

Spring 2011, PAR 301
 GOV 365N, #39020, AFR #
 T., Th. 9:30-10:45

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Politics in Contemporary Africa

Prerequisites: Six hours of lower-division Government

Course Description: The main goal of this class is to ponder the following questions: How do geography, demography, and institutional histories shape contemporary patterns of economic development and politics in Africa? What political and economic characteristics are shared by many African countries, and how and why do the political and economic trajectories of African countries differ? What factors are most important in determining whether African countries will be peaceful and prosperous? We use history, social science, films, the news, and grey literature (esp. the reports of international organizations and NGOs) to analyze politics in modern Africa.

This course also develops students' writing, and research skills. Coursework centers on analysis of course readings and 3 research-based assignments.

Requirements: Students need to attend all classes, do all assigned reading, view all films, and do all assignments. (Due dates listed below.) Class discussions of assigned readings are an important part of this course. Come to class prepared to ask questions about the readings, and offer reactions.

Map Quiz. On Th., Feb. 3, you will be asked to label countries and rivers on a blank political map of Africa (in-class assignment).

Written in-class paragraphs. During some class sessions, students will be asked to turn in questions, answers, or comments about films, readings, or lectures.

350-word papers. Students will turn-in five (5) 350 word writing assignments over the course of the semester. These are due at the beginning of the class period on Jan. 27, Feb. 10, March 1, April 5, and April 14.

Country Research Assignments. Select one of the African countries listed below as the focus of 3 research-based assignments you will do this semester.

Tanzania	South Africa	Senegal	Burundi
Zambia	Zimbabwe	Côte d'Ivoire	Sierra Leone
Kenya	Malawi	Nigeria	DRC
Uganda	Cameroon	Ghana	Sudan
Benin	Burkina Faso	Rwanda	Liberia
Botswana	Mozambique	Gabon	

You will use this country as a case study -- that is, as an opportunity for in-depth examination of one particular country to gain a better understanding of the general issues and problems raised in course readings, films, discussions, and lectures. The three country research assignments are one annotated bibliography and a map (together comprising Assignment #1) and two six-page research papers (plus reference lists in proper form) (Assignments #2 and #3). These assignments are due on Feb. 15, March 11, and May 3.

Written Work Specs.: Turn in all assignments in class and in hard copy. Please do not send them via email or slip them under office doors. Written work should address assignment prompts directly, be free of grammatical and spelling errors, contain coherent paragraphs, include a reference list, show overall

coherence, and demonstrate good knowledge of course readings by referring directly to factual material, arguments, and themes presented in the readings. Cite texts and other materials properly to anchor your points and analysis. All work should be typed and double-spaced. Late work will be penalized at a rate of one-half grade per day (not class meeting).

Use the CMS or MLA citation formats and alphabetize entries to create your reference lists. See handouts from the UT Undergraduate Writing Center at <http://www.uwc.utexas.edu/node/60> and <http://uwc.utexas.edu/node/77#attachments>

You are **encouraged** to take your papers to the Undergraduate Writing Center, where you can get suggestions re: making clearer points, improving structure, and editing.

Avoid plagiarism. Plagiarism is copying, without attribution, a sequence of three or more words from a published text, an internet source, grey literature, or another person's work. Plagiarism is a form of cheating and grounds for assigning an "F" as a final course grade. All incidents of plagiarism will be reported to Student Judicial Services.

Students with disabilities. Students with disabilities may request appropriate academic accommodations from the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, Services for Students with Disabilities, 471-6259, <http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd/>

Accommodations for religious holidays.¹

Emergency Evacuation Policy.²

Grading: We will calculate your final grade as follows:

Map Quiz:	5%
In-class written assignments:	10%
Five 350 word papers (5% each)	25%
Country research-based assignments	
#1	20%
#2	20%
#3	<u>20%</u>
Total	100%

¹ UT Austin policy stipulates that to make up work missed due to a religious holiday observance, the student must notify the prof. of the impending absence 14 days before the missed assignment. You will have an opportunity to complete the missed work within a reasonable time after the absence.

² In the event of a fire or other emergency, it may be necessary to evacuate a building rapidly. Upon the activation of a fire alarm or the announcement of an emergency in a university building, all occupants of the building are required to evacuate and assemble outside. Once evacuated, no one may re-enter the building without instruction to do so from the Austin Fire Department, University of Texas at Austin Police Department, or Fire Prevention Services office. Students should familiarize themselves with all the exit doors of each room and building they occupy at the university, and should remember that the nearest exit routes may not be the same as the way they typically enter buildings. Students requiring assistance in evacuation shall inform their instructors in writing during the first week of class. Faculty members must then provide this information to the Fire Prevention Services office by fax (512-232-2759), with "Attn. Mr. Roosevelt Easley" written in the subject line. Information regarding emergency evacuation routes and emergency procedures can be found at <http://www.utexas.edu/emergency>.

