

Polsci 355/AAS 356: Democracy and Development in Africa

Fall 2019

4 credits

Lecture: Mondays, Wednesdays 2:30 - 4 p.m.
GI68AH

Discussion Sections: Thursday 12-1 (2347 MH) or 1-2 (G437 MH)

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Description: Some countries in Africa have established fairly robust democracies over the last several decades, whereas others have endured relentless cycles of violence or been subject to the repressive policies of illiberal and corrupt autocrats. Relying on case studies as well as cross-national comparisons, the course explores the durability of authoritarian regimes, efforts to construct democratic institutions, the causes of electoral conflict, and the contemporary political economy of Africa. The course also analyzes the growth of the middle class, the drivers of urbanization, and trade between African countries or with foreign partners. Selected case studies will focus on South Africa, Angola, Ghana, Kenya, Rwanda, and other countries in order to illustrate the themes we have examined. Throughout the course, we shall consider historical continuities as well as the discontinuities brought by contemporary political, social, and economic changes.

Objectives and Course Format: The format of the course will be both lecture and discussion. The objectives of the lectures, discussions, and written work are to enable you to think comparatively and empirically about contemporary economic and political challenges facing African countries. The course will enhance your ability to analyze critically the different theories that have been applied to conflict, politics, economic development, and civil society in Africa and the empirical data on which those theories rest. Your ability to argue persuasively from a comparative or analytical perspective will be demonstrated in written work during the semester.

Discussion sections are meant to explore particular themes or articles in greater depth in order to enhance what we cover in class. You will have opportunities to present material to your section, to work together in groups discussing articles, and to debate the features of authoritarianism or democracy, party system volatility, or the extent of economic development in Africa. There may also be occasional quizzes and response papers required in your discussion section.

Course Requirements: The assessment for the course is based on: one map quiz (5%), one midterm (25%), one comparative, analytical paper (25%), a final, all essay exam (25%); attendance, participation, presentations, and occasional quizzes or response papers in discussion (10%) and class (10%). Note: all work is required.

To build on your understanding of African politics, there are several events on campus that might be of interest to you and that I will encourage you to attend during the semester. The website of the African Studies Center at the International Institute often lists talks and films, see <http://www.ii.umich.edu/asc/>.

Method of Evaluation: Individual grades are entered into a spreadsheet, weighted accordingly, and added together at the end of the semester to get the final grade. On each paper or exam, therefore, students will receive a letter grade and a corresponding numerical grade. The grading system is as follows: A+=96-100; A=93-95; A-=90-92; B+=86-89; B=83-85; B-=80-82; C+=76-79; C=73-75; C-=70-72; D+=66-69; D=63-65; D-=60-62; F=59 and below. The method of evaluation for written work looks at 3 main components: 1. The Analysis: This includes the presentation of the hypothesis or the argument, supporting evidence for the argument, and the presentation of evidence that might challenge the argument; 2. How the Paper or exam is written: This component examines the clarity of the writing, the use of grammar, the transitions between paragraphs, the introduction and the conclusion; 3. Citations and Bibliography (for papers only): This component evaluates the proper use of citations and the inclusion or exclusion of sources in the bibliography. Late papers will be penalized.

It goes without saying that on all assignments, you are expected to observe the highest standards of academic integrity and ethical conduct. If you are unclear about what constitutes plagiarism or academic misconduct, please do not hesitate to ask **before** the assignment is due. For the university's understanding of, and policies on, academic integrity please see <http://www.lsa.umich.edu/academicintegrity/examples.html>.

Students with Disabilities

If you think you need an accommodation for a disability, please let me know at your earliest convenience. Some aspects of this course, the assignments, the in-class activities, and the way the course is usually taught may be modified to facilitate your participation and progress. As soon as you make me aware of your needs, we can work with the Office of Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) to help us determine appropriate academic accommodations. SSD (734-763-3000; <http://ssd.umich.edu>) typically recommends accommodations through a Verified Individualized Services and Accommodations (VISA) form. Any information you provide is private and confidential and will be treated as such.

