



GOVERNMENT & POLITICS OF AFRICA

COURSE INFORMATION

Course Number: GVPT 484
Term: Spring 2022
Credits: 3
Lecture Days: MW 3:00 – 4:15pm
Lecture Room: TYD 0101
Zoom Meeting ID: 976 380 0611

Instructor: Prof. John McCauley
Pronouns: He/him/his
Phone: 301-405-6354 (office; forwards)
Email: mccauley@umd.edu
Office: Chincoteague 2117E
Office Hours: MW 2-2:30pm,
office/virtual
T 8:30-10am, virtual

OVERVIEW

The purpose of this course is to explore the themes, issues, and trends that shape politics in Africa, across 54 countries and over 1.3 billion people. I hope the course will inspire in you an interest in African affairs. I also hope it will give you an opportunity to think critically about how context shapes political behavior and about how the sociopolitical world works.

The material we will cover is organized around four broad issues: 1) the foundations of contemporary African politics, 2) political leadership in Africa, 3) the politics of identity, and 4) current issues and challenges in Africa. The expectation is that, by the end of the course, you will have a better understanding of common trends in this part of the world, which should help you in evaluating political behavior more generally.

This course is not designed as a study of individual countries in Africa; it is a theme-based course. Nevertheless, in exploring the themes and trends that dominate politics in Africa, we will learn quite a bit about a variety of countries on the continent, and you will have additional opportunities to learn the details of specific countries. You will also develop concrete skills in social science research that will serve you beyond this course.

A GLOBAL CLASSROOM: BENIN

This course is also part of the University's Global Classrooms Initiative. The objective is to give students enhanced international exposure and experience from wherever they are. In this particular case, I will be going to Benin for two weeks in April, and I am bringing you with me – virtually. You will then have an opportunity to work on a project to expand on something you learn from that virtual, in-country experience. This global classroom component will require that we be flexible with a few of our meeting times.

WELLBEING MESSAGE

We continue to face less than ideal circumstances for learning, connecting, and growing, and we must keep in mind that everyone is facing different kinds of challenges. Despite these challenges, we will make progress together. To ensure that we can do so, I will do everything I can to support you. If you face extenuating circumstances that might affect your performance in the class, let me know ***right away*** so I can be of help to you. I don't need to know details; you can share whatever information you are comfortable providing. I just want to be able to assist you prior to the end of the semester, when it becomes more difficult. Please feel very comfortable reaching out.

If you are ill or otherwise unable, do not come to class; if you let me know, I can accommodate you. Please do not abuse this flexibility.

As long as the university requires it, keep your mask on inside. Full covid-related protocols and policies can be found at <https://umd.edu/4Maryland>.

COURSE STRUCTURE & REQUIREMENTS

The course is taught in two meetings per week, on Mondays and Wednesdays from 3:00 to 4:15 in Tydings 0101.

There are five requirements for this course. First, students are expected to come to every class and to participate regularly in class discussions and activities. Second, to help you get familiar with this vast, complex, and changing geographic region, there will be a map quiz. Third, you will take a midterm exam. Fourth, students will work on a group project for the Global Classrooms component, which includes a presentation and brief write-up of their findings. Finally, you will produce a 20-25 page research paper over the course of the semester; this paper will give you an opportunity to do rigorous analysis on a topic and country of your choosing. The relative weights accorded to each of these requirements are as follows:

- Map Quiz (Feb 9) 5 percent
- Midterm (Apr 4) 35 percent
- Benin project (Apr 18) 15 percent
- Paper (May 14) 30 percent [parts on 2/28, 3/16, 4/27, 5/6, and 5/14]
- Participation 15 percent

READINGS

The readings for this course are essential for understanding the themes discussed in class; to do well and to get as much as possible out of the course, you will have to do all of them. All readings are provided via the course website at www.elms.umd.edu. Select GVPT 484 and you'll find the readings for each meeting under the Files tab. A list of related, optional books of interest can be found below.

ABSENCE & OTHER POLICIES

Use of computers is prohibited in class, except for group project and data analysis days. Any student who wishes to receive special permission to use a computer (solely for the purpose of note-taking) must see the professor. Inappropriate or unauthorized use of computers will count as an absence.

Absences and Late Work: If you would like your absence to be excused, you are required to email me regarding your absence **in advance** of the class or as soon as possible, and to bring documentation to support your excused absence on the day you return. Components of the paper that are submitted late will be penalized.