Texts: These required books are available for purchase at the University Coop. They are also on reserve at PCL.

Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Richard Sandbrook, *Closing the Circle: Democratization and Development in Africa* (Toronto and London, Zed Books, 2000).

Steven Radelet, *Emerging Africa: How 17 Countries are Leading the Way* (Washington, DC: Center for Global Development, 2010).

Michael Nest, François Grignon, and Emizet Kisangani, *Democratic Republic of Congo: Economic Dimensions of War and Peace* (International Peace Academy and Lynne Rienner Press, 2006).

Peter Uvin, *Life After Violence: A People's Story of Burundi* (Zed, 2009).

A packet of course readings has been prepared by Paradigm Books (407 W. 24th St., 472-7986). These readings are marked by an asterisk (*) on the syllabus.

Course outline and readings

Part I: History and Geography in Understanding Politics in Africa

Week 1: Introduction.

Jan. 18, 20

A main goal of this class is to develop analytic frameworks for understanding both commonalities and diversity in the trajectories of modern Africa's 53 states.

Cooper, *Africa Since 1940*, Ch. 1, "From colonies to Third World."

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, "Introduction," in Radelet, *Emerging Africa*.

Radelet, *Emerging Africa*, Chs. 1, 2, 6.

Week 2: Geography and History as Analytical Frameworks

Jan. 25, 27

Divergences in the economic and political trajectories of African countries are become more and more obvious to analysts. Cross-national differences in geography and endowment are important in explaining these. Historical periodization provides a necessary framework for understanding changes over time.

*Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton, 2000), Ch. 5, "National Design and the Broadcasting of Power," pp. 139-172.

Th. Jan. 27. First 350 word paper: Select your country and categorize it by Radelet's typology and Herbst's typology. What can you learn or infer from this about political and economic challenges/strengths of your country? Include a ref. list of four items.

Week 3: Sub-Saharan Africa's Colonial History.

Feb 1, 3

How and why did Europeans conquer so much of Africa from the 1870s to the 1910s? How did the colonial impact and experience, which lasted until about 1960 for most of sub-Saharan Africa, vary across space?

*Walter Rodney, "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa,"
Bade Onimode, "Imperialism and Underdevelopment in Nigeria," and
A. Adu Boahen, "The Colonial Impact," all in Robert O. Collins et al.,
eds., *Historical Problems in the Study of Africa* (Princeton: Markus Wiener,
1994, pp. 294-315).

Cooper, *Africa Since 1940*, "Ch. 2, "Workers, Peasants, and the Crisis of
Colonialism," and Ch. 3, "Citizenship, Self-Government, and Development:
The possibilities of the post-war moment," (pp. 20-65).

Th., Feb. 3: In-class MAP QUIZ

Week 4: Transitions to Post-Colonial Rule.

Feb. 8, 10

What kinds of economy, and what kinds of government, did Africa inherit from
the colonial period? What were social groupings and distinctions were
politically-relevant?

Cooper, Ch. 4, "Ending Empire and Imagining the Future," pp. 66-91.

Film. *End of Empire: The Gold Coast*.

Th., Feb. 10: Second 350 word paper: What type of colonial economy developed
in your country between about 1900 and 1950? Why do you think that that type
of economy developed in that place during that time period? Draw on Cooper and
lecture. Include a reference list.

Part II. Political and Economic Challenges of Post-Independence

Week 5. Decolonization and the New Successor States

Feb. 15, 17

What were Africans "expectations of independence" and how did these stack up
against the challenges of the era of transition from colonial rule to political
independence? What was the institutional and political inheritance of the
successor states?

*J.F. Ade Ajayi, "Expectations of Independence," *Daedalus* 11/2 (1982):
1-9.

Cooper, *Africa Since 1940*, Ch. 5, "Development and Disappointment: Social
and Economic Change in an Unequal World," pp. 91-133, and Ch. 6, "The
Late Decolonizations."

Th. Feb. 17. Special event (optional): dinner/movie. *Lumumba*. BATTB
5.108, 5:30-8 pm.

