

## ADVANCED SEMINAR IN AFRICAN POLITICS

GOV 3570/AFRS 3570 – *Spring 2019*

Tuesdays and Thursdays 1:15-2:40

Roux 212

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Office Hours (Hubbard 209A):  
Tuesdays and Thursdays 3:00 – 5:00 PM  
or by appointment

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### Synopsis

The continent of Africa boasts some of the most rapidly growing economies in the world, but the proportion of people living in poverty remains higher than in any other region. Virtually all African states experimented with democratic reform in the last two decades, but many leaders have become adept at using political institutions to entrench their power. Most large-scale civil wars have ended, but violence remains. This advanced seminar will explore the economic, political and security challenges of this continent of contrasts. Topics will include poverty and economic growth, the “resource curse,” democratic institutions, civil society, ethnic relations, state failure, foreign assistance and intervention.

### Expectations

This is a capstone course in government, so it will build on students’ understanding of foundational concepts in political science and African politics. Students will come with varying degrees of preparation, however, having taken a range of courses in and outside the government department. I anticipate diligent attention to reading and written assignments, strong participation in class and readiness to learn. I expect students not to plagiarize and to adhere strictly to the Academic Honor Code: <https://www.bowdoin.edu/dean-of-students/student-handbook/the-academic-honor-code-and-social-code.html>

### Readings

Only one book is required for the course. Most other readings are on Blackboard/Syllabus or on E-Reserves. Some are available electronically as indicated in the course outline.

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014)

### Course Requirements

1. Class Participation	20%
2. Leadership Discussions	20%
3. Response Paper	10%
4. Research Paper	40%
5. Presentation	10%

## ASSIGNMENTS

### 1. *Class Participation*

The course relies heavily on student preparation for class and contribution to class discussion. Everyone should develop a habit of bringing questions and comments about the readings to each session. They should also regularly bring examples from the state(s) they are researching. To facilitate this habit, the following will be required for the first several sessions:

- **Session 2:** Please come to class with three specific comments about the readings. They do not need to be particularly profound; they are thoughts that might provoke some discussion.
- **Session 4:** What is the geography of your states? Print population density maps, if possible.
- **Session 5:** What kind of colony operated in each of your states (e.g. settler, extractive, etc.)?
- **Session 6:** How did the colonizer establish order in each of your states? How did it raise revenue?
- **Session 7:** Was there a group that was privileged in each of your states?

*\*\*Attend at least two Africa-related talks/events at Bowdoin and be prepared to talk about them in class.*

### 2. *Leadership Discussion*

Each student will be responsible for leading discussion with a classmate twice time during the term. An effective discussion will enlist your colleagues to lay out the main arguments of the assigned readings, ask them to critically evaluate the argument, and compare it with prior class readings. These discussions should *not* be presentations. Rather, you should prepare leading questions to elicit other students' participation. Please **meet with me before your first assigned session**. For your second session, send me by 3:00pm the day before the session at least 5 substantive or analytical questions you plan to pose to the class.

### 3. *Response Paper* (1-2 pages)

Beginning with Session 7, all students will choose one session for which they would like to write a response paper. This will be a maximum of two double-spaced pages, and it will primarily serve to promote discussion in the class. The first paragraph or two of the paper should engage with the assigned readings for the day and the remainder should raise questions or make connections with previous sessions and/or your own countries. This should be **emailed to the class by 8:00pm** the night before the assigned session.

### 4. *Research Paper* (20-25 pages)

Choose two diverging states in Africa. One might be among the top 30 in the "Fragile States Index" and the other among those ranking 60<sup>th</sup> or lower. Or, you might rank states on democracy, corruption, economic strength, or any other attribute. Make an argument as to why one state is doing better than the other. Provide a suggestion for addressing one of the major problems in the weaker state. You will be asked to submit portions of this paper at various points in the course. We will discuss the details in the second week of class. If there is a specific topic that you would like to explore, I am happy to discuss that as an alternative.

### 5. *Presentation*

All students will prepare a 15-minute presentation of their research for the class. This should be a polished product, using theoretical insights and empirical evidence that you have gathered throughout the course. More detailed expectations will be discussed toward the end of the term.

