

Strategic Survey of Africa

DSS 5311

Summer 2018
Online course

Dr. Daniel E. Szarke
deszarke@utep.edu

Course overview

Reading the daily news, one might observe that the African continent is drawing increased interest in matters of U.S. national security. And yet, in order to properly address issues such as security and development, a deeper understanding of the region is critical. To this end, this graduate course employs a theoretical framework that offers a strategic overview of socio-economic issues, political contexts, and security challenges facing African states.

Given the rich diversity on the continent, a seven-week course cannot begin to address all of the differences therein. Rather, this structural framework offers students the rudimentary tools required to continue a personal exploration of the possibilities and challenges confronting African societies. To that effect, the selected readings in this course demonstrate different currents of thought with regard to political structures and cultural contexts, how and why rulers might choose various methods of control, the challenges of creating and preserving order, and the security context with which African regimes are confronted.

While we explore, on the one hand, the diversity that exists between and within states, one can also discern certain commonalities in the challenges with which they are confronted. However, drawing parallels must be done prudently in order to avoid the trap of addressing the continent as a single entity (i.e. essentialism, ‘all of Africa is the same’). While commonalities may exist in, say, certain political structures, a great deal of diversity is likewise evident once one looks beneath the surface. Simultaneously, students must bypass the tendency to consider the African continent as ‘different’ (i.e. exceptionalism, or ‘Africa is a unique case’). Rather, commonalities may be revealed between existing African political and socio-economic structures and those found throughout the globe (e.g. ‘corruption’, as it is commonly termed, may be found in multiple settings – to include our own country). Thus, students are encouraged to explore the rich diversity to be found throughout the African continent, both between and within countries, while understanding one may also draw comparisons with other countries, regions, and locations around the world.

Course objectives

1. Introduce students to important theoretical approaches in a strategic survey of the continent, to include but not limited to:
 - a. Critical approach to the Westphalian state system
 - b. Neo-patrimonialism
 - c. Anthropological approaches
2. Critically explore state-centered approaches to control and security
3. Critically examine state sovereignty as it relates to security in African states

Course requirements and grading

Reading the assigned texts each week provides a starting point toward an understanding of course subject material. Students are expected to reflect upon these texts through active participation in weekly discussion boards as well as comments on the posts of others in the course.

Students will also compose a final paper leveraging course readings and discussions to examine a significant related topic. While the span of acceptable topics is generally broad, students are encouraged to write on a more specific topic of their choosing (e.g. how decentralization influenced country Y's political strategies of control; or, how might security best be strengthened – for whom or what? – in country Z) in order to keep their paper focused. Students will propose their topic to the instructor prior to beginning detailed work on the paper. Your paper should present an argument demonstrating original thought with a consistent structure, leveraging additional scholarly resources while drawing upon course material.

Total course points: 500 points

Quiz and Discussion Board Grading – 275 points

NOTE: All assignment due times are based on Mountain Time (UTEP time)

Students must complete all listed requirements to successfully pass this course, to include:

- Weekly Quizzes (7 total: 10 points/quiz for 70 pts, Final Quiz 30 points) – **100 points**
 - Students will complete the Weekly Quiz not later than Saturday at 1 PM. **The Final Quiz will be due Friday of the last week at 1 PM.**
 - Quiz answers will be graded on content, grammar, and presentation (i.e. logical introduction, synthesis, and conclusion). Answers should not simply repeat what you read, but should show insight (and an argument, where applicable) into the readings.
 - **NOTE:** Course materials may be used for reference during all online quizzes, but answers should reflect original thought, and will be graded as such.