Tues, Feb. 15: Research-based Assign. #1: Bibliography and Map. Provide an
annotated bibliography of books, articles published in scholarly journals, and
reports from the grey literature about the country that will serve as your
"case study" this semester. Your list should be made up of at least 3 books
about your country, 5 scholarly articles, 2 reference sources, and 2 reports or
studies that are posted on-line by international organizations, NGOs, or
research institutes. Material you select should analyze broad political and
economic trajectories of your country since over the last 50 years, the nature
of different social groups, the country's insertion into the world economy and
how world economic forces shape its fortunes, the country's economic profile
and regional economic geography, and the role of international political actors
and institutions in shaping the country's political economy. Annotations
should run approximately 100 words. Use the CMS or MLA citation formats and
alphabetize entries to create one annotated list. See
<http://www.uwc.utexas.edu/node/60> and
<http://uwc.utexas.edu/node/77#attachments>

Make a detailed map of your country. Provide a detailed map of your country on an 8x11 sheet of paper. Show major political subdivisions, topographic regions, major cities, major economic infrastructure [major dams, roads, railroads, seaports, airports]. Indicate major export-crop producing regions (if any), other agricultural regions, pastoral zones, mining regions, and centers of industry. Indicate areas of geographic concentration of ethnic groups, if any. You may photocopy a published map and add information by hand.

Week 6: Developmental States: Political and Economic Projects **Feb. 22, 24**
How did the projects of economic development and political consolidation become intertwined in the post-colonial period? What were the consequences for democracy and national integration?

*Jan Vansina, "Mwasi's Trials," *Daedalus* 11/2 (1982): 49-70.

*Xinshen Diao, Peter Hazell, et al., *The Role of Agriculture in Development: Implications for Sub-Saharan Africa*, International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), IFPRI Research Report 153, 2007.

Cooper, *Africa Since 1940*, Ch. 7, "The Recurrent Crises of the Gatekeeper State," pp. 156-190.

Week 7. Roll-Back: Pressures to Shrink the African State **March 1, 3**

Tues, March 1.: Third 350 word paper: How did the leaders of your country conceive of the respective roles of agriculture and industry in development? How did this compare and contrast to the economic development strategies adopted in other African countries?

Most African governments came under both domestic and international pressures to liberalize their economies and political systems in the 1990s. This resulted major reconfigurations of economic policy and political institutions. What international and domestic pressures explain the political and economic shifts of the 1990s?

Film: Ali Mazrui, *The Africans: In Search of Stability*

Radelet, *Emerging Africa*, pp. 91-95.

*Thandika Mkandawire, "Crisis Management and the Making of "Choiceless Democracies," in Richard Joseph, ed., *State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa* (Lynne Rienner, 1999), pp. 119-136.

Part III. Democratization and Electoralism since 1990

Week 8. Political Liberalizations and Elections in the 1990s **March 8. 10**
What explains the pendulum swing from multipartism, to one-party rule (or military rule), back to multipartism over the course of the 1960s to the 1990s?

Sandbrook, *Closing the Circle*, Ch. 1, "Patterns and Perspectives," Ch. 2, "The Real World of African Democracy," and Ch. 4, "Democracy and Market Reforms," pp. 1-48, 75-95.

Film: Jean Marie Teno, *Chef!* and *La Tête dans les Nuages*.

Week 9. Spring Break.

March 15, 17

Week 10. Civil Society and African Democratizations in the 1990s Mar. 22, 24
 Reformers in Kenya have struggled for democratic elections and a new constitution since the late 1980s. In many ways, the Kenyan experience exemplifies aspects of the democratization movements that developed in other African countries.

*Willie Mutunga, *Constitution-Making from the Middle: Civil Society and Transition Politics in Kenya, 1992-1997* (Nairobi: SAREAT/MWENGO, 1999), pp. i-14, 313-8; and reply by Stephen Ndegwa (291-296) and Julius Nyang'oro (273-9) in the same volume.

Cooper, Ch. 8, "Africa at the century's turn: South Africa, Rwanda, and Beyond," pp. 191-204.

*Nicolas Van de Walle, "Africa's Range of Regimes," *Journal of Democracy*, 13/2 (April) 2002: 66-80.

Radelet, *Emerging Africa*, Chs. 3, "Emerging Democracies," and Ch. 4, "Stronger Economic Management," pp. 47-90.

Week 11. March 29. Research-based Assignment #2

Most African countries experienced major political and economic crises and transitions in the late 1980s and early 1990s. What are the most important political and economic problems your country faced in the late 1980s? To what extent are these typical of the problems faced by other African countries at the time? To what extent were your country's problems traceable to the economic and political choices of post-colonial leaders (as opposed to inherited colonial arrangements, or to endowment)? In your country, what were most important changes in macroeconomic policy and internal power balances to result from this crisis period, and why do you think your country's history took this particular path? Draw on course readings. See paper specs. on p. 2 of syllabus.