## COURSE OUTLINE

Date		Assignments	#Pgs
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>			
Tue 1/22	Session 1	Introduction to the course: <i>Sankara, Smockey, and Skirmishes</i> in Burkina Faso	
Thu 1/24	Session 2	Katherine Murison, “Burkina Faso – Recent History” <i>Europa World Plus</i> [Blackboard/Syllabus] - <i>skim</i>	10
		Ernest Harsch, Blowing the Same Trumpet? Pluralist Protest in Burkina Faso” <i>Social Movement Studies</i> 15, 2 (2016): 231-238 [Blackboard/Syllabus]	9
		Muriel Côte, <a href="#">“Striking Gold in Burkina Faso”</a> Focus on Land in Africa (November 2013 [Blackboard/Syllabus])	6
		Max Weber, “Politics as a Vocation” in Patrick O’Neil and Ronald Rogowski, <i>Essential Readings in Comparative Politics</i> 3 <sup>rd</sup> Edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010) [ER: 22-25] ( <i>not entire</i> )	4
		Browse Fund for Peace <a href="#">Fragile States Index 2018</a> ( <i>consider states of interest</i> )	
<b>THE STATE AND COLONIZATION</b>			
Tue 1/29	Session 3	Jeffrey Herbst, <i>States and Power in Africa</i>	
		- Ch.1: “The Challenge of State-Building in Africa” [11-31]	20
		- Ch.2: “Power and Space in Pre-colonial Africa” [35-57]	23
		- Ch.3: “The Europeans and the African Problem” [58-96]	39
Thu 1/31	Session 4	Jeffrey Herbst, <i>States and Power in Africa</i>	
		- Ch.4: “The Political Kingdom in Independent Africa” [97-136]	39
		- Ch.5: “National Design and the Broadcasting of Power” [139-172]	33
Tue 2/5	Session 5 <b>Discussion</b>	Crawford Young, “The Nature and Genesis of the Colonial State” (portions) in <i>The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective</i> (1994) [ER: 49-76]	28
		Daron Acemoglu, “Root Causes: A Historical Approach to Assessing the Role of Institutions in Economic Development” (excerpt) <i>Finance &amp; Development</i> (June 2003) [ER: 155-159]	5
		Salikoko Mufwene, excerpt from “Language Birth and Death” <i>Annual Review of Anthropology</i> 33 (October 2004): 208-212 [Blackboard Syllabus]	4
Thu 2/7	Session 6	Crawford Young, “Colonial State Institutionalized” pp. 141-181 and “The Afterlife of the Colonial State” pp. 282-292 in <i>The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective</i> (1994) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	50
		[Optional Event Feb 7 <sup>th</sup> : Jamie Monson – China/Africa]	
<b>ETHNICITY, LANGUAGE AND RELIGION</b>			
Tue 2/12	Session 7 <b>Response</b>	Donald Horowitz, portions of “Group Comparison and the Sources of Conflict” and “Group Entitlement and the Sources of Conflict” in <i>Ethnic Groups in Conflict</i> (Univ. of California Press, 2000) [ER: <i>skim</i> 141-147; read 147-166; <i>skim</i> 166-180; read 181-194; <i>skim</i> 194-213; read 213-219]	40+
		Carolyn Logan, “800 Languages and Counting: Lessons from Survey Research across a Linguistically Diverse Continent” in Ericka Albaugh	

