): 483-492.
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Week 14 (11/24) Intrastate Conflict and Terrorism

African countries have experienced a great deal of intrastate conflict, characterized by state collapse and civil war in the 1990s, and by long-simmering insurgencies now (especially those perpetrated by Islamist groups). Things to consider: When does domestic political conflict become violent? Why did so many African countries experience civil war in the 1990s? What accounts for the increase in insurgent violence now? How can states manage social conflict to prevent escalation into violence?

Required

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