

POLITICS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA (208)

Trinity Term 2019

Tutor: Kurtis Lockhart

Class Hours: TBD

Class Room: TBD

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Timing: Still confirming. Likely Fridays. I will send an updated syllabus/email when confirmed by Tuesday, April 23rd.

Location of tutorials: Still confirming. Likely Fridays. I will send an updated syllabus/email when confirmed by Tuesday, April 23rd.

Grading: Your grade will be made up of the following:

- Map quiz: 10% (to be administered in Week 2.)
- Participation: 20%
- Book Report: 20% (due in Week 4. See 'Book Report' below for details.)
- Weekly Essays: 50%
 - The first three essays (for Week 1, Week 2, Week 3) will be graded by your tutor but your mark on these essays will not count towards your final grade. Instead, these first three weeks will be used to provide feedback and ensure that essay expectations are clear. Therefore, the Weekly Essays that will count towards your final grade are Week 5, Week 6, Week 7, and Week 8.

Map quiz (Week 2): This quiz will ask you to identify several countries in sub-Saharan Africa from a blank map. In addition to the name of each country, you will also be asked to identify the former colonizer of each country. You are encouraged to start practicing by Googling 'African map quiz' (e.g., Sporcle has a good online quiz).

Participation: For the tutor system to work, it is essential that students (i) do the weekly readings, (ii) hand in their Weekly Essay submission on time and in adherence to the below Weekly Essay specifications, and (iii) come to the tutorial with questions that have arisen from their readings and from writing their essays. The tutor system is a two way process. It only works if both the tutor and the student fully engage with the material.

Weekly Essay submission: I ask that you send essays to me by 12pm on the day before the tutorial each week. Essays should be sent to kurtis.lockhart@politics.ox.ac.uk.

Weekly Essay specifications: Essays must be 2,000-3,000 words in length. Please take the time to proofread your essays to catch spelling and grammar errors. Any material you quote or reference must be cited (whether in-text or in footnote citations) using a consistent referencing scheme, and also be included in your bibliography at the end of the essay (while the bibliography does not count towards word count, text in footnotes does count towards the word count). Developing good referencing habits is a key part of academic development. All work you submit must, of course, be your own.

Weekly Essay feedback: You will receive feedback on your essays in each tutorial. I will give you an indication of the mark the essay would have received in a collections/exam setting, as well as feedback on the following points:

Has the question been answered in the introduction?

Have unclear elements in the question been defined?

Is there a logical structure to the essay and argument that is clearly set out in a 'road map'?

Is the argument balanced? Do you engage with counter arguments?

Does the argument reflect sufficient reading and engagement with the relevant literature?

Is sufficient evidence supplied to support the argument?

How accurate and precise is your use of the literature and examples?

What elements of the argument are original?

Does the conclusion wrap up the argument into a coherent whole?

What to focus on for next week?

Did you meet your target from last week?

Book Report (Week 4): In Week 4, in lieu of the weekly essay, a book report is due. The book report will be on Michela Wrong's *It's Our Turn to Eat*. As such, you should start reading this book now. In the book report you are to answer the question, "Is ethnic identity in Kenya a cause or consequence of prevailing administrative institutions and the politics of recent decades?" Make an argument, and support it using evidence (i) from the book, (ii) from other readings in the course, and (iii) from secondary sources. The same specifications for the Weekly Essays apply to the book report (see 'Weekly Essay specifications' above).

WEEK 0: Introduction (Week starting April 22nd)

- We will clarify expectations for the course, go over the syllabus, answer any questions about how Oxford tutorials work.
- I also recommend you start reading Michela Wrong's *It's Our Turn To Eat* now. A book report is due in Week 4 (in lieu of the weekly essay). See above for criteria of the book report.
- The below Week 0 readings are optional, but very helpful in writing social science/political science papers on African states:
 - Chris Blattman. "How To Write an Essay":
 - <https://chrisblattman.com/2010/02/17/how-to-write-an-essay/>
 - Seay, Laura. 2012. How Not to Write About Africa, Foreign Policy.
 - <https://foreignpolicy.com/2012/04/25/how-not-to-write-about-africa/>
 - Binyavanga, Wainaina. 2005. How to Write About Africa, Granta 92.
 - <https://granta.com/how-to-write-about-africa/>
 - Farrell. Good Writing in Political Science. An Undergraduate's Student's Short Illustrated Primer.
 - <http://readinglists.le.ac.uk/items/CF5ABC3A-4147-FA9D-8726-EE6C95C5F3B4.html>

WEEK 1: Initial/Pre-Colonial Conditions (Week starting April 29th)