- Weekly online discussion board (DB) post, and comments/replies to at least two classmates each week (7 weeks total, 25 points each week) – **175 points**
 - Weekly posts are due not later than Friday at 7 PM. Postings after 7 PM on Friday will automatically receive a letter grade deduction.
 - Weekly posts will be essays, between 400 and 700 words, which reflect basic issues and questions raised in each week's readings.
 - **The posted questions in the DB are suggestions only – students are free to raise other issues in their posts.**
 - Outside readings may be used, **but should be minimal** – base posts on assigned readings.
 - Replies to classmates are due not later than Saturday afternoon at 3 PM each week.
 - DB posts/replies will be graded on content, grammar, and presentation (i.e. logical introduction, synthesis, and conclusion)
 - See Discussion Board Grading Rubric for further guidance.

Participation – 50 points

- Students are expected to participate in weekly discussions throughout the course – not simply during the graded postings/replies noted above – participation scores are based on active online engagement.

Research Paper, to include Summary Question/Response – 175 points

The final class assignment is to research an issue or problem that is of particular interest to you in the region. Detailed guidance is provided in the Final Paper Guidelines on Blackboard. There is one intermediate deadline; however, students should begin to plan the paper even earlier.

July 23: Research Paper Proposal: Two-paragraph description of the problem or issue to be studied is due by this date, to include 10 citations of books/articles specific to the topic.

August 10: Research Paper Due. The research paper should discuss the question of interest and why it is a significant problem (briefly), and describe/analyze the issue you have identified in the literature. **Do not devote space in the paper to summarizing assigned course readings on your topic.** The research paper is an opportunity to demonstrate your ability to synthesize the material presented in the relevant literature to a practical question of interest.

August 10: Research Paper Summary posted on Blackboard: You will make a short summary of the key findings of your research paper. Post your summary by this date for the whole class to read. The class will be required to ask questions of other authors. Each student must ask at least one question to three (3) different authors, to which authors will respond. Questions are due **August 12**. Answers to questions are due **August 15**.

- Final paper will be 8-12 pages in length (12-pt Times New Roman font, double-spaced, using endnotes, which are not included in the page count – no footnotes permitted). **The paper is due not later than Friday, August 10 at 9 PM.** Each 24-hour period delay will result in a 10% reduction in the grade (e.g. receipt of the paper the following day at 8 AM results in maximum score of 90%).
- Final paper will be submitted to the instructor via email, in Microsoft Word format
- See Final Paper Guidelines on Blackboard for the rubric and further guidance

Discussion and Analysis Expectations

Throughout the class we will discuss issues and other literature about the region. Each analysis/discussion must demonstrate a mastery of the details as well as the literature on the topic. Each student writes up his/her own analysis/discussion. The grading will include the quality of the discussion, outside research, and the ability to participate in the discussion of the topic. Students are encouraged to question assumptions and theories in the readings or related issues and make pertinent comments that might encourage further comments/debates. Especially insightful comments will be scored higher. All posts are required to be written professionally; students should carefully proofread all entries before posting.

Books and resources (the following are required)

Jeffrey Herbst. 2000. *States and Power in Africa*, Princeton University Press.
ISBN: 0691-010285

Pierre Englebert. 2010. *Africa: Unity, Sovereignty & Sorrow*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
ISBN: 978-1588266231

Robert Bates. 2008. *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa*, Cambridge University Press.
ISBN: 978-0521715256

William Reno. 2011. *Warfare in Independent Africa*, Cambridge University Press.
ISBN: 978-0521615525

Additional required readings may be found on Blackboard, or through UTEP library resources

Additional resources (optional, for further exploration)

African geography is a generally weak subject in our own country. Though not required, students are encouraged to enhance their skills in this area. One resource that provides a brief overview of the topic may be found at <http://www.lizardpoint.com/fun/geoquiz/afquiz.html>.

A number of scholarly journals, focused on area studies, comparative politics, and international relations, will add richness to your knowledge base. These include, among others, African Affairs, African Studies Review, Journal of Modern African Studies, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies, International Organization, and World Politics. Various internet resources for on-line news include, but are not limited to, allafrica.com, www.africanews.org, www.bbc.com/news/world/africa, and www.rfi.fr/afrique.

SECTION I: Examining the African State

Week 1 – Reflections on the African State

What does it mean to be an ‘African State’? Where do these states fit within our international system of states?

