

PSC/IR 260, 260W: Contemporary African Politics

University of Rochester
Fall 2014
Tuesdays & Thursdays, 11:05am-12:20pm
Morey, 502

Robin Harding

Email: robin.harding@rochester.edu

Office: Department of Political Science, Harkness Hall, Room 323

Office Hours: Tuesdays, 2-4pm, or by appointment

Overview

This course provides an introduction to the major issues in contemporary African politics. The questions we will consider include: What are the legacies of slavery and colonialism? What accounts for the variation in political institutions across Africa? Why have so many African countries experienced political violence? What explains Africa's slow economic growth? And, how do political institutions influence development in Africa?

The course is divided into three sections. We will start by considering the political legacies of various moments in Africa's history, including the organization of pre-colonial societies, the slave trade, colonial rule, independence, and the recent wave of economic and political liberalizations. The second section introduces a number of core concepts that are useful for understanding contemporary African politics, including clientelism, ethnicity, and the nature of the state in Africa. In the final section we will consider key issues such as economic growth, political violence, ethnic politics, and various aspects of electoral politics in Africa, including electoral fraud, vote-buying, political behaviour, and electoral accountability.

Throughout the course we will consider various theoretical arguments, and will attempt to evaluate them by studying events in particular countries, as well as examining broad patterns across countries.

Requirements

- Class participation - 10%
- Map quiz – 5%
- Midterm exam 1 – 25%
- Midterm exams 2 – 30%
- Midterm exams 3 – 30%

The course will be a mixture of lectures and class discussion based around the required readings. You will be expected to engage in the discussions, and 10% of your grade will be based on your participation in class. There will be a short in-class map quiz in **session 5 (9/16)**, in which you will be asked to identify a number of countries and name the country that colonized them most recently prior to independence. There will be 3 in-class midterm exams in **session 9 (9/30)**, **session 18 (11/04)**, and **session 28 (12/11)**, which will contribute 25%, 30% and 30% of your overall grade, respectively. The exams will contain short answer questions and essays. Plan your schedule carefully, as NO make-up exams will be given for the midterms. There is no cumulative final exam.

Students in the W sections: You are required to write a 3,500 word research paper in which you will evaluate the prospects for democracy and development, for a single country in sub-Saharan Africa (not including South Africa, or the islands), *based on concepts introduced during the course*. Word counts should not include references. A 2-3 paragraph statement of your research topic will be due in Session 12 **(10/09)**, in which you will identify the country that you will focus on, the key themes to be addressed in the paper, and 5-10 key sources. A draft of the paper is due in Session 20 **(11/11)**. I shall correct and return it with comments in Session 22 **(11/18)**, and a final revised version is due in Session 26 **(12/04)**. Overall grades for students in the W sections will be based on: participation 10%, map quiz 5%, midterm exam 20%, essay 20%, final exam 20%, research paper 25%.

Exam Policy

The exams are closed book and closed note (meaning also no internet access and no cell phones). The exam dates are firm, and missed exams may only re-taken under the following circumstances: (1) a death in the family, (2) participation in a University-sponsored academic or sporting event (extra-curricular events do not count), (3) unforeseen medical emergency. In the case of (1) and (2), you must inform me within 24 hours of the exam that you will miss it. In some cases I may require supporting documentation (e.g. a doctor's note) out of fairness to the other students.

Paper Extension Policy

Hard copies of papers must be turned in at the start of class on the due date (emailed versions will not be accepted). Extensions will only be granted in the case of: (1) a death in the family, (2) an unforeseen medical emergency. In case of such an emergency, please let me know as soon as possible. In some cases I may require supporting documentation (e.g. a doctor's note) out of fairness to the other students. *Turning a paper in late without an agreed extension will result in the loss of one third of one letter grade for every 24 hours that the paper is late.*

Academic Honesty

While I encourage you to discuss the course readings and assignments with your fellow students, all written work must be done independently. Papers require full citations listed in a consistent format. Lastly, all class activities must be performed in accordance with the University of Rochester's Academic Honesty Policy (<http://www.rochester.edu/college/honesty>). Under UR rules I *must* report possible violations to the Board on Academic Honesty. Plagiarism is a very serious problem, and you should pay particularly close attention to the University's rules on what constitutes plagiarism, and how to avoid it.