		and Kathryn de Luna, eds. <i>Tracing Language Movement in Africa</i> (Oxford University Press, 2018) [ER: 91-115] – <i>lots of graphs</i>	
		Derek Peterson, “Vernacular Language and Political Imagination” in in Ericka Albaugh and Kathryn de Luna, eds. <i>Tracing Language Movement in Africa</i> (Oxford University Press, 2018) [ER: 165-183]	25
Thu 2/14	Session 8 <b>Discussion</b>	Harri Englund, “The Gospel of Public Image in Ghana” in <i>Christianity and Public Culture in Africa</i> , pp. 201-214 (Ohio University Press, 2011) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	18
		Benjamin Soares, “An Islamic Social Movement in Contemporary West Africa: NASFAT of Nigeria” Stephen Ellis and Ineke van Kessel, eds. <i>Movers and Shakers: Social Movements in Africa</i> , pp. 178-196 (Leiden: BRILL, 2009) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	14
		Adeline Masquelier, “God Made Me a Rapper: Young Men, Islam, and Survival in an Age of Austerity” in Anne Haour and Benedetta Rossi, eds. <i>Being and Becoming Hausa: Interdisciplinary Perspectives</i> , pp. 235-253 (Leiden: BRILL, 2010) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	18
		[Optional Documentary: <i>In Stitches</i> ]	18
		[Optional Event through March 17 <sup>th</sup> : <i>Fashioning Modernity: Art and Independence among Yorùbás in Nigeria</i> – Bowdoin Museum of Art]	
<b>DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL SOCIETY</b>			
Tue 2/19	Session 9 <b>Response</b>	Nicolas van de Walle, “The Path from Patrimonialism: Democracy and Clientelism in Africa Today” in D. Bach and M. Gazibo, eds. <i>Neopatrimonialism in Africa and Beyond</i> (Routledge, 2013) [ER: 111-123]	13
		Rachel Beatty Riedl, “Institutional Legacies: Understanding Multiparty Politics in Historical Perspective” in Nic Cheesman, ed. <i>Institutions and Democracy in Africa</i> , 41-57 (Cambridge University Press, 2018) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	16
		Khabele Matlosa, “The Nature and Future of Democracy in Africa: The Essence of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance” <i>African Journal of Democracy and Governance</i> Vol. 5 Issue 3 (2018): pp. 67-84 [Blackboard/Syllabus]	16
Thu 2/21	Session 10 <b>Discussion</b>	Nic Cheesman, “Democracy Against the Odds,” in <i>Democracy in Africa: Successes, Failures, and the Struggle for Political Reform</i> , pp. 1-31 (Cambridge University Press, 2015) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	32
		+Appendix: The Fate of Africa’s Democratic Experiments: 1989-2014 Staffan Lindberg <i>et al</i> , “V-Dem: A New Way to Measure Democracy” <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 25, 3 (July 2014): 159-169. [Project MUSE] – <b>for reference</b>	<10
		Carolien Van Ham and Staffan I. Lindberg, “Elections: The Power of Elections in Multiparty Africa” in Nic Cheesman, ed. <i>Institutions and Democracy in Africa</i> , pp. 213-234 (Cambridge University Press, 2018) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	20
Tue 2/26	Session 11 <b>Response</b>	Boniface Dulani, “Nurtured from the Pulpit: The Emergence and Growth of Malawi’s Democracy Movement” in Stephen Ellis and Ineke van Kessel,	