PART IV: Political Economies of Violent Conflict and its Resolution

Week 11. Political Economies of Violent Conflict

March 29, 31

The relationship between environmental factors, including resource endowments and global climate change, and conflict in Africa has been a subject of intense debate for almost two decades. It is clear that forms of social and political organization go far in determining how resource grievances or scarcity are "politicized."

Sandbrook, *Closing the Circle*, Ch. 3, "Democratization and Deadly Conflict," pp. 49-73.

*Abiodun Alao, *Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa* (Rochester, 2007), Ch. 1, "Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa: Framework for Understanding a Linkage," pp. 14-40.

Week 12. The Political Economy of Conflict in the DRC

April 5, 7

Nest et al. emphasize the importance of *pre-conflict* patterns of governance in understanding Congo's wars, and in thinking about how to end them. Some of the connections between resource governance and wider political phenomena (war, peace, electoral dynamics and cleavages, grievances, ethnic tensions) that are visible in the DRC are also visible in other African countries.

Nest, Grignon, and Kisangani, *Democratic Republic of Congo: Economic Dimensions of War and Peace* (International Peace Academy and Lynne Rienner Press, 2006), pp. 11-70, 99-107, 119-23.

Film: *The Curse of the Congo and Congo Gold*

Special event: UT White Rose Society Annual Symposium presents Daniel Kahozi, UT grad. student and Univ. of Kinshasa rep., on campus, 7 pm.

Tues., April 5: Fourth 350 word paper: According to Sandbrook, what is the connection between democratization and political violence in Africa today? How does conflict over natural resources fit into this?

Week 13. Lessons of the On-going Wars in the DRC **April 12, 14**
Have you learned anything in this class that helps you understand what is going on in the Eastern DRC? What role do international actors and the global economy play in this situation?

Th., April 14: Fifth 350 word paper: What do Nest, Guignon, and Kisangani tell us about why the formation of a Government of National Unity and Transition in 2003 (the "transitional government") did not bring peace to the DRC?

Week 14. Causes and Consequences of Conflict in Burundi **April 19, 21**
How has the 1960-2000 political trajectory of Burundi been similar to that of most African countries: What are some unique (or distinctive aspects)?

Peter Uvin, *Life After Violence: A People's Story of Burundi* (Zed Books, 2009), pp. 1-80.

Film: Journeyman Pictures, *Burundi's Road to Recovery; Burundi: Moving On*.

Week 15. Burundi and the Politics of Post-Conflict States **April 26, 28**
According to Uvin, are Burundians demanding democracy now? What aspects of the economic situation shape prospects for political stability? How is the Burundi situation similar to other post-conflict situations in Africa?

Uvin, *Life After Violence*, pp. 80-189. (Ch. 6 is optional.)

*Amos Sawyer, "Emerging Patterns in Liberia's Post-Conflict Politics: Observations from the 2005 Elections," *African Affairs*, 107/427 (2008), pp. 177-99.

*Nicholas Sambanis, Short- and Long-term Effects of United Nations Peacekeeping Operations," *World Bank Economic Review*, 22/1 (2008): 2-32.

Week 16. The Role of International Institutions **May 3, 5**
What does Sandbrook mean by "closing the circle"? How does his idea apply to post-conflict situations and to everyday challenges of most African countries?

Sandbrook, *Closing the Circle*, Ch. 6, pp. 131-142.

Radelet, Ch. 5 "The End of the Debt Crisis and Changing Relationships with Donors," pp. 95-107, and Ch. 8, "Challenges and Opportunities on the Road Ahead," pp. 141-59.

Tues, May 3: Research-based assignment #3: How do political power and political institutions shape the distribution of control over natural resources in your country? Are such arrangements found in other African countries, and if so, what do these countries have in common? How have the political arrangements you have described worked to produce conflict or cooperation in national politics in your country? What international factors (actors, markets, institutions) affect the country-level dynamics that you have described, either for the better or for the worse? Draw on course readings in developing your points. See paper specs. on p. 2 of syllabus.

GOV 365N, Spring 2011

Resources: Africa News and Information

News

BBC News, Africa (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/default.stm>). Country Profiles

Africa News Online: www.africanews.org

Le Monde (www.lemonde.fr)

Radio France International (rfi.com)

Center for Democracy and Development (Lagos and London): www.cdd.org.uk

UN Integrated Regional Information Network (www.irinnews.org)

All Africa News: allafrica.com

IOs and Think Tanks

Institute for Security Studies, www.issafrica.org/ www.iss.co.za/
ISS Research pages by African country: African country files

Global Policy Forum "Social and Economic Policy in Africa" reports:
<http://www.globalpolicy.org/socecon/develop/indexafr.htm>