Reading

The reading load is reasonable, and it will be necessary to complete at least the required reading if you wish to attain a satisfactory grade for participation. Statistical expertise is not a prerequisite, but you will still be expected to understand the arguments and conclusions of the more technical empirical academic articles. Your grade will be higher if you look at the further reading also, and you will learn more from the course. Lectures will build on the reading, not summarize it. You may wish to purchase the following books, since we will be reading significant portions of them:

- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*, Princeton University Press.
- Collier, Paul. 2008. *The Bottom Billion*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

All other materials, such as articles and book chapters, will be available on blackboard, although many can be found easily online.

Other resources

There are a variety of online resources that will enable you to keep up to date with politics in Africa, especially the daily *Africa Today* podcast from the BBC. You will inevitably get much more from this course (including a higher grade) if you have a good knowledge of African current affairs.

- BBC Africa Today podcast – <http://www.bbc.co.uk/podcasts/series/africa>.
- <http://allafrica.com/>
- <http://www.democracyinafrica.co.uk/>

COURSE SCHEDULE

INTRODUCTION

Session 1 (9/02): Countries and Context

Recommended:

- Dowden, Richard. 2008. *Africa: Altered States, Ordinary Miracles*, London: Portobello Books. Chapter 1 (“Africa is a Night Flight Away: Images and Realities”).
- Hyden, Goran. 2012, *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 (“The Study of Politics and Africa.”)

SECTION 1 - HISTORICAL LEGACIES

Session 2 (9/04): Pre-colonial Africa

- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa*. Chapter 2.
- Colson, Elizabeth. 1981. "African Society at the Time of the Scramble," in L. H. Gann and P. Duignan (eds.) *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1960*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Session 3 (9/09): Legacies of pre-colonial rule

- Hjort, Jonas. 2010. "Pre-Colonial Culture, Post-Colonial Success? The Tswana and the African Economic Miracle." *The Economic History Review*, 63(3): 688-709.

Session 4 (9/11): The slave trade

- Iliffe, John. 2005. *Africans: The History of a Continent*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 7 ("The Atlantic Slave Trade.")
- Nunn, Nathan. 2008. "Shackled to the Past: The Causes and Consequences of Africa's Slave Trades," in Jared Diamond and James A. Robinson (eds.), *Natural Experiments of History*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Session 5 (9/16): Colonial rule

- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa*. Chapter 3.

Session 6 (9/18): Legacies of colonialism

- Nunn, Nathan. 2009. "The Importance of History for Economic Development." *NBER Working Paper* 14899.

Session 7 (9/23): Independence & Single party states

- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa*. Chapter 4.
- Cheeseman, Nic. 2013. "Nationalism, One-Party States, and Military Rule," in Cheeseman, Anderson & Scheibler (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of African Politics*. London: Routledge.

Session 8 (9/25): Democratization

- Bratton, Michael and Nicolas van de Walle. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3 ("Africa's Divergent Transitions, 1990-1994.")
- Widner, Jennifer A. 1994. "Political Reform in Anglophone and Francophone Countries," in Widner, J. (ed.) *Economic Change and Political Liberalization in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Session 9 (9/30): Midterm 1

SECTION 2 - CORE CONCEPTS

Session 10 (10/02): The state of African politics

- Bratton et al. 2005. *Public Opinion, Democracy and Market Reform in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

Session 11 (10/07): The State in African politics

- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa*. Chapters 1 & 5.

Session 12 (10/09): Ethnicity

- Hyden, Goran. 2012. *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*. Chapter 9.
- 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, pp. 529-545.

