

POLITICAL SCIENCE 146A AFRICAN POLITICS

Spring 2021

Instructor: Melanie L. Phillips (she/her)
Time: MWF 9:00-10:00am PST
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Course Description: This course introduces students to modern African politics, focusing on the region's political trends and trajectories from the colonial era to the present. We begin by studying the region's political experiences through the turn of the 21st century before turning to current dilemmas and questions in African politics. Particular attention is paid to the prospects for and constraints on economic development and democratic consolidation and contemporary challenges, such as the rise of new forms of political participation and political challenges to the state. Reoccurring themes include the interaction of formal and informal institutions in African societies, Africa's position in the global economy and the nature of the state in Africa, highlighting throughout both what is specific to Africa and its sub-regions and where the continent's politics find broader comparability with other world regions.

Objectives:

1. The primary objective of this course is for students to gain familiarity with and be able to apply theoretical concepts in the comparative study of African politics.
2. Students will leave this course able to name, describe, and compare major theories and approaches to the study of African politics, including historical-institutional perspectives, rational choice theories, and structural views.
3. This course aims to develop student skills of clear and cogent articulation and critical thinking with an emphasis on empirically-based argumentation and reasoning skills.

Course Readings: There are no required books or reader for this class. All readings will be available online through bCourses. It is important that you read all assigned materials, as some content from your readings may not be covered in lecture. This is a reading-intensive course. I encourage you to take notes and ask questions about readings during lectures, in workshops, and during office hours. You are responsible for reading the assigned content on or by the day of the associated lecture. For instance, you should come to lecture on January 22nd having read the articles under its header. If you are interested in additional readings, I suggest the Decolonizing the Academy The African Politics Reading List 2020 http://democracyinafrica.org/decolonizing_the_academy/

Office Hours: Office hours are scheduled via appointment. Please feel free to reach out to schedule an appointment whenever needed. I encourage you to come to my office hours to introduce yourself, to discuss the course readings, to explore ideas for your papers, ask for help with your writing, or discuss ways to participate in section. Please sign up for office hours at <https://calendly.com/melaniephillips/15min>.

Late Papers or Assignments: Late papers will be penalized 1/3 letter grade per day (for example, from a A+ to A) including weekends and holidays, except in the case of a verified emergency or documented medical reason.

Email Policies: Please email me directly at melaniephillips@berkeley.edu, rather than through bCourses. I will not respond to emails sent through bCourses as it signals you have not read the syllabus. To ensure your email is not lost to the abyss of my spam folders, please put Poli Sci 146A in the subject line. During the week, I strive to respond to all emails within 48hrs. If I do not respond, please feel free to email again. As we all strive for work-life balance, I will only answer emails during business hours. Feel free to refer to me as Professor Phillips, Melanie Phillips, or Melanie. I use she/her/hers pronouns.

Regrade Requests: Requests for regrades come straight to me, not your GSI. Regrades by me are subject to an increase, a decrease, or no change in your grade. They must be justified with an explanation on why you believe you deserve a regrade (1pg typed). Regrade requests must be received within ONE week of when the assignment was returned.

Accommodations: I want everyone to do well in this course. Therefore, please speak to me after class or during office hours if you require any learning accommodations, or if there are specific things I can do to help facilitate your learning. Please do note, however, that extensions cannot be given on the final paper.

Academic Misconduct and Plagiarism: Per Appendix II of the Campus Code of Student Conduct, cheating is defined as “fraud, deceit, or dishonesty in an academic assignment, or using or attempting to use materials, or assisting others in using materials that are prohibited or inappropriate in the context of the academic assignment in question”. If you are uncertain, at all, about whether something is plagiarism or academic misconduct, please come to me or your GSI, before, you turn in an assignment.

Grade Breakdown	
Workshop Attendance	10%
Quizzes (6 total, lowest score dropped)	30%
Movie Review (2)	10%
Peer Reviews (5 total)	25%
Research Paper	25%

Workshops: Instead of typical sections, graduate student instructors will lead workshops each week. There will be three workshops each week: one focused on readings, one on a relevant topic, and one skill-based workshop. You are expected to attend one of these each week, whichever you prefer. These will be recorded and available asynchronously. You must attend one workshop a week for credit. You must attend synchronously or watch asynchronously within a week of that workshop.