Academic Honesty: All material submitted for evaluation is expected to be your work and your work alone, unless otherwise stated in the instructions. Such material must adhere to the University's Code of Academic Integrity. Any instances of academic dishonesty or cheating on exams will be referred to the Office of Student Conduct as per University policy. Please avoid putting yourself in a bad situation.

You may share a Google Doc for the exam, but not for each day's class. Students are expected to take their own notes, as doing so is a form of learning.

Accommodations: If you have the right to accommodations for class or exams due to a religious observance or disability (or any other reason), please inform the professor during the first week of class. It is the student's responsibility to discuss exam scheduling and provide the proper documentation well before the quiz or exam. Failure to do so may affect your accommodation.

Communication: Email and Elms messaging are the primary means of communication outside of the classroom. Messages to the class will come via emails and Elms announcements. It is the students' responsibility to either have Elms announcements/messages forwarded to their email or to check Elms on a daily basis. If something needs to be addressed urgently, you can call.

Names/Pronouns and Self-Identifications: The University of Maryland recognizes the importance of a diverse student body, and we are committed to fostering inclusive and equitable classroom environments. I invite you, if you wish, to tell us how you want to be referred to both in terms of your name and your pronouns (he/him, she/her, they/them, etc.). The pronouns someone indicates are not necessarily indicative of their gender identity. Visit trans.umd.edu to learn more. Additionally, how you identify in terms of your gender, race, class, sexuality, religion, and dis/ability, among all aspects of your identity, is your choice to disclose or not (e.g., should it come up in classroom conversation about our experiences and perspectives) and should be self-identified, not presumed or imposed. I will do my best to address and refer to all students accordingly, and I ask you to do the same for all of your fellow Terps.

Grading: Grades are assigned based on a set standard, generally expressed in relation to a grading rubric or guide. Students are not graded relative to each other. All effort will be made to return assignments within a reasonable period after they are submitted.

Percentage	Letter Grade	Qualitative Description
93-100 90-92	A A-	Achievement that is <u>outstanding</u> relative to the level necessary to meet course requirements.
87-89 83-86 80-82	B+ B B-	Achievement that is <u>clearly above</u> the level necessary to meet course requirements.
77-79 73-76 70-72	C+ C C-	Achievement just meets the course requirements.
67-69 60-66	D+ D	Achievement that is worthy of credit even though it fails to fully meet the course requirements.
0-59	F	Work that was either completed but not worthy of credit, or incomplete

Re-grading: Exam grades cannot be changed except in the case of a tabulating mistake or manifest reading error. To contest an exam grade, you must inform the professor in writing. The professor will re-grade the exam if the request has merit.

Additional Policies: Please refer to <http://www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html> for additional policies. Topics include academic integrity, student conduct, sexual misconduct, discrimination, accessibility, student rights regarding undergraduate courses, course evaluations, covid-related policies, and campus resources for students. It is your responsibility to understand your rights and responsibilities as expressed in these policies. You will also find on this page information about valuable resources to support academic success in this course, as well as overall health and well-being. Again, if you require special assistance or face any extenuating circumstances that could affect your performance in class, please come see me right away.

SCHEDULE AND ASSIGNMENTS

Jan 24: Introduction – The Diversity of Africa

- Read this syllabus.
- NPR. 2016. “Attention Students: Put Your Laptops Away.” April 17.

Jan 26: How Should We Engage with Africa?

- Wainaina, Binyavanga. 2005. “How to Write About Africa.” *Granta*, 92. <https://granta.com/how-to-write-about-africa/>.
- Martin, Courtney. 2016. “The Reductive Seduction of Other People’s Problems.” *The Development Set*. Jan 11. <https://medium.com/the-development-set/the-reductive-seduction-of-other-people-s-problems-3c07b307732d#.66i1rr41t>.
- Blackledge, Sam. 2013. “In Defense of ‘Voluntourists’.” *The Guardian*. Feb 25. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/feb/25/in-defence-of-voluntourism1>.
- Levy, Ariel. 2020. “A Missionary On Trial.” *New Yorker*. April 6. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2020/04/13/a-missionary-on-trial>.

Jan 31: Key Issues Today

- I provide some topics; you find things to read and share.

Feb 2: Pre-Colonialism and the Scramble for Africa

- Pakenham, Thomas. 1991. *The Scramble for Africa, 1876-1912*. Introduction, pp. xxi-xxiii.
- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. “The Europeans and the African Problem,” in *States and Power in Africa*, Ch. 3.
- Nyoni, Philani A. 2015. “What Africa Had Before Colonization.” *This Is Africa*, Mar 26. <https://thisisafrica.me/african-identities/africa-colonisation/>.