Classroom Conduct

Laptops and tablets are not allowed during class as the opportunities they provide to engage in social networking can be a distraction to other students, the GSI and the professor. Cellphones should be switched off and out of sight unless you serve with the volunteer fire department or you have a family member who may need to get in touch with you. Please come to class and discussion prepared-even a little reading goes a long way! Express your

ideas thoughtfully and listen carefully to the ideas of others.

Office Hours and Contacting the Instructors

Office hours for the course are posted at the top of the syllabus. If you need to see us, please come at the stated times. Occasionally we have other commitments that overlap with office hours. If so, we will let you know if we have to cancel or delay office hours and we will make alternative arrangements to see you. If for some reason you cannot see us during the stated office hours and we agree on an alternative time to meet, please show up! Finally, if you contact us by email, please be aware that there may be delays in our responses owing to other commitments.

Required Texts

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

Additional Readings are available on Canvas and are marked with an asterisk (*)

If you want to take a break from academic readings you might like this blog, *Africa is a Country*, (<https://africasacountry.com>) Run by a South African with contributors from all over the world, it covers politics on the African continent, but also culture, music, sports, and photography.

Course Outline and Readings

I. What is the Legacy of Colonialism?

--Adu Boahen. 1987. *African Perspectives on Colonialism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins), ch 4.*

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

--Jeffrey Herbst. 2000. "The Europeans and the African Problem," in *States and Power in Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), pp. 58-96.*

Recommended

--Frantz Fanon. 1963. "Chapter 1: On Violence," in *Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press. 1-62.

--Browne Onuoha. 2014. "Publishing Postcolonial Africa: Nigeria and Ekeh's Two Publics a Generation After," *Social Dynamics*, 40, 2: 322-337.

Please learn all the countries in contemporary Africa at

<http://www.ilike2learn.com/ilike2learn/Continent%20Maps/Africa%20Political%20Large.gif>

And test your knowledge at <http://www.sporcle.com/games/africa.php>

II. Power, Politics and Social Fragmentation: Why did Authoritarian Regimes Emerge After Independence?

--Cheeseman, *Democracy in Africa*, chapter 1

--Anne Pitcher. 2002. *Transforming Mozambique: The Politics of Privatization, 1975-2000*. Cambridge University Press, chapter 2: 67-100.*

--Bleck and van de Walle, chap. 2, pp. 30-41

--Claude Ake, 1991 "Rethinking African Democracy", *Journal of Democracy*, 2, 1: 32-44.*

III. From authoritarianism to electoral autocracies

- Terrence Lyons, 2016. "From Victorious Rebels to strong authoritarian parties: prospects for post-war democratization". *Democratization*. 23, 6: 1026-1041.*
- David Booth and Frederick Golooba-Mutebi. 2012. "Developmental Patrimonialism? The Case of Rwanda", *African Affairs*, 117/466: 146-60.*
- Justin Pearce, Didier Peclard and Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, 2018. Angola's Elections and the Politics of Presidential Succession". *African Affairs*, 111/444: 379-403*
- Bleck and van de Walle, chapter 2, 41- 61

Recommended:

- Marco Di Nunzio. 2015. 'Do Not Cross the Red Line': The 2010 General Elections, Dissent, and Political Mobilization in Urban Ethiopia". *African Affairs*, 113/452: 409-430.*

*****Map quiz on Wednesday, September 18*****

IV. Understanding the Democratic Wave across Africa: Elections and Parties

- Bleck and van de Walle, chapters 3-4
- Keith Weghorst and Michael Bernhard, 2014. "From Formlessness to Structure? The institutionalization of competitive party systems in Africa". *Comparative Political Studies*. 47, 12 (February): 1707-1737.*
- Lise Rakner. 2011. "Institutionalizing the Pro-Democracy Movements: the Case of Zambia's Movement for Multiparty Democracy," *Democratization*, 18, 5: 1106-1124.*

Recommended

- Heinz Jockers, Dick Kohnert and Paul Nugent. 2010. "The successful Ghana election of 2008: a convenient myth?", *Journal of Modern African Studies* 48 (1) 2010, 95-116.
- Michelle Kuenzi, J. Tuman, M. Rissman, G. Lambright. 2017. "The economic determinants of electoral volatility in Africa." *Party Politics*. advance access.