- Question: *Pick a country in sub-Saharan Africa. Discuss which pre-colonial factor (e.g., geography, culture, institutions, etc.) had the most significant impact on the country's contemporary level of state capacity.*
- Week 1 Readings:
 - Herbst, J. 2000. *States and Power in Africa*. Chapter 2.
 - VoxDev blog by Michalopoulos & Papaioannou here:
<https://voxdov.org/topic/institutions-political-economy/historical-legacies-and-african-development>
 - This blog summarizes the broad thrust of their research (especially their 2013 paper in *Econometrica*, "Pre-colonial Ethnic Institutions and Contemporary African Development.")
 - Osafo-Kwaako, P. & Robinson, J. 2013. "Political Centralization in Pre-Colonial Africa." *Journal of Comparative Economics*.
 - O'Toole, T. 2013. "The Historical Context.", in *Understanding Contemporary Africa* (Chapter 3, until pg. 46).
 - Sachs, J., Mellinger, A., & J. Gallup. 2001. "The geography of poverty and wealth." *Scientific American*.

WEEK 2: European Encounters (Slave Trade, Colonialism) & MAP QUIZ (Week starting May 6th)

- Question: *Pick two African countries: one that was colonized by the British, and another that was colonized by the French. Compare and contrast how the arrival of Europeans affected these two African states.*
- Week 2 Readings:
 - Herbst, J. 2000. *States and Power in Africa*. Chapter 3 & 5.
 - Nunn, N. 2008. "Shackled to the Past: The Causes and Consequences of Africa's Slave Trade," Diamond, J. & J. Robinson, eds. *Natural Experiments of History*.

- The above is the less technical version of Nunn, N. 2008. “The Long-Term Effects of Africa’s Slave Trades. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.
- Mamdani, M. 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Chapter 2.
- Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S., & J. Robinson. 2001. “The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation.” *American Economic Review*.
- *Further Readings (optional if interested):*
 - Whittlesey, D. 1937. “British and French Colonial Techniques in West Africa.” *Foreign Affairs*.
 - Ekeh, P. 1975. “Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*.

WEEK 3: Nationalism, Independence Movements, and Decolonization (Week starting May 13th)

- Question: *Pick one African country. To what extent has post-independence politics been determined by the nature of the liberation struggle?*
- Week 3 Readings:
 - Dorman, S.R. 2006. “Post-liberation Politics in Africa: Examining the Political Legacy of Struggle.” *Third World Quarterly*.
 - Schraeder, P. 2000. *African Politics and Society*. Chapter 6 (‘Nationalism and the Emergence of the Contemporary Independence Era’).
 - Meredith, M. 2005. *The Fate of Africa*. Chapter 4 (‘L’Afrique Noir’) and Chapter 5 (‘Winds of Change’).
 - Englebert, P. & K. Dunn. 2014. *Inside African Politics*. Chapter 2 (pgs. 40-62).

WEEK 4: Ethnic Politics, Patronage, and Corruption: CASE STUDY -- KENYA (Week starting May 20th)

- Question: *Book Report is due in lieu of weekly essay (due at the same time as you would normally hand in your weekly essay).*
- Week 4 Readings:
 - Wrong, M. 2009. *It’s Our Turn to Eat*.
 - Lynch, G. 2006. “Negotiating Ethnicity: Identity Politics in Contemporary Kenya.” *Review on African Political Economy (ROAPE)*.
 - Cheeseman, N., Lynch, G., & J. Willis. 2014. “Democracy and its Discontents: Understanding Kenya’s 2013 Elections.” *Journal of East African Studies*.
 - Cheeseman, N., Kanyinga, K., Lynch, G., Muteere, R., & J. Willis. 2019. “Kenya’s 2017 Elections: Winner-Takes-All Politics as Usual?” *Journal of East African Studies*.
- *Further Reading (optional if interested):*
 - Burgess, R. et al. 2015. “The Value of Democracy: Evidence from Road Building in Kenya.” *American Economic Review*.
 - Kasara, K. 2017. “Does Local Ethnic Segregation Lead to Violence? Evidence from Kenya.” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*.
 - Miguel, E. 2004. “Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods Provision in Kenya versus Tanzania.” *World Politics*.

WEEK 5: Rise of Personal Rule, State Building/State Failure (1970s-90s), Democratization (Week starting May 27th)

