

26 Aug. 2012

Gov. 390L, #38965
Fall 2012
Batts 5.102
Th., 3:30 to 6:15

Catherine Boone, Batts 3.128
Office hours: Th, 12:00-3:00
or by appointment
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Political Economy Perspectives On Africa:
State, Economy, Elections, And War

Description: This seminar in African Politics is aimed at graduate students in Political Science. It considers the political-science themes of state-formation, economic development, elections and war as they appear in literature on contemporary Africa. Across the course readings, the seminar will track the themes of territoriality and political geography, asking how and whether political science and economics approaches (can) capture space-varying and scalar variables in explanations of African outcomes. The syllabus includes three winners of APSA's Comparative Politics Section Luebbert Award for Best Book in Comparative Politics (1998, 2002, 2006).

Although this class assumes no prior knowledge of African politics, the syllabus is not designed to serve as a thorough overview of this topic. The main goals of the course are to use theory developed in research on Africa to speak to Comparative Politics (and vice versa); to hone the skills of extracting theoretical claims from the readings, assessing such claims, employing theory to generate hypothetical answers to new research questions, and to provide Comparativists with substantive knowledge about Africa.

Assignments: Students should do all readings and come to class prepared to discuss, compare, ask questions, and critique. Please email me in advance if you will not be able to attend class. Most weeks, selected students will give a short presentation on assigned readings that will follow the structure proposed in the table below. Each student will formulate his/her own research question (RQ) and work on it over the course of the semester, deducing hypothetical answers from the competing theories and theoretical approaches (meta-theories) that we encounter in the assigned readings. The RQ should be about Africa or involve some cross-sectional comparison that puts African countries in broader context. Your work will culminate in a 14 page seminar paper that uses course materials to frame and discuss hypothetical answers to your RQ. The pedagogical strategy is designed to encourage you to harness and apply the theoretical and empirical material presented in this class to your own area of research interest, and to hone a theoretical perspective of your own.

By the end of Week 3 (Sept. 21), each student will turn-in a two paragraph statement of the research question that he/she will work on over the course of the semester. A 7-page paper is due during Week 8 (Oct. 11). It should lay out your research question, employ the material we have considered in class so far to generate some hypothetical answers to it, and discuss these hypotheses. A 14-page paper that examines your RQ in light of the full sweep of course materials is due on Dec. 14. In the last two class meetings (Dec. 6 and TDB), seminar members will present an overview (preview) of this seminar paper to the class in a 20-minute talk. The final paper should incorporate the feedback received from the class.

Preparation for class and participation. Seminar members should attend all class meetings and be prepared to discuss the week's assigned readings. To ensure that everyone is ready to grapple with the material when we meet, come to class prepared to answer the following questions:

What question is the author trying to answer? What answer does s/he provide? What causal argument, if any, lies that the core of the analysis?

Who is s/he arguing against? Why does the author think that his/her main argument is important?

(How) does the author use empirical material to develop/test the main argument? Does the empirical material support the author's argument?

What weak spots, flaws, errors, blind spots, contradictions, tautologies, and/or questionable or erroneous assumptions are inherent in this work?

How does this reading relate to other works assigned for this week, and those we've already covered? Are authors in agreement with each other, or disagreement?

What are two good questions you have for the author of this work?

Sometimes you will want to discuss the relationships between the arguments advanced in a series of articles. One particularly deft example of how you can set up a *framework* that allows you to do this can be found in our reading packet: see Azam and Mesnard (2003: 456). You will spot many other examples as you go through the readings.

Books and other texts: The books listed here have been ordered from the Univ. Coop. A packet of course readings (those marked by a star (*) on the syllabus, has been prepared for you by Paradigm Books at 407 W. 24th St. (tel. 472-7986). Some additional readings may be posted on our course Blackboard site.

- Crawford Young, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* (Yale 1997)
 Herbst, Jeffrey. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton 2000).
 Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton 1996)
 Nicolas van de Walle, *African Economies the Politics of Permanent Crisis* (Cambridge, 2001)
 Daniel Posner, *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa* (Cambridge, 2005)
 Severene Autessere, *The Trouble with Congo: Local Violence and the Trouble with International Peacekeeping* (Cambridge 2010)

Grading: Each student will do 3-4 in-class presentations, turn in a 2 para. statement of her/his research question, write one 5-page paper, and one 10-page paper, as per the description of assignments above.

In-class work, participation, incl. initial 2 para. on your RQ:	35%
7 page paper:	30%
14 pg seminar paper:	35%

University info.

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. 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.

Emergency Evacuation Policy. 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>.

COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS

Introduction

Week 1: Warm-up Aug. 30
 No class meeting. Pls. read the syllabus and do the readings for next week.

Week 2: Introduction Sept. 6

*David E. Bloom, Jeffrey D. Sachs, Paul Collier, Christopher Udry, "Geography, Demography, and Economic Growth in Africa," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, vol. 1988, n. 2 (1998): 207-295.