Feb 7: Colonialism—Policies

- Ekeh, Peter. 1975. “Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (Jan), pp. 91-112.
- Gourevitch, Philip. 1998. *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families: Stories from Rwanda* (1998), Ch. 4.

Feb 9: Colonial and Historical Legacies

- Maiangwa, Benjamin. 2020. “How the colonial enterprise hard-wired violence into Nigeria’s governance.” *Quartz Africa*, Oct 21.

<https://qz.com/africa/1920769/the-british-colonial-enterprise-wired-violence-into-nigeria/>.

- Nathan Nunn (2008) "The Long Term Effects of Africa's Slave Trades," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 123, No. 1, pp. 139-176.
- Julia Cagé and Valeria Rueda. 2017. "The devil is in the detail: Christian missions' heterogeneous effects on development in sub-Saharan Africa." VoxEU-CEPR. <https://voxeu.org/article/christian-missions-and-development-sub-saharan-africa>.

**** Map Quiz**

Feb 14: National Independence Movements and Pan-Africanism

- Nkrumah, Kwame. "I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology," (1961).
- Ajayi, J.F. Ade. 1982. "Expectations of Independence." *Daedalus* 111 (2): 1-9.
- Zachary, G. Pascal. 2013. "As Qaddafi Died, So Did His Craziest Dream and Mistake: Pan-Africanism." *The Atlantic*.

Feb 16: Strong Leaders & Weak States in Africa

- Matfess, Hilary. 2015. "Rwanda and Ethiopia: Developmental authoritarianism and the new politics of African strong men." *African Studies Review* 58.2 (2015): 181-204.
- Wall Street Journal. 2015. "The Return of Africa's Strongmen." Dec 5.
- Mosaka Fallah, Mosaka. 2019. "Africa's Porous and Informal Borders Make It Difficult to Contain Ebola." *Quartz Africa*. June 17.

Feb 21: Clientelism and Citizen Responses to the State

- Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. "Clientelism and Voting Behavior." *World Politics* 55(3): 399-422.
- The Guardian. 2015. "How Second Hand Clothing Donations Are Creating a Dilemma for Kenya." July 6.
- Afrobarometer Round 7 codebook. https://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/r7_merged.codebook_final_14dec20.pdf.

Feb 23: Traditional Power in Africa

- Miguel, Edward. 2005. "Poverty and Witch Killing." *Review of Economic Studies* 7: 1153-1172.
- Bob-Milliar, G. M. 2009. "Chieftaincy, diaspora, and development: The institution of Nksuohene in Ghana." *African Affairs*. 108 (433): 541-558.

Feb 28: Democracy and Political Change in Africa

- Opalo, Ken Ochieng'. 2012. "African Elections: Two Divergent Trends." *Journal of Democracy*, 23 (3): 80-93.
- Hassan, Mai and Ahmed Kodouda. 2019. "Sudan's Uprising: The Fall of a Dictator." *Journal of Democracy*, 30 (4): 89-103.
- Maggie Dwyer and Thomas Molony. 2019. "Analysis across Africa Shows How Social Media is Changing Politics." *The Conversation*. August 14.

**** Paper Part 1 due**

Mar 2: Democratic Backsliding and Coups d'Etats

- Nkumane, Zanta. 2021. "Burnin' & Lootin': Respectability, Negative Peace, and the eSwatini protests." *The Republic*, Aug 17. <https://republic.com.ng/august-september-2021/burnin-and-lootin-eswatini/>.
- Cheeseman, Nic. 2021. "Chad, Guinea, Mali, Sudan... Can a coup be a springboard for democracy?" *The Africa Report*, Dec 6. <https://www-theafricareport-com.cdn.ampproject.org/c/s/www.theafricareport.com/153400/chad-guinea-mali-sudan-can-a-coup-be-a-springboard-for-democracy/amp/>.

Mar 7: Identity Politics—Ethnicity

- Blaine Harden, "Battle for the Body," in *Africa: Dispatches from a Fragile Continent* (1990), Ch. 3.
- Deng, Francis. 1997. "Ethnicity: An African Predicament." *Brookings Institution*. June 1.

Mar 9: Analyzing Data on African Political Perspectives

- Read the Afrobarometer Data Methodology and Codebook for your country.
- Kokera, Richman and Stephen Ndoma. 2016. "In Zimbabwe, Tolerance Crosses Ethnic, Religious, National – but Not Sexual – Lines." *Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 124*.