		eds. <i>Movers and Shakers: Social Movements in Africa</i> , pp. 138-155 (Leiden: BRILL, 2009) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	17
		Lansana Gberie, “African Civil Society, ‘Blood Diamonds’ and the Kimberley Process” in Stephen Ellis and Ineke van Kessel, eds. <i>Movers and Shakers: Social Movements in Africa</i> , pp. 63-86 (Leiden: BRILL, 2009) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	23
Thu 2/28	Session 12 <b>Response</b>	Brian Klaas, “Electoral Rules: The Relationship between Political Exclusion and Conflict” in Nic Cheesman, ed. <i>Institutions and Democracy in Africa</i> , pp. 238-257 (Cambridge University Press, 2018) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	19
		Michaela Collord, “The Legislature: Institutional Strengthening in Dominant-Party States” in Nic Cheesman, ed. <i>Institutions and Democracy in Africa</i> , pp. 281-300 (Cambridge University Press, 2018) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	19
		Alex Dyzenhaus, “Decentralisation: Accountability and Local Government” in Nic Cheesman, ed. <i>Institutions and Democracy in Africa</i> , pp. 327-346 (Cambridge University Press, 2018) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	18
		[Optional Event March 4 <sup>th</sup> : Jama Adams – China/Africa]	
<b>FRI 2/29</b>		<b>Paper Draft Due</b>	
Tue 3/5	Session 13	Stephen Ellis, “‘Campus Cults’ in Nigeria: The Development of an Anti-Social Movement” in Stephen Ellis and Ineke van Kessel, eds. <i>Movers and Shakers: Social Movements in Africa</i> , pp. 221-236 (Leiden: BRILL, 2009)	15
		Mimmi Soderberg Kovacs and Jesper Bjarnesen, <i>Violence in African Elections: Between Democracy and Big Man Politics</i> (Zed Books, 2018) Excerpts TBA	≈25
		<i>Kinshasa Makamba</i> TBA	
<b>CONFLICT</b>			
Thu 3/7	Session 14	Nic Cheesman, Michaela Collord and Filip Reyntjens, “War and Democracy: The Legacy of Conflict in East Africa” <i>Journal of Modern African Studies</i> 56, 1 (2018): pp. 31-61 [Blackboard/Syllabus]	30
		<b>SKIM</b> William Reno, “Evolving Warfare” in <i>Warfare in Independent Africa</i> (Cambridge University Press, 2011) [ER: 1-36] – <i>skim</i>	<36
<b>SPRING BREAK!! NO CLASS 3/12, 3/14, 3/19, 3/21</b>			
<b>CONFLICT, CONTINUED</b>			
Tue 3/26	Session 15	Zachariah Mampilly, “Performing the Nation-State: Rebel Governance and Symbolic Processes” in Ana Arjona, Nelson Kasfir and Zachariah Mampilly, eds. <i>Rebel Governance in Civil War</i> , pp. 74-95 (Cambridge University Press, 2015) [Library E-book]	21
		Till Förster, “Dialogue Direct: Rebel Governance and Civil Order in Northern Côte d’Ivoire” in Ana Arjona <i>et al</i> , eds. <i>Rebel Governance in Civil War</i> , pp. 203-223 [Library E-book]	28
		<b>SKIM</b> Thandika Mkandawire, “The Terrible Toll of Post-Colonial Rebel Movements: Towards an Explanation of Violence against the Peasantry”	

		<i>The Journal of Modern African Studies</i> 40, 2 (June 2002): 181-208 [Blackboard/Syllabus]	<27
Thu 3/28	Session 16 <b>Discussion</b>	William F. S. Miles, "Jihads and Borders: Social Networks and Spatial Patterns in Africa, Present, Past and Future" in Walther, Olivier and William F. S. Miles, eds. <i>Africa's Border Disorders</i> , pp. 187-205 (Routledge, 2018) [Blackboard/Syllabus] Glas, Aarie (2018) "African Union Security Culture in Practice: African Problems and African Solutions" <i>International Affairs</i> 94, 5 (September): 1121-1138 [Blackboard/Syllabus] Keenan, Jeremy, "A New Phase in the War on Terror: The Implications of Proxy Intelligence and Western Complicity with State Terrorist Agencies" in Tom Young ed., <i>Readings in the International Relations of Africa</i> , pp. 338-351 (Indiana University Press, 2016) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	17 17 13
Tue 4/2	Session 17	Nic Cheesman, "Designing Democracy to Manage Diversity and Mistrust" in <i>Democracy in Africa: Successes, Failures, and the Struggle for Political Reform</i> , pp. 203-232 (Cambridge University Press, 2015) [Blackboard/Syllabus] Adrienne LeBas, "Can Polarization be Positive? Conflict and Institutional Development in Africa" <i>American Behavioral Scientist</i> 62, 1 (2018): 59-74 [Blackboard/Syllabus] <b>For Reference:</b> Stefan Wolff, "Post-Conflict State Building: The Debate on Institutional Choice" <i>Third World Quarterly</i> 32, 10 (2011): 1777-1798 [Blackboard/Syllabus] <b>For Reference:</b> Donald Horowitz, "Conciliatory Institutions and Constitutional Processes in Post-Conflict States" <i>William and Mary Law Review</i> 49:4 (March 2008): 1213-1248 [Blackboard/Syllabus]	29 15
<b>ECONOMY: GROWTH, AID, RESOURCES, AND TAXATION</b>			
Thu 4/4	Session 18 <b>Response</b>	Morten Jerven, <i>Why Economists Get It Wrong</i> (London: Zed Books, 2015) – excerpts TBA Thandika Mkandawire, "Aid, Accountability, and Democracy in Africa" <i>Social Research</i> 77, 4 (Winter 2010): pp. 1149-1170 [JSTOR] Browse Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative – <a href="#">Global MPI</a>	≈30 21
Tue 4/9	Session 19 <b>Discussion</b>	Nathan Jensen and Leonard Wantchekon, "Resource Wealth and Political Regimes in Africa" <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> 37, 7 (September 2004): 816-831 [SAGE Premier] Michael Ross, "The Natural Resource Curse: How Wealth Can Make You Poor" in <i>Natural Resources and Violent Conflict: Options and Actions</i> (World Bank, 2003): 17-36 [Blackboard/Syllabus] Daniel Volman, "China, India, Russia, and the United States: The Scramble for African Oil and the Militarization of the Continent" in Tom Young, ed., <i>Readings in the International Relations of Africa</i> , pp. 309-321 (Indiana University Press, 2016) [Blackboard/Syllabus] [Optional Event April 10/11 Vera Fennel – China/Africa]	15 20 13