*Paul Nugent, "States and Social Contracts in Africa," *New Left Review* 63, May June 2010: 35-63.

I: The State

Week 3: Historical, Institutional, and NIE perspectives Sept. 13
 What are Young's main arguments and why, in his view, are they significant? What if any NIE theory as sketched out by Nye resonates with Young's arguments?

*John V. C. Nye, "Thinking about the State: Property Rights, Trade, and Changing Contractual Arrangements in a World with Coercion," in J.N. Dbovnik and J.V.C. Nye, eds., *Frontiers of the New Institutional Economics* (San Diego: Academic Press, 1997): 121-144.

Crawford Young, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* (Yale 1997)
Chs. 1, 3-6, Ch. 7 from p. 228, Chs. 8-9.

Week 4. Research Questions in African PE [Sept. 20*]
We will meet on Sept. 18 or 19, by appointment

Week 5: Institutional perspectives Sept. 27
Do Mamdani's arguments nest within Crawford Young's, or is *Citizen and Subject* an alternative?
Is this an institutionalist argument, and if so, of what?

Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, 1994), Chs. 1-6, 8

Week 6: State power: Geography and Sociology Oct. 4
(How) Do space-varying factors and spatial dynamics shape state building and condition the effects of state institutions?

Herbst, Jeffrey. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton, 2000), Chs. 1-5.

*Brennan Kraxberger, "Strangers, Indigenes, and Settlers: Contested Geographies of Citizenship in Nigeria," *Space and Polity* 9/1 (2005): 9-27.

II. Economic Growth

Week 7. African governance and ideology in economic explanation Oct. 11
What are the debates over the relative importance of governance, ideology, and policy in explaining growth patterns? What research design could be devised to arbitrate such debates?

Nicolas van de Walle, *African Economies the Politics of Permanent Crisis* (Cambridge, 2001)

*Giovanni Arrighi, "The African Crisis: World Systemic and Regional Aspects," *New Left Review* 15, May-June 2002: 5-36

Week 8: Institutional, Sociological, and Social Structural Determinants Oct. 18
The A&R, E&S, and Nunn readings constitute one cluster. The remaining selections are the second cluster. To organize and integrate these readings, please try to answer these questions: Is there a significant analytical distinction between questions about growth, and questions about development (do they require the same answers)? Do institutions matter and if so, do *property rights* institutions matter more than any others? Is there any difference between the arguments advanced in these readings and those presented in Young, Mamdani, and/or van de Walle? Do these analyses capture any subnational-level space-varying factors or spatial dynamics that might shape possibilities for and patterns of economic growth?

*Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, Reversal of Fortune: Geography and Institutions in the Making of the Modern World Income Distribution, *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117/4 (2002: 1231-94. [See also: Acemoglu and Robinson, 2001. "The

colonial origins of comparative development: an empirical investigation," *AER* 91: 1369-1401].

*Engerman and Sokoloff. "Institutional and Non-Institutional Explanations of Economic Differences," NBER Working Paper n. 9989, Sept. 2003.

*Nathan Nunn. "The Importance of History for Economic Development," Harvard University and NBER, a paper prepared for the Annual Review of Economics 2008, [sa. N. Nunn. 2006. "Historical Legacies: A model linking Africa's past to its current development." *J. of Development Economics*, 83/1: 157-175.]

*Philip Keefer, "What Does Political Economy Tell us about Economic Development -- and Vice Versa?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7, 2004: 247-72.

*Jan Winiecki, "Why economic reforms fail in the Soviet system: a property rights-based approach," in Lee Alston, Thráinn Eggertsson, Douglass North, eds., *Empirical Studies in Institutional Change* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 63-91.

*Jean-Paul Azam, "The Redistributive State and Conflict in Africa," *J. of Peace Research* 38/4 (2001): 429-444.

*Wm. Easterly and Ross Levine, 1997. "Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions," *Quarterly J. of Economics*, 112, pp. 1203-50.

Rec.

Robert H. Bates, *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa* (CUP 2008).

Benno Ndulu et al., *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960-2000, Vol. 1 and Vol. 2: Case Studies* (Cambridge 2007).

Alberto Alesina and Ekaterina Zuravsyaka, "Segregation and the Quality of Government in a Cross Section of Countries," *American Economic Review* 101, 2011: 1872-1911.

III. Political Institutions and Political Competition

Week 9. Institutions, I

Oct. 25

In 2004, Bogaards (2004: 175) wrote that African political parties are characterized in literature as plagued by weak organizations, low levels of institutionalization, and weak links to society (as in van de Walle & Butler 1999: 15, for example). Do the readings we consider in this part of the course support these generalizations? Other analysts find that African incumbents enjoy a strong electoral advantage in the rural areas, as opposed to the urban areas (Conroy-Kurtz 2009, Harding 2010). What could explain this?