Quizzes: Every two weeks you will be given a quiz on lecture and reading materials. You will be asked one to two long-form questions. This quiz is open note, however, all answers must be in your own words (no copy or pasting) and must cite relevant information. Quizzes will open on Fridays at 10:30 am PST and close that Sunday at 11:59 pm PST. You will be given a two-hour window to complete this once you begin it (Note: it is not expected that the quiz will take you anywhere close to this amount of time, but it is expected to be completed in one session).

Movie Review: Throughout the semester there are corresponding films listed. You need to watch two of these films and write a two-page double space movie review. This review must be submitted within a week of the date the movie is listed in the syllabus.

Peer Reviews: Throughout the semester you will be working on your final research paper. To assist

you, you will post portions of your paper. In addition to posting your work, you will provide constructive feedback on a peer's work.

Research Paper: Students will write a 15-page research paper that explains patterns of democratization in their assigned country. The paper will consist of a theoretical argument; a brief review of competing explanations; and a case study.

Important Dates	
Quiz 1	Friday, Jan 29th 10:30am - Sunday, Jan 31st 11:59pm
Peer Review 1	Monday, February 8th 11:59pm
Peer Feedback 1	Friday, February 12th 11:59pm
Quiz 2	Friday, Feb 12th 10:30am - Sunday, Feb 14th 11:59pm
Quiz	Friday, Feb 27th 10:30am - Sunday, Feb 29th 11:59pm
Peer Review 2	Monday, March 1st 11:59pm
Peer Feedback 2	Friday, March 5th 11:59pm
Quiz 4	Friday, March 12th 10:30am - Sunday, March 14th 11:59pm
Peer Review 3	Monday, March 29th 11:59pm
Peer Feedback 3	Friday, April 2nd 11:59pm
Quiz 5	Friday, April 9th 10:30am - Sunday, April 11th 11:59pm
Peer Review 4	Monday, April 12th 11:59pm
Peer Feedback 4	Friday, April 16th 11:59pm
Quiz 6	Friday, April 23rd 10:30am - Sunday, April 25th 11:59pm
Peer Review 5	Monday, April 26th 11:59pm
Peer Feedback 5	Friday, April 30th 11:59pm
Final Research Paper Due	Monday, May 10 11:59pm

Course Schedule:

Lecture 1 [Wednesday, January 20th]: **Introduction and Overview**

Week 1

1. Read the **ENTIRE** syllabus
2. Chimamanda Adichie's TEDtalk The Danger of a Single Story https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_ngozi_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story/transcript?language=en

Lecture 2 [Friday, January 22nd]: **Pre-Colonial Politics**

1. Herbst, Chapter 2 – Power and Space in Precolonial Africa.

Film of the Week: Yeelen (Mali 1987). Review Due by Friday, January 29th 11:59pm PST.

Lecture 3 [Monday, January 25th]: **The Implications of Pre-Colonial Politics** **Week 2**

1. Wilfahrt, Martha. 2018. “Precolonial Legacies and Institutional Congruence in Public Goods Delivery: Evidence from Decentralized West Africa.” *World Politics* 70(2): 239-274.

Lecture 4 [Wednesday, January 27th]: **The Slave Trade**

1. Nathan Nunn. 2008. The Long Term Effects of Africa’s Slave Trades. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123 (1): 139-176.
2. Young, Crawford. 1994. Chapter 4 – “Constructing Bula Matari.” *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lecture 5 [Friday, January 29th]: **The Scramble for Africa**

1. Herbst, Chapter 3 – The Europeans and the African Problem.
2. Crowder, Michael. 1964. Indirect Rule: French and British Style. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 34 (3): 197-205.

Lecture 6 [Monday, February 1st]: **Legacies of Colonialism** **Week 3**

1. Mamdani, Mahmood. 2001. “Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43(4):651-664.
2. Michalopoulos, Stelios, and Elias Papaioannou. 2016. “The Long-Run Effects of the Scramble for Africa.” *American Economic Review* 106(7): 1802-1848.