Mar 14: Identity Politics—Religion and Race

- McCauley, John F. 2019. "The Politics of Pentecostalism in Africa." *Oxford Encyclopedia*. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1379.
- Msimang, Sisonke. 2018. "All Is Not Forgiven: South Africa and the Scars of Apartheid." *Foreign Affairs* 97: 28-34.
- Appasamy, Youlendree. 2021. "You Came Here on a F---king Boat." *Africa Is a Country*, Nov 17. <https://africasacountry.com/2021/11/you-came-here-on-a-fucking-boat>.

Mar 16: Identity Politics – Women and Sexuality

- Clayton, Amanda. 2015. "Women's Political Engagement Under Quota-Mandated Female Representation: Evidence from a Randomized Policy Experiment." *Comparative Political Studies* 48 (3): 333-369.
- Dendere, Chipu. 2017. "To understand the coup in Zimbabwe, you need to know more about Grace Mugabe." *The Washington Post*.
- Coly, Ayo A. 2013. "Homophobic Africa?" *African Studies Review*, 56(2): 21-30.

**** Paper Part 2 due**

Mar 20 – 27: Spring Break

Mar 28: Africa's Poverty and Development

- BBC. 2009. "Why Is the African Continent Poor?" *BBC World News*. 24 August.
- Archibong, Belinda, Brahim Coulibaly, and Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala. 2021. "Washington Consensus reforms and economic performance in sub-Saharan Africa: Lessons from the past four decades." *AGI Working Paper*.

Mar 30: Foreign Aid and Economic Reform

- Dambisa Moyo, 2009, *Dead Aid*. New York: FSG Press. Forward & Ch. 1.
- Jeffrey Sachs. 2005. "The Development Challenge." *Foreign Affairs*.
- Hassan Ghedi Santur. 2019. "Want to End Poverty? Go Easy on the Aid." *Bright Magazine – Medium*. March 5.

Apr 4: ** MIDTERM **

Apr 6: GLOBAL CLASSROOM BENIN – Tradition

- Country Profile: <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/benin/>
- Country Profile: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/benin/overview#1>
- New York Times. 2012. "On the Vodun Trail in Benin." Feb 3. <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/02/05/travel/on-the-vodun-trail-in-benin.html>.
- Okanla, Karim. 2020. "In a capital's Afro-Brazilian architecture, traces of a complex story." *Christian Science Monitor*. Nov 23. <https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2020/1123/In-a-capital-s-Afro-Brazilian-architecture-traces-of-a-complex-story>.

Apr 11: GLOBAL CLASSROOM BENIN – Democracy

- Stephen Paduano. 2019. “The Fall of a Model Democracy.” *The Atlantic*. 29 May.
- Washington Post. 2021. “She could have been Benin’s first female president. She was just sentenced to 20 years in prison.” Dec 10.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/12/10/benin-opposition-reckya-madougou/>.

Apr 13: GLOBAL CLASSROOM BENIN – Security

- Matongbada, Michaël. 2021. “Could kidnapping for ransom open the door to terrorism in Benin?” Institute for Security Studies. <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/could-kidnapping-for-ransom-open-the-door-to-terrorism-in-benin>.
- New York Times. 2021. “Benin Awakens to the Threat of Terrorism After Safari Ends in a Nightmare.” Aug 20.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/20/world/africa/safari-kidnapping-benin-terrorism.html>.

Apr 18: Benin Projects

- No specific readings

Apr 20: Analyzing Data

- Lekalake, Rorisang and Sibusiso Nkomo. 2016. “South Africans Demand Government Accountability Amid Perceptions of Growing Corruption.” *Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 126*.

Apr 25: Security in Africa: Conflict and Terrorism

- Elbadawi, Ibrahim and N. Sambanis. 2000. “Why Are There So Many Civil Wars in Africa? Understanding and Preventing Violent Conflict.” *Journal of African Economies*.9(3): 244-269.
- Gettleman, Jeffrey. 2010. “Africa’s Forever Wars.” *Foreign Policy*, April/May.
- Billing, Trey and John F. McCauley. 2022. “The Democratic Costs of Terrorism in Africa.” Working Paper.

Apr 27: Population Shifts and Social Change in Africa

- Honwana, Alcinda. 2013. “Youth, Waithood, and Protest Movements in Africa.” *Lugard Lecture, International African Institute*.
- Mamphilly, Zachariah. 2021. “The Promise of Africa’s ‘Youth Bulge’: Rebellious Young People Aren’t a Threat – They’re the Key to Democratic Reform.” *Foreign Affairs*, July 7.