Session 13 (10/16): Clientelism

- Hicken, Allen. 2011. "Clientelism." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 14, pp. 289-310.
- Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2003. "Presidentialism and Clientelism in Africa's Emerging Party Systems." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41(2), pp. 297-321.

SECTION 3 - CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

Session 14 (10/21): Economic development

- Collier, Paul. 2008. *The Bottom Billion*, chapters 1, 4 & 5.

Session 15 (20/23): Resource curse/Unearned income

- Humphreys, Macartan, Jeffrey D. Sachs and Joseph E. Stiglitz (eds.). 2007. *Escaping the Resource Curse*. Introduction ("What is the Problem with Natural Resource Wealth?")
- Collier, Paul. 2008. *The Bottom Billion*, chapter 3.

Session 16 (10/28): Civil war

- Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97: 1, pp. 75-90.
- Collier, Paul. 2008. *The Bottom Billion*, chapter 2.

Session 17 (10/30): Ethnic politics

- Collier, Paul. 2009. *Wars, Guns, and Votes*, chapter 2.
- Kasara, Kimuli. 2007. "Tax Me If You Can: Ethnic Geography, Democracy, and the Taxation of Agriculture in Africa." *American Political Science Review* 101 (2), pp. 159-72.

Session 18 (11/04): Midterm 2

Session 19 11/06): Electoral fraud and violence

- “How to rig an election” *The Economist* March 3rd 2012.
- “How to save votes” *The Economist* February 28th 2012.
- “Democracy 1, vote-rigging 0” *The Economist* April 14th 2011.
- Lehoucq, Fabrice. 2003. “Electoral Fraud: Causes, Types, and Consequences.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 6, pp. 233-256.

Session 20 (11/11): Vote-buying and clientelism

- Vicente, Pedro C. and Leonard Wantchekon. 2009. “Clientelism and Vote Buying: Lessons From Field Experiments in African Elections.” *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 25(2): 292-305.

Session 21 (11/13): Voting behaviour

- Lindberg, Staffan and Minion K. C. Morrison. 2008. “Are African Voters Really Ethnic or Clientelistic? Survey Evidence from Ghana.” *Political Science Quarterly* 123(1): 95-122.

Session 22 (11/18): Political Parties

- Salih, Mohamed M. A. 2003. *African Political Parties: Evolution, Institutionalisation and Governance*, Pluto Press. Chapters 1 and 6.

Session 23 (11/20): Elections and Accountability

- Stasavage, David. 2005. “The Role of Democracy in Uganda’s Move to Universal Primary Education.” *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 43(1), pp. 53-73.

Session 24 (11/25): “An African Election” (film)

Session 25 (12/02): Discussion of “An African Election”

Session 26 (12/04): Security (Terrorism & Piracy)

- Menkhaus, Ken. 2013. “Terrorism, Security, and the State,” in Cheeseman, Anderson & Scheibler (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of African Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Chalk, Peter. 2010. “Piracy off the Horn of Africa: Scope, Dimensions, Causes and Responses.” *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 16(2), pp. 89-108.

Session 27 (12/09): Conclusion

- Dowden, Richard. 2008. *Africa: Altered States, Ordinary Miracles*, London: Portobello Books. Chapter 18 (“Phones, Asians, and the Professionals: The New Africa.”)

Session 28 (12/11): Midterm 3

APPENDIX: FURTHER READING

SECTION 1 - HISTORICAL LEGACIES

Session 2 (9/04): Pre-colonial Africa

- Bates Robert H. 1983. *Essays on the Political Economy of Rural Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 & 2.

Session 3 (9/09): Legacies of pre-colonial rule

- Gennaioli, Nicola and Ilija Rainer. 2007. "The Modern Impact of Pre-Colonial Centralization in Africa." *Journal of Economic Growth*, 12: 185-234.
- Bandyopadhyay, Sanghamitra and Elliott Green. 2012. "Pre-Colonial Political Centralization and Contemporary Development in Uganda." *Unpublished Manuscript*.
- Englebert, Pierre. 2000. "Pre-Colonial Institutions, Post-Colonial States, and Economic Development in Tropical Africa." *Political Research Quarterly*, 53(1): 7-36.