Thu 4/11	Session 20	Michael Ross, “Does Taxation Lead to Representation?” <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> 34, no. 2 (2004): 229-249. <i>JSTOR</i> Odd-Helge Fjeldstad, Wilson Prichard and Mick Moore, <i>Taxing Africa</i> (London: Zed Books, 2018) – excerpts TBA	20 ≈40
Tue 4/16	Session 21 <b>Discussion</b>	Charles Tilly, Ch. 4 “States and their Citizens” in <i>Coercion, Capital and European States: AD 990-1990</i> (Basil Blackwell 1990) [ER: 96-126] Kristof Titeca and Tom de Herdt, “Real Governance Beyond the ‘Failed State’: Negotiating Education in the Democratic Republic of the Congo” <i>African Affairs</i> 110/439 (April 2011): 213-231 [Academic Search Complete] Joseph Asunka and Patience Afulani, “Politics and Public Service Provision in Africa’s New Democracies” <i>International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society</i> Sep2018, Vol. 31 Issue 3, p207-227 [Blackboard/Syllabus] [Optional Event April 16 <sup>th</sup> : Jonny Steinberg – Winnie & Nelson Mandela]	30 18 20
Thu 4/18	Session 22 <b>Response</b>	Muna Ndulo, “Constitutions: The Politics of Constitutional Reform” in Nic Cheesman, ed. <i>Institutions and Democracy in Africa</i> , pp. 117-134 (Cambridge University Press, 2018) [Blackboard/Syllabus] <a href="#">Peter</a> VonDoepp, <a href="#">Peter (2018)</a> “The Judiciary: Courts, Judges and the Rule of Law” in Nic Cheesman, ed. <i>Institutions and Democracy in Africa</i> , pp. 304-323 (Cambridge University Press, 2018) [Blackboard/Syllabus] Peace A. Medie, “The Police: Laws, Prosecutions and Women’s Rights in Liberia” in Nic Cheesman, ed. <i>Institutions and Democracy in Africa</i> , pp. 137-156 (Cambridge University Press, 2018) [Blackboard/Syllabus]	17 19 19

## SOVEREIGNTY

Tue 4/23	Session 23 <b>Response</b>	Pierre Englebert, “The Domestic Currency of International Sovereignty” and “Sovereignty’s Shackles” in <i>Africa: Unity, Sovereignty, Sorrow</i> (Lynne Rienner, 2009) [ER: 59-75 + 80-95; 219-237]	50
Thu 4/25	Session 24	Jeffrey Herbst, Ch. 9: “The Past and the Future of State Power in Africa” <i>States and Power in Africa</i> [251-272] Stephen Krasner, “The Case for Shared Sovereignty” <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 16:1 (Jan 2005): 69-83. [Project MUSE]	23 14

## STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

Tue 4/30	Session 25	Student Presentations	
Thu 5/2	Session 26	Student Presentations	
Tue 5/7	Session 27	Wrap-Up [Optional Event April 6/7: Shanshan Lan – China/Africa]	

**NO EXAM – FINAL RESEARCH PAPER DUE THURSDAY, MAY 16<sup>TH</sup> AT 5:00 PM**