Lecture 7 [Wednesday, February 3rd]: **Nationalism and Independence**

1. Ade Ajayi, J.F. 1982. “Expectations of Independence.” *Daedalus* 111(2), p. 1-9.
2. Elizabeth Schmidt, Top Down or Bottom Up? Nationalist Mobilization Reconsidered, with Special Reference to Guinea (French West Africa), *The American Historical Review*, Volume 110, Issue 4, October 2005, Pages 975–1014

Lecture 8 [Friday, February 5th]: **Women and Independence**

1. Tripp, A., Casimiro, I., Kwesiga, J., Mungwa, A. (2008). Historic Influences on Contemporary Women’s Movements. In *African Women’s Movements: Transforming Political Landscapes* (pp. 25-61). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Film of the Week: Lumumba. Review Due Friday, February 12th at 11:59pm PST.

Lecture 9 [Monday, February 8th]: **The Rise of Authoritarianism** **Week 4**

1. Young, C. 2012. “The Road to Autocracy: Breakdown of the Decolonization Settlement.” *The Postcolonial State in Africa*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, p. 122-157.

Lecture 10 [Wednesday, February 10th]: **Authoritarian Rule**

1. Collier, Ruth Berins. 1982. *Regimes in Tropical Africa: Changing Forms of Supremacy, 1945- 1975*. Berkeley: University of California Press. [Chapters 4-5]

– **Lecture 11** [Friday, February 12th]: **Strategies for Authoritarian Survival**

1. Arriola, Leonardo R. 2009. “Patronage and Political Stability in Africa.” *Comparative Political Studies* 42 (10): 1339-1362.
2. Shen-Bayh, Fiona. 2018. “Strategies of Repression: Judicial and Extrajudicial Methods of Autocratic Survival.” *World Politics* 70(3): 321-357.

Monday, February 15th - Academic Holiday

Week 5

Lecture 12 [Wednesday, February 17th]: **Structural Adjustment and Liberalization**

1. Chazan, N. et al. 1999. "Africa's Economic Crisis." *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, p. 325-49.
2. van de Walle, N. 2001. "Approaches to Africa's Permanent Crisis." *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 20-63

Lecture 13 [Friday, February 19th]: **Democratization**

1. Bratton, Michael, and Nicolas van deWalle. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Chapters 1 and 3]

Film of the Week: *Clando* (Cameroon 1996). Review Due Friday, February 27th at 11:59pm PST.

Lecture 14 [Monday, February 22nd]: **Democratization II**

Week 6

1. Posner, Daniel N. and Daniel J. Young. 2007. "The Institutionalization of Political Power in Africa." *Journal of Democracy* 18(3): 126-140.
2. Opalo, Kennedy O. 2012. "African Elections: Two Divergent Trends." *Journal of Democracy* 23(3): 80-93.

Lecture 15 [Wednesday, February 24th]: **Financing the State: Oil, Minerals, Foreign Aid**

1. Soares de Oliveira, R. 2015. "Oil Politics." *The Routledge Handbook of African Politics*. New York, Routledge, p. 178-188.

Lecture 16 [Friday, February 26th]: **Party Systems**

1. Riedl, Rachel Beatty. 2012. *Authoritarian origins of democratic party systems in Africa*. Cambridge University Press. [Chapter 1]
2. Mozaffar, Shaheen, and James R. Scarritt. 2005. "The Puzzle of African Party Systems." *Party Politics* 11(4): 399-421.

Film of the Week: *Arlit: Deuxieme Paris* (Niger/France 2004). Review Due Friday, March 5th 11:59pm PST.

Lecture 17 [Monday, March 1st]: **Political Parties**

Week 7

1. Arriola, Leonardo R. 2012. "Capital and Opposition in Africa: Coalition Building in Multiethnic Societies." *World Politics* 65(2): 233-272.
2. Rakner, Lise, and Nicholas van de Walle. 2009. "Democratization by Elections? Opposition Weakness in Africa." *Journal of Democracy* 20(3): 108-121.