Session 4 (9/11): The slave trade

- Nunn, Nathan and Leonard Wantchekon. 2011. "The Slave Trade and the Origins of Mistrust in Africa." *American Economic Review*, 101, pp. 3221-3252.

Session 5 (9/16): Colonial rule

- Young, Crawford. 1994. *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapter 5.
- Crowder, Michael. 1964. "Indirect Rule: French and British Style." *Journal of the International African Institute*, 34(3), pp. 197-205.

Session 6 (9/18): Legacies of colonialism

- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson and James A. Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *American Economic Review*, 91(5), pp. 1369-1401.
- Berger, Daniel. 2009. "Taxes, Institutions and Local Governance: Evidence from a Natural Experiment in Colonial Nigeria." *Unpublished manuscript*.
- Huillery, Elise. 2010. "The Impact of European Settlement within French West Africa: Did Pre-colonial Prosperous Areas Fall Behind?" *Journal of African Economies*, 20(2), pp. 263-311.
- Green, Elliott. 2012. "On the Size and Shape of African States." *International Studies Quarterly*, 56, pp. 229-244.
- Michalopoulos, Stelios and Elias Papaioannou. 2011. "The Long-run Effects of the Scramble for Africa." *NBER Working Paper* 17620.

Session 7 (9/23): Independence & Single party states

- Ekeh, Peter. 1975. "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 17(1), pp. 91-112.
- Hyden, Goran. 2012. *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*. Chapter 2.
- Jackson, Robert H. and Carl G. Rosberg. 1984. "Personal Rule: Theory and Practice in Africa." *Comparative Politics*, 16(4), pp. 421-442.
- *Lumumba (film)*
- *Mobutu, King of Zaire (film)*

Session 8 (9/25): Democratization

- Lindberg, Staffan. 2006. "The Surprising Significance of African Elections." *Journal of Democracy* 17 (1): 139-151.

SECTION 2 - CORE CONCEPTS

Session 10 (10/02): The state of African politics

- Diamond & Plattner (eds.). 2010. *Democratization in Africa: Progress and Retreat*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. Introduction and chapter 1.

Session 11 (10/07): The State in African politics

- Hyden, Goran. 2012. *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*. Chapter 3.
- Englebert, Pierre. 2000. *State Legitimacy and Development in Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner. Chapter 3.
- Reno, William. 1997. "War, Markets and the Reconfiguration of West Africa's Weak States." *Comparative Politics* 29:4, pp. 493-510.
- Powell, Benjamin, Ryan Ford and Alex Nowrasteh. 2008. "Somalia after State Collapse: Chaos or Improvement?" *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 67, pp. 657-670.

Session 12 (10/09): Ethnicity

- Posner, Daniel. 2003. "The Colonial Origins of Ethnic Cleavages: The Case of Linguistic Divisions in Zambia." *Comparative Politics* 35: 2, pp. 127-146.

Session 13 (10/16): Clientelism

- Arriola, Leonardo. 2009. "Patronage and Political Stability in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 42: 10, pp. 1339-1362.
- Stokes, Susan C. 2009. "Political Clientelism," in Boix, Charles and Susan C. Stokes (eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. *Online*.

SECTION 3 - CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

Session 14 (10/21): Economic development

- Collier, Paul and Jan Willem Gunning. 1999. "Why has Africa Grown Slowly?" *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 13(3), pp. 3-22.
- Easterly, William and Ross Levine. 1997. "Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 112(4), pp. 1203-1250.
- van de Walle, Nicholas. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters?

Session 15 (10/23): Resource curse/Unearned income

- Jensen, Nathan and Leonard Wantchekon. 2004. "Resource Wealth and Political Regimes in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(7), pp. 816-841.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and Alastair Smith. 2010. "The Pernicious Consequences of UN Security Council Membership." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 54(5), pp. 667-686.
- Ahmed, Faisal Z. 2012. "The Perils of Unearned Foreign Income: Aid, Remittances, and Government Survival." *American Political Science Review*, 106(1), pp. 146-165.