V. Mid-term Exam, Wednesday, October 9 Bring Blue Books

****Monday October 14 Fall Break No Class****

VI. The Democratic Wave: Candidates and Issues

- Bleck and van de Walle, chapters 5 and 6

Recommended:

- Ann K. Karreth. 2017. "Schools of Democracy: How Trade Union Membership Impacts Political Participation in Africa's Emerging Democracies" *Democratization*, 25,1: 158-177.

VII-VIII. Was it a Democratic Wave or a Democratic Ripple? What the voters say

Bleck and van de Walle, chapter 7

- Marcel Paret, 2018. "Beyond Post-Apartheid Politics? Cleavages, protest and elections in South Africa" *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 56, 3: 471-496*
- Selected Afrobarometer surveys, www.Afrobarometer.com

Recommended

--David Everatt, 2016. "The Era of Ineluctability? Post-Apartheid South Africa after 20 Years of Democratic Elections" *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 42, 1: 49-64.

IX. Elections and violence

--Arthur Goldsmith, 2015. "Electoral Violence in Africa Revisited". *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 25, 5: 818-837.*

--Hanne Fjelde and Kristine Hoglund. 2014. "Electoral Institutions and Electoral Violence in Africa". *British Journal of Political Science* 46: 297-320.*

--Cathy Boone. 2012. "Land Conflict and Distributive Politics in Kenya" *African Studies Review*, 55, 1, (April): 75-103.*

--Adrienne LeBas. 2013. "Violence and Urban Order in Nairobi, Kenya and Lagos, Nigeria" in *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48: 240-262.*

Recommended

--Dorina Bekoe, Stephanie Burchard. 2017. The contradiction of Pre-election Violence: The Effects of Violence on Voter Turnout in Sub-Saharan Africa. *African Studies Review* 60: 2: 73-92.

--Scott Straus, 2011. "It's Sheer Horror Here: Patterns of Violence during the First Four Months of Cote D'Ivoire's Post-Electoral Crisis," *African Affairs*, 110/440: 481-489.*

--James Long, Karuti Kanyinga, Karen Ferree, and Clark Gibson, 2013. "Kenya's 2013 Election: Choosing Peace over Democracy", *Journal of Democracy*, 24, 3: 140-155.*

--Scott Straus. 2012. "Retreating from the Brink: Theorizing Mass Violence and the Dynamics of Restraint", *Perspectives on Politics*, 10, 2 (June) 343-362.*

--Demarest, Leila, and Arnim Langer. 2018. "The Study of Violence and Social Unrest: A Comparative Analysis of Three Conflict Event Datasets," *African Affairs*, pp. 1-16. Advance Access.

X. Distributive expectations and distributional consequences under democratic conditions

--Giovanni Carbone. 2011. "Do new democracies deliver social welfare? Political regimes and health policy in Ghana and Cameroon", *Democratization* 19, 2: 157-183.*

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

--Daniel DeKadt and Evan S. Lieberman. 2017. "Nuanced Accountability: Voter Responses to Service Delivery in Southern Africa." *British Journal of Political Science*. December 13. Advance Access.

Recommended

--Giovanni Carbone, Vincenzo Memoli and Lia Quartapelle. 2016. "Are lions democrats? The impact of democratization on economic growth in Africa, 1980-2010." *Democratization* 23/1: 27-48.*

--Alexander Beresford, 2015. "Power, Patronage and Gatekeeper Politics in South Africa," *African Affairs*. 114/455: 226-248.*

******1500 word analytical paper due Monday, November 11******

XI. Africa's Urban explosion: Does Urban Development Benefit the Poor?

--Tom Goodfellow. 2017. "Urban Fortunes and Skeleton Cityscapes: Real Estate and Late Urbanization in Kigali and Addis Ababa", *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 41, 5: 786-803.*

--Danielle Resnick. 2012. "Opposition Parties and the Urban Poor in African Democracies" *Comparative Political Studies*, 45, 11: 1351-1378.*