- Question: *Pick one African country. Has the democratization movement in this country been driven more by domestic than by external forces?*
- Week 5 Readings:
 - Moss, T. 2007. *African Development: Making Sense of the Issues and Actors*. Chapter 3 ('Big Men, Personal Rule, and Patronage Politics').
 - **Cheeseman, N. 2015. *Democracy in Africa: Success, Failures, and the Struggle for Political Reform*. Chapters 1-3.
 - **Meredith, M. 2005. *The Fate of Africa*. Chapter 23 ('The Struggle for Democracy').
 - Chabal, P. & J.P. Daloz. *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument*. Chapter 1 ('W(h)ither the State?') and Chapter 3 ('Recycled Elites').
- *Further Reading (optional if interested):*
 - Dunning, T. 2004. "Conditioning the Effects of Aid: Cold War Politics, Donor Credibility, and Democracy in Africa." *International Organization*.
 - Diamond, L. 2008. "The Rule of Law versus the Big Man." *Journal of Democracy*.
 - Jackson, R.H. & Rosberg, C. 1984. "Personal Rule: Theory and Practice in Africa." *Comparative Politics*.
 - Wilson, L.; Selassie, B.H.; Nzongola-Ntalaja, G.; & E. Harsch. 2015. *African Leaders of the 20th Century*.
 - Sanchez de la Sierra, R. Forthcoming. "On the Origins of the State: Stationary Bandits and Taxation in Eastern Congo. *Journal of Politics*.
 - Robinson, J. 2002. "States and Power in Africa by Jeffrey I. Herbst: A Review Essay." *Journal of Economic Literature*.
 - Dinecco, M., Fenske, J.E., & M.G. Onorato. 2016. "Is Africa Different? Historical Conflict and State Development." *CSAE Working Paper*.

WEEK 6: Conflict & Civil Wars (Week starting June 3rd)

- Question: *Can the thesis of 'greed and grievance' explain violent political conflicts in Africa? Discuss with reference to two African countries.*
- Week 6 Readings:
 - Collier, P. 2007. *The Bottom Billion*. Chapter 2 ('The Conflict Trap').
 - **Collier, P. & A. Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers*.
 - Blattman, C. & E. Miguel. 2010. "Civil War." *Journal of Economic Literature*.
 - Bates, R. 2008. *When Things Fell Apart*. Chapters 1 and 2.
- *Further Reading (optional if interested):*
 - See Chris Blattman's "Order and Violence" course slides here:
<https://chrisblattman.com/2017/05/10/weeks-1-7-order-violence-course/>
 - Herbst, J. 2000. "Economic Incentives, Natural Resources, and Conflict in Africa." *Journal of African Economies*.
 - Meredith, M. 2005. *The Fate of Africa*. Chapter 29 ('Blood Diamonds').

- Anderson, J.L. 2000. "Letter from Angola: Oil and Blood." *The New Yorker*.

WEEK 7: Structural Adjustment & Foreign Aid (Week starting June 10th)

- Question: *Has the introduction of structural adjustment programmes helped democratic politics to emerge in Africa? Why or why not? Discuss with reference to Uganda and Tanzania.*
- Week 7 Readings:
 - Stone, R. 2004. "The Political Economy of IMF Lending in Africa." *American Political Science Review*.
 - Van de Walle, N. 2001. *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis*. Chapter 2 ('Patterns of Reform Implementation, 1979-1999')
 - **Hauser, E. 1999. "Ugandan Relations with Western Donors in the 1990s: What Impact on Democratization." *Journal of Modern African Studies*.
 - **Hyden, G, & B. Karlstrom. 1993. "Structural Adjustment as a Policy Process -- The Case of Tanzania." *World Development*.
- *Further Reading (optional if interested):*
 - Bates, R. 1981. *Markets and State in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies*.
 - Moss, T., Pettersson, G., & N. Van de Walle. 2006. "An Aid-Institution Paradox? A Review Essay on Aid Dependency and State Building in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Center for Global Development*.
 - Easterly, W. 2009. "Can the West Save Africa?" *Journal of Economic Literature*.

WEEK 8: Promises and Pitfalls of Potential Solutions to Poor Governance (Week starting June 17th)

- Question: *What incentives are required to encourage politicians and bureaucrats to introduce and implement reforms that are beneficial to citizens? Discuss with reference to one or more African countries.*
- Week 8 Readings:
 - Banerjee, A. & E. Duflo. 2011. *Poor Economics*. Chapter 10 ('Policies, Politics').
 - Olken, B., & Pande, R. 2012. "Corruption in Developing Countries." *Annual Review of Economics*.
 - Raffler, P. 2016. "Does Political Oversight of the Bureaucracy Increase Accountability? Field Experimental Evidence from an Electoral Autocracy." Working paper.
 - World Bank. 2017. "World Development Report: Governance and the Law." Chapter 7 ('Elite Bargaining') and Chapter 8 ('Citizens as Change Agents')
- *Further Reading (optional if interested):*
 - Radelet, S. 2010. "Success Stories from 'Emerging Africa'." *Journal of Democracy*.
 - Bratton, M. 2013. "Briefing: Citizens and Cell Phones in Africa." *African Affairs*.
 - Straus, S. 2012. "Wars Do End! Changing Patterns of Political Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa." *African Affairs*.
 - Graham, C. 2015. "A Review of William Easterly's *The Tyranny of Experts: Economists, Dictators, and the Forgotten Rights of the Poor*." *Journal of Economic Literature*.