Session 16 (10/28): Civil war

- Elbadawi, Ibrahim and Nicholas Sambanis. 2000. "Why Are There So Many Civil Wars in Africa? Understanding and Preventing Violent Conflict." *Journal of African Economies* 9(3): 244-269.
- Buhaug, Halvard and Jan Ketil Rod. 2006. "Local Determinants of African Civil Wars, 1970-2001." *Political Geography* 25: 315-335.

Session 17 (10/30): Ethnic politics

- Miguel, Edward. 2004. "Tribe or Nation? Nation-Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania." *World Politics* 56:3, pp. 327-362.
- Franck, Raphael and Ilia Rainer. 2012. "Does the Leader's Ethnicity Matter? Ethnic Favoritism, Education, and Health in Sub-Saharan Africa." *American Political Science Review* 106 (2), pp. 294-325.
- Posner, Daniel. 2005. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 & 5.

Session 19 (11/06): Electoral fraud and violence

- Beaulieu, Emily and Susan Hyde. 2009. "In the Shadow of Democracy Promotion: Strategic Manipulation, International Observers, and Election Boycotts." *Comparative Political Studies* March 2009.
- Beber, Bernd and Alexandra Scacco. 2012. "What the Numbers Say: A Digit-Based Test for Election Fraud." *Political Analysis (advance access)*.
- Collier, Paul and Pedro C. Vicente. 2011. "Votes and Violence: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Nigeria." *Forthcoming?*

- Schedler, Andreas. 2002. "The Menu of Manipulation." *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 36-50.

Session 20 (11/11): Vote-buying and clientelism

- Kramon, Eric. 2009. "Vote-Buying and Political Behavior: Estimating and Explaining Vote-Buying's Effect on Turnout in Kenya." *Afrobarometer Working Papers* 114.
- Vincente, Pedro C. 2013. "Is Vote-buying Effective? Evidence from a Field Experiment in West Africa." Unpublished manuscript.
- Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. "Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin." *World Politics*, 55(3): 399-422.

Session 21 (11/13): Voting behaviour

- Bratton, Michael, Ravi Bhavnani and Tse-Hsin Chen. 2012. "Voting Intentions in Africa: Ethnic, Economic or Partisan?" *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 50(1): 27-52.
- Harding, Robin. 2014. "Attribution and Accountability: Voting for Roads in Ghana." Unpublished manuscript.
- Kuenzi, Michelle and Gina M. S. Lambright. 2007. "Voter Turnout in Africa's Multiparty Regimes." *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(6), pp. 665-690.

Session 22 (11/18): Political Parties

- Bleck, Jaimie and Nicolas van de Walle. 2012. "Parties and Issues in Francophone West Africa: Towards a Theory of Non-Mobilization." *Democratization*, 18(5), pp. 1125-1145.
- Bogaards, Matthijs. 2008. "Dominant Party Systems and Electoral Volatility in Africa: A Comment on Mozaffar and Scarritt." *Party Politics* 14(1), pp. 113-130.

Session 23 (11/20): Elections and Accountability

- Harding, Robin and David Stasavage. 2013. "What Democracy Does (and Doesn't do) for Basic Services: School Fees, School Inputs, and African Elections." *Journal of Politics*, in press.
- Kudamatsu, Masayuki. 2012. "Has Democratization Reduced Infant Mortality in Sub-Saharan Africa? Evidence from Micro Data." *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 10(6), pp. 1294-1317.
- 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.

Session 26 (12/04): Security (Terrorism & Piracy)

- Percy, Sarah and Anja Shortland. 2011. "The Business of Piracy in Somalia." *DIW Berlin Discussion Papers* 1033.
- Acharya, Avi, Robin Harding and Andy Harris. 2014. "Security in the Absence of a State: Traditional Authority, Livestock Trading, and Maritime Piracy in Somalia." *Unpublished manuscript*.