Lecture 18 [Wednesday, March 3rd]: **Social Identities: Ethnicity and Nationalism**

1. Lynch, G. 2013. "The Politics of Ethnicity." In *Routledge Handbook of African Politics*, eds. N. Cheeseman, D. Anderson and A. Scheibler. New York, NY: Routledge, p. 95-107.
2. Ferree, Karen and Jeremy Horowitz. 2010. "Ties that Bind? The rise and decline of ethno-regional partisanship in Malawi, 1994-2009". *Democratization*, 17:3 (2010): 534-563.

Lecture 19 [Friday, March 5th]: **Implications of Ethnicity**

1. Miguel, Edward. 2003. "Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania." *World Politics* 56(3): 328-362.
2. Robinson, A. 2014. "National Versus Ethnic Identification in Africa: Modernization, Colonial Legacy, and the Origins of territorial Nationalism." *World Politics*, 66(4): 709-746.

Lecture 20 [Monday, March 8th]: **Social Identities: Religion**

Week 8

1. Ellis, S. and G. ter Haar. 1998. "Religion and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36(2), p. 175-201.
2. Villalón, L. 2010. "From Argument to Negotiation: Constructing Democracy in African Muslim Contexts." *Comparative Politics* 42(4), p. 375-93.

Lecture 21 [Wednesday, March 10th]: **Civil Society and Popular Protest**

1. Branch, A. and Z. Mampilly. 2015. "Protests and Possibilities" and "The Third Wave of Protests," In *Africa Uprising*. London, UK: Zed Books, p. 1-10, 67-85.
2. Hassan, M. and A. Kodouda. 2019. "Sudan's Uprising: The Fall of a Dictator." *Journal of Democracy* 30(4), 89-103.

Lecture 22 [Friday, March 12th]: **"Customary" Institutions**

1. Koter, Dominika. 2013. King Makers: Local Leaders and Ethnic Politics in Africa. *World Politics* 65 (2): 187-232.
2. 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.

Film of the Week: Timbuktu (Mali 2014). Review Due on Friday, March 19th at 11:59pm PST.

Lecture 23 [Monday, March 15th]: **Gender Politics**

Week 9

1. M. Johnson, M. Phillips (2019). Gender Politics. In Gabrielle Lynch and Peter VonDoep (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Democratization in Africa*. London: Routledge Press. (with M. Johnson)
2. Watch: Faces of Africa - Ellen Johnson Sirleaf: Mother of Liberia url: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6tU-TTweFKY> Note: This film is not appropriate for children, it includes violent images.

Lecture 24 [Wednesday, March 17th]: **Elections and Voting Behavior**

1. Harding, Robin E. 2015. "Attribution and Accountability: Voting for Roads in Ghana." *World Politics* 67(4): 656-689.
2. Dunning, Thad S., and Lauren Harrison. 2010. "Cross-cutting Cleavages and Ethnic Voting: An Experimental Study of Cousinage in Mali." *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 21-39.

Lecture 25 [Friday, March 19th]: **Elections**

1. Kertzer, J. D., Rathbun, B. C. (2015). Fair is fair: Social preferences and reciprocity in international politics. *World Politics*, 67(4), 613-655.
2. Watch: An African Election <https://berkeley-kanopy-com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/video/african-election>

Film of the Week: Daresalam (Chad 2001). Review Due Friday, April 2nd at 11:59pm PST.

Spring Break

Lecture 26 [Monday, March 29th]: **Jobs in Political Science**

Week 10

Lecture 27 [Wednesday, March 31st]: **Electoral Violence**

1. Kagwanja, Peter. 2009. Courting Genocide: Populism, Ethno-Nationalism and the Informalisation of Violence in Kenya's 2008 Post-Election Crisis. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 27 (3): 365-87.

Lecture 28 [Friday, April 2nd]: **Political Instability**

1. Jackson, Robert H., and Carl G. Rosberg. 1982. Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and the Juridical in Statehood. *World Politics* 35 (1): 1-24.
2. Goldsmith, Arthur A. 2001. Risk, Rule, and Reason in Africa: Leadership in Africa. *Public Administration and Development* 21 (2): 77-87.