United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
UNRISD. www.unrisd.org

Enough Project on Sudan and DRC: www.enoughproject.org

United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. www.fao.org

Small Arms Survey (Geneva): www.smallarmssurvey.org (for country reports)

UNFAO Gateway to Land and Water Information. See National Reports, including country overview, land resources, water resources, and related internet links. <http://www.fao.org/ag/agl/swlwpnr/swlwpnr.htm>

United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) Global Resource Information Database (www.unep.org)

World Bank. See reports and *World Development Indicators* on-line, see <http://www.worldbank.org/data/countrydata/countrydata.html> (go to "Country at a Glance" and "ICT at a Glance" tables). See also publications of the Rural Land Resources Management (LRM) Program.

International Crisis Group. <http://www.crisisgroup.org>

Africa Action. www.africaaction.org

AfricaFocus. www.africafocus.org

CSIS Africa Forum: <http://forums.csis.org/africa/?p=201>

NPR series on African Agriculture.
<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5369441>

Institute of Development Studies, U. of Sussex, on-line resources on development issues: www.ids.ac.uk

www.eldis.org. See esp.

www.eldis.org/agriculture/index.htm (incl. option for land tenure)

Center for Global Development: <http://www.cgdev.org>

Bretton Woods Project: <http://www.brettonwoodsproject.org/art-562552>

Enough project (on Sudan and DRC): www.enoughproject.org

World Resources Institute: <http://www.wri.org/>

Oxfam UK Resources: <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/>
 check especially livelihoods at
<http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/learning/livelihoods/index.html>
 and trade and livelihoods at
<http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/issues/trade/introduction.html>

Univ. of Pennsylvania: www.sas.upenn.edu/African_Studies/AS.html.
 (see country pages)

Freedom House (for country-level political data and information).

UN Poverty-Environment Initiative:
<http://www.unpei.org/programmes/africaprofiles.asp>

Country election data and info., mostly SADC:
<http://www.eisa.org.za/WEP/countryindex.htm>

Maps:

UNDP Africa Atlas: <http://www.unep.org/dewa/Africa/AfricaAtlas/>

University of Texas at Austin, PCL Map Collection.
 Columbia U. African Studies map collection:
<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/africa/cuvl/maps.html>
 UNFAO. Country profiles>maps.

Reference:

Ieuan Griffiths, *Atlas of African Affairs*, 1994

P. Zaleza and D. Eyoh, eds., *Encyclopedia of Twentieth Century African History*,
 by Routledge, 2003. PCL Reference.

Europa Publications, *Africa South of the Sahara* (yearbook). PCL ref.

Encyclopedia Britannica

Scholarly Journals (suggestions)

<i>Africa Today</i>	<i>J. of Democracy</i>
<i>Journal of Modern African Studies</i>	<i>Comparative Political Studies</i>
<i>Current History</i> (www.currenthistory.com)	<i>Journal of Democracy</i>
<i>Review of African Political Economy</i>	<i>Canadian J. of African Studies</i>
<i>African Studies Review</i>	<i>World Politics</i>
<i>Comparative Politics</i>	<i>African Affairs</i>
<i>Africa: J. of the Royal Africa Society</i>	<i>Third World Quarterly</i>
<i>J. of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics</i>	
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	

Online Periodical Indices: <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/indexes/>

African Newspapers. Some suggestions:

The Nation (Nairobi)
The Independent (Zimbabwe)
The Accra Mail (www.accra-mail.com; Ghana)
Le Soleil (www.lesoleil.sn, Senegal).

Sud Quotitien (www.sudonline.sn; Senegal)
Wal Fadjri (www.walf.sn; Senegal)
The Arusha Times (Tanzania)
The Express (Tanzania)
Nyasa Times (Malawi; www.nyasatimes.net)
This Day (www.thisdayonline.com; Nigeria)
Vanguard (www.vanguardngr.com; Nigeria)
The Guardian (www.ngrguardiannews.com)
Daily Mail and Guardian (www.mg.co.za; South Africa (also, www.mg.co.za/mg/)
Nyasa Times (www.nyasatimes.com, Malawi)
DRC: <http://www.grandslacs.info>

Great Lakes repostings: <http://www.grandslacs.info>
=Tanzania: www.ippmedia.com/
Burundi: IRIN Burundi; Burundi News, <http://burundi.news.free.fr> (2001-4)/;
Burundi RPA: Radio des sans voix at <http://www.rpa-burundi.org/>;
<http://www.grandslacs.info>
Senegal repostings: Senego Journal Français
Mali repostings: <http://www.maliweb.net/>
Côte d'Ivoire repostings: www.abidjan.net