- Wellman, Elizabeth Iams. 2021. "Emigrant Inclusion in Home Country Elections: Theory and Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa." *American Political Science Review*, 115 (1): 82-96.

**** Paper Part 3 due**

May 2: External Political Actors in Africa

- Axel Dreher et al. 2019. "African Leaders and the Geography of China's Foreign Assistance." *Journal of Development Economics*, Sept: 44-71.
- Brook Larmer. 2017. "Is China the World's New Colonial Power?" *New York Times*. May 2.
- Temin, Jon. 2021. "Africa Is Changing – and U.S. Strategy Is Not Keeping Up." *Foreign Affairs*, Oct 8.
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/africa/2021-10-08/africa-changing-and-us-strategy-not-keeping>.

May 4: African Politics in the Digital Age

- Hassan, Idayat. 2020. "How Hashtag Activism Moves Offline in the Gambia." *Democracy In Africa*, Sept 29. <http://democracyinafrica.org/hashtag-activism-gambia/>.
- Wasserman, Herman. 2021. "Fake News in Africa – How Big Is the Problem?" *Democracy In Africa*, Feb 23. <http://democracyinafrica.org/fake-news-africa-big-problem/>.
- Garbe, Lisa. 2020. "What We Do (Not) Know About Internet Shutdowns in Africa." *Democracy In Africa*, Sept 29.
http://democracyinafrica.org/internet_shutdowns_in_africa/.

**** Paper Part 4 due on Friday, May 6**

May 9: Conclusion – The Future of Africa

- Radelet, Steven. 2010. "Success Stories from `Emerging Africa.'" *Journal of Democracy*.
- Economist. 2019. "The New Scramble for Africa." 7 March.

**** FINAL RESEARCH PAPER (Part 5) due May 10-14; pick your due date****

Useful Sources for Information on Africa:

- <http://www.bbc.com/news/world/africa/>
 - <http://allafrica.com/>
 - <https://www.africanews.com/>
 - <http://www.worldbank.org/en/region/afr>
 - <https://afrika.no/>
 - <https://thisisafrica.me/>
-
- *Country Pages:* http://www.africa.upenn.edu//Home_Page/Country.html
 - *Country Pages:* <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/>
 - *Country Pages:* <http://country.eiu.com/AllCountries.aspx>

Example Participation Grades

A student comes to every class meeting, listens, shares their views, responds to questions, and demonstrates familiarity with the readings. **A**

A student comes to every class meeting but never engages, responds to questions, shows attentiveness to others, or demonstrates familiarity with the readings. **C**

A student misses class meetings, does not demonstrate familiarity with the readings, and does not engage with the class. **F**

A student has two unexcused absences from class meetings. They contribute occasionally but don't show familiarity with readings or offer thoughtful insights. **C**

A student comes to every class meeting and occasionally responds to questions, shows attentiveness, and once in a while comments on a reading. **B**

A Selection of Books on African Politics

- Ayittey, George. 2006. *Indigenous African Institutions*. Brill.
- Bates, Robert H. 2005. *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies*. University of California Press.
- Bleck, Jaimie & Nicolas Van de Walle. 2018. *Electoral politics in Africa since 1990: Continuity in change*. Cambridge University Press.
- Cheeseman, Nic. 2015. *Democracy in Africa: Successes, Failures, and the Struggle for Political Reform*. Cambridge University Press.
- Cheeseman, Nic & Jonathan Fisher. 2020. *Authoritarian Africa: Repression, Resistance, and the Power of Ideas*. Oxford University Press.
- Englebort, Pierre & Kevin C. Dunn. 2014. *Inside African Politics*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton University Press.
- Jerven, Morten. 2022. *The Wealth and Poverty of African States*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. 2018. *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. Princeton University Press.
- Martin, Phyllis M & Patrick O'Meara. 1995. *Africa: 3rd edition*. Indiana University Press.
- McCauley, John F. 2017. *The Logic of Ethnic and Religious Conflict in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.
- Milner, James. 2009. *Refugees, the State and the Politics of Asylum in Africa*. Springer.
- Moyo, Dambisa. 2010) *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and How there is a Better Way for Africa*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Nyabola, Nanjala. 2018. *Digital democracy, analogue politics: How the Internet era is transform- ing politics in Kenya*. Zed Books.
- Olopade, Dayo. 2014. *The Bright Continent: Breaking Rules and Making Change in Modern Africa*. Mariner Books.