Daniel Posner, *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa* (Cambridge, 2005)

Week 10. Structures of Contestation; Motives

Nov. 1

A range of institutional factors -- from electoral system rules to citizenship rules to sub-national jurisdictional boundaries -- shapes patterns of electoral politics in African countries. Which of these are identified in these readings? What other factors, including ideology or interests (ie. ethnicity or regionalism?), shape party systems and voting patterns? Why do incumbents often win elections? Do space-varying factors help answer these questions?

*Nicolas van de Walle, "Presidentialism and Clientelism in Africa's Emerging Party Systems," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 41/2 (2003):297-321.

*M. Basedau, Gero Erdmann, Jann Lay and Alexander Stroh, "Ethnicity and Party Preference in sub-Saharan Africa," *Democratization*, 18/2 (2011): 462-89.

*David Samuels and Richard Snyder, "The Value of a Vote: Malapportionment in Comparative Perspective," *British J. of Political Science* 31 (2001): 651-71.

*Shaheen Mozaffar and Richard Vengroff. 2002. "A 'Whole System' Approach to the Choice of Electoral Rules in Democratizing Countries: Senegal in Comparative Perspective." *Electoral Studies*, 21(4): 601-16.

*Catherine Boone, "Politically-Allocated Land Rights and the Geography of Electoral Violence in Kenya," *Comparative Political Studies*, 44/10 (2011): 1311- 1342.

*Joel Barkan, "Elections in Agrarian Society," *J. of Democracy* 6/4 (1995): 106-116.

*James A. Robinson and Thierry Verdier, "The Political Economy of Clientelism," Public Policy Discussion Paper Series n. 3205, London: Center for Economic Policy Research, Feb. 2002.

*Robin Harding, "Urban-Rural Differences in Support for Incumbents Across Africa," Afrobarometer Working Paper n. 120, June 2010 (31 pages).

Rec:

Bogaards, Matthijs. "Counting Parties and Identifying Dominant Party Systems in Africa," *European Journal of Political Research* 43 (2004): 173-97.

Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo, *Liberal Democracy and Its Critics in Africa* (CODESRIA, 2005)

Anne Pitcher, *Party Politics and Economic Reform in Africa's Democracies* (CUP, 2012)

Dorina Bekoe, ed., *Voting in Fear: Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa* (USIP, 2012)

IV. WAR

Week 11. Institutional Perspectives and the Problem of Political Scale

Nov. 8

Each of the themes we have considered so far -- the nature and structure of the state, economic organization and growth, and political competition -- bears directly on the problem of explaining civil war. Low per capital incomes and slow economic growth are both strongly correlated with civil war. Boix (WP 2008) finds that civil wars are most common in highly unequal agrarian societies (high inequality, high asset specificity). Geography (terrain, borders, distance from capital) and demography (size of population) are seem to be important in explain the location and character of war, but empirical results are contradictory. Reno (2011) argues that the nature of warfare in Africa has changed over because the character of the state itself has changed over time. Taking Reno's institutional-type argument about change over time as a point of departure, we consider analyses that attempt to explain subnational (cross-sectional) variations in the nature of warfare across space.

Severine Autessere, *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding* (Cambridge 2010).

Rec.

Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (CUP 2007)

William Reno, *Warfare in Independent Africa* (CUP, 2011).

Week 12. Local and Political Determinants of African Wars Nov. 15

Begin by identifying the different research questions that various strands of this literature seek to address: eg. What sorts of societies are most war-prone? Under what circumstances are wars most likely to break out? What kinds of regions are likely to be the site of war? What are the motivations and incentives of fighters? How are rebel groups organized and what explains variation over space and time? What are the effects of war on political and economic outcomes of interest?

*Chris Blattman and Edward Miguel, "Civil War," *J. of Economic Literature* 48/1 (2010): 3-57.

*Harvard Buhaug and Jan Ketil Rod, "Local Determinants of African Civil Wars, 1970-2001," *Political Geography* 25/3 (March 2006: 315-335).

*Jean-Paul Azam and Alice Mesnard. 2003. "Civil War and the Social Contract," *Public Choice* 115/3-4: 455-75.

*William Reno, "Patronage Politics and the Behavior of Armed Groups," *Civil Wars* 9/4 (Dec.) 2007: 324-42.

*Chauveau and Richards, "West African Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective: Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone Compared," *J. of Agrarian Change*, 8/4 (2008):515-52

*Floribert Ngaruko and Janvier D. Nkurunziza. 2000. "An economic interpretation of conflict in Burundi," *J. of African Economies* 9(3): 370-409.

*Philip Verwimp, "The 1990-2 Massacres in Rwanda: A case of spatial and social engineering," *J. of Agrarian Change* 11/3 (2011): 396-419.

Rec.

Adekeye Adebajo, *UN Peacekeeping in Africa* (Lynne Rienner and USIP, 2011).

Kristine Eck and Lisa Hultman. 2007. One sided violence against civilians in War," *J. of Peace Research*, 44/2: 233-46.

V. Presentations

Week 13. Thanksgiving Nov. 22

Week 14. No class meeting Nov. 29

Week 15. Presentations Dec. 6

Make-up Class. Presentations TBD