--Sylvia Croese and Anne Pitcher. 2017. "Ordering power? The politics of state-led housing delivery under authoritarianism - the case of Luanda, Angola" *Urban Studies*. advance access.*

recommended

--Martin Murray. 2009. "Fire and Ice: Unnatural Disasters and the Disposable Urban Poor in Post-Apartheid Johannesburg." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33.1 (March): 165-192.*

--Darlene Miller, Etienne Nel, and Godfrey Hampwaye. 2008. "Malls in Zambia: Racialized Retail Expansion and South African Foreign Investors in Zambia" *African Sociological Review*, 12, 1: 35-54.

--Carl Levan and Joseph Olubawale. 2014. "I am here until Development Comes: Displacement, Demolitions and Property Rights in Urbanizing Nigeria". *African Affairs*. 113/452: 387-408.*

XII. The Middle Class in Africa: Who are they? Where are they? Are they democrats?

--James Thurlow, Danielle Resnick, and Dumebi Obogu. 2015. "Matching Concepts with Measurement: Who Belongs to Africa's Middle Class." *Journal of International Development* 27, 588-608.*

--Robert Mattes. 2015. "South Africa's Black Middle Class: A Harbinger of Political Change?" *Journal of International Development* 27, 665-692.*

--Dominic Burbridge. 2014. "Can someone get me outta this middle class zone?!" Pressures on middle class Kikuyu in Kenya's 2013 election" *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 2, pp. 205-225*

Recommended

--Jean-Nicholas Bach and Clelie Nallet. 2018. "Conceptualizing the middle class in a developmental state: narratives and expectations in Ethiopia". *African Affairs*. 117, 468 (July): 439-461.

XIII. The Political Economy of Natural Resources

--Rod Alence, "Evading the 'resource curse' in Africa: economics, governance, and natural resources," *Institute for Global Dialogue Policy Brief* (2005).*

--Nathan Jensen and Leonard Wantchekon, "Resource wealth and political regimes in Africa," *Comparative Political Studies* 37, no. 7 (2004): 816-41.*

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

Recommended

- Frederick Cooper, "Africa in the world economy," *African Studies Review* 24, no. 2–3 (1981): 1–86.
- Paul Orogun, 2010. "Resource control, revenue allocation and petroleum politics in Nigeria: the Niger Delta question" *Geojournal*. 75: 459- 507.*
- Angus Deaton, "Commodity prices and growth in Africa," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 13, no. 3 (1999): 23–40.
- Baldwin, Kate. 2014. "When Politicians Cede Control of Resources: Land, Chiefs, and Coalition-Building in Africa." *Comparative Politics* 46(3): 253–71.*

XIV. Cross-Border Trade and Investment in Africa

- Rod Alence. 2015. "Trading with the Frenemy: How South African depends on African Trade" in *New South Africa Review*.*
- Janet Eom, Jyhjong Hwang, Lucas Atkins, Yunna Chen, and Siqi Zhou. 2017. "The United States and China in Africa: What does the data say?" Policy Brief no. 18, China Africa Research Initiative.
https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5652847de4b033f56d2bdc29/t/58fd32a5ff7c502a493d18ed/1492988584819/PB18_US+China+Africa.pdf
- Andrew Brooks. 2015. "The Hidden Cost of Second-hand Clothing", *Geographical*, 20 March.
<http://geographical.co.uk/opinion/item/894-the-hidden-cost-of-second-hand-clothing>
- Manuel Ennes Ferreira and Ricardo Soares de Oliveira. 2018. "The Political Economy of Banking in Angola". *African Affairs*, 17 July, Advance Access.*

Recommended

- Nick Van Mead. 2018. China in Africa: win, win development, or a new colonialism? *The Guardian*. July 31.
- Giles Mohan and Ben Lampert. 2013. "Negotiating China: Reinserting African Agency into China-Africa Relations," *African Affairs*, 112/446: 92-110.

XV. Conclusion

*******Final Exam, Friday December 20, 1:30-3:30 pm*******