Lecture 29 [Monday, April 5th]: **Coups****Week 11**

1. Roessler, Philip. 2011. "The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa." *World Politics* 63(2): 300-346.

Lecture 30 [Wednesday, April 7th]: **Ethnic Conflict**

1. Hendrix, Cullen S. and Idean Salehyan. 2012. Climate Change, Rainfall, and Social Conflict in Africa. *Journal of Peace Research* 49 (1): 35-50.
2. Lieberman, Evan S. and Prerna Singh. 2012. "The Institutional Origins of Ethnic Violence." *Comparative Politics* 45(1): 1-24.

Lecture 31 [Friday, April 9th]: **Genocide**

1. Hintjens, H. 1999. "Explaining the 1994 genocide in Rwanda." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 37(2), p. 241-286.
2. Straus, S. 2000. "The Logic of Genocide." *The Order of Genocide*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, pp. 153-174.

Film of the Week: *Munyurangabo* (US/Rwanda 2007). Review Due on Friday, April 9th at 11:59pm PST.

Lecture 32 [Monday, April 12th]: **Civil War****Week 12**

1. 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.
2. Englebort, P. and K. Dunn. (2013). "The Shifting Landscape of Conflict and Security." *Inside African Politics*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, p. 267-98.

Lecture 33 [Wednesday, April 14th]: **Instability in the Sahel**

1. Kendhammer and McCain, Boko Haram

Lecture 34 [Friday, April 16th]: **The Great Lakes Crisis, 1994-present**

1. Nzongola-Ntalaja, G. 2002. "Conflict in the Great Lakes Region." *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A People's History*. London: Zed Books, p. 214-252.
2. Autesserre, S. 2012. "Dangerous Tales: Dominant Narratives on the Congo and Their Unintended Consequences." *African Affairs* 111(443): 202-22.

Film of the Week: *Democrats* (Denmark/Zimbabwe 2014). Review Due Friday, April 23rd at 11:59pm PST.

Lecture 35 [Monday, April 19th]: **Democratic Backsliding and Authoritarianism** **Week 13**

1. Gyimah-Boadi, E. 2015. "Africa's Waning Democratic Commitment." *Journal of Democracy* 5(1), p. 101-113.
2. Matfess, H. 2015. "Rwanda and Ethiopia: Developmental Authoritarianism and the New Politics of African Strong Men." *African Studies Review* 58(2), p. 181-204.

Lecture 36 [Wednesday, April 21st]: **Development as Politics**

1. Ferguson, J. 1994. "The Anti-Politics Machine." *The Ecologist* 24(5), 176-81.
2. Mwenda, A. and R. Tangri. 2005. "Patronage Politics, Donor Reforms, and Regime Consolidation in Uganda." *African Affairs*, 104(416). 449-467.

Lecture 37 [Friday, April 23rd]: **Contemporary Inequalities: Urbanization, Land, Youth**

1. Chigudu, S. 2019. "The Politics of Cholera, Crisis and Citizenship in Urban Zimbabwe: 'People were Dying like Flies.'" *African Affairs* 118(472), 413-34.
2. Enria, L. 2018. "Associations, citizenship claims and the political imagination." In *The Politics of Work in a Post-Conflict State*, London: James Currey, p. 144-82.

3. LSE. 2018. "Developing Urban Futures" - read 2-3 of the essays and peruse the data section. Available at: <https://urbanage.lsecities.net/newspapers/developing-urban-futures-2018#essays>

Film of the Week: Rafiki (Kenya 2018). Review Due Friday, April 30th at 11:59pm PST.

Lecture 38 [Monday, April 26th]: **African Futures**

Week 14

1. Olapade, D. 2014. "Two Publics." Bright Continent, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, p. 217-36.
2. Obadere, E. 2017. "Africa's Emerging Public Sphere." Current History 115 (781), p. 188-192.
3. Nyabola, N. 2019. "Women at Work." Digital Democracy, Analogue Politics. London: ZED Books, p. 127-156.

Lecture 39 [Wednesday, April 28th]: **Catch Up Lecture**

Lecture 40 [Friday, April 30th]: **Course Review**

RRR Week [May 3rd-7th]

Finals Week [May 10th-14th]