Required readings:

Jeffrey Herbst. 2000. *States and Power in Africa*, Princeton UP: Chap 1-2 (pp. 11-57), Chap 5-6 (pp. 139-197), Conclusion (pp. 251-272).

Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg. 1982. “Why Africa's Weak States Persist.” *World Politics*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Oct 1982): 1-24.

Complete DB posts and Quiz by deadlines each week

For further exploration (Optional, not required):

Christopher Clapham, 1996. *Africa and the International System: The Politics of State Survival*, Cambridge UP.

Jeffrey Herbst. 1996/97. “Responding to State Failure in Africa,” *International Security*, 21:3 (Winter), 120-44.

Week 2 – Alternative Reflections on the State

Are there alternatives to control outside ‘Western’ conceptions of political authority? What conceptions (if any) underpin these bases for control?

Required readings:

Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz. 1999. “The (Ab)use of Corruption,” in *Africa Works: Disorder as a Political Instrument*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 95-109.

Pierre Englebert. 2010. *Africa: Unity, Sovereignty & Sorrow*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner: Chap 1-4 (pp. 1-98).

J-P Olivier de Sardan. 1999. “A Moral Economy of Corruption in Africa?” *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 37:1, 25-52. **Skim article only, to gain brief overview.**

For further exploration (Optional, not required):

Morten Bøas. 2001. Liberia and Sierra Leone - Dead Ringers? The Logic of Neopatrimonial Rule. *Third World Quarterly*. 22 (5): 697–723.

Robin Theobald. 1982. "Patrimonialism." *World Politics*. 34 (4): 548–559.

Jean-François Bayart. 2009. *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* (Cambridge: Polity). [L'État en Afrique : La politique du ventre (Paris : Fayard, 1989)].

Mahmood Mamdani. 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton UP.

Pierre Englebert. 2000. *State Legitimacy and Development in Africa*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Robert Rotberg. 2004. "The Failure and Collapse of Nation-States: Breakdown, Prevention, and Repair" in *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, Princeton University Press.

Week 3 – Regime Strategies in African Politics

What are the motive forces for regimes in preserving political control? Are there alternatives to the state?

Required readings:

Catherine Boone. 2003. "Decentralization as Political Strategy in West Africa," *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (2003): 355-380.

Anne Pitcher, Mary H. Moran and Michael Johnston. "Rethinking Patrimonialism and Neopatrimonialism in Africa," *African Studies Review* 52:1 (April 2009): 125-156.

Arthur Goldsmith. 2001. "Foreign Aid and Statehood in Africa," *International Organization*, 55:1 (Winter), 123-48.

Nathan Jensen and Leonard Wantchekon. 2004. "Resource Wealth and Political Regimes in Africa," *Comparative Political Studies*, 37:7 (Sept), 816-40.

NB: Research paper proposal due Monday, July 23

For further exploration (Optional, not required):

Emmanuel Terray. 1986. 'Le climatiseur et la véranda,' in *Afrique Plurielle, Afrique Actuelle*. Hommage à Georges Balandier, Paris: Karthala, pp. 37-44.

Leonard Arriola. 2009. "Patronage and Political Stability in Africa," *Comparative Political Studies*, 42: 10, 1339-62.

Catherine Boone. 2003. *Political Topographies of the African State: Territorial Authority and Institutional Choice*, Cambridge UP.

Macartan Humphreys and Robert Bates. 2005. "Political Institutions and Economic Policies: Lessons from Africa," *British Journal of Political Science*, 35, 403-26.

Robert Melson and Howard Wolpe, "Modernization and the Politics of Communalism: A Theoretical Perspective," *American Political Science Review*, 64, 4 (Dec 1970): 12-30.

Week 4 – State Failure and Democratization in African States

What impact did the end of the Cold War have on African regimes? How have countries on the continent managed democratization?

Required readings:

Michael Bratton and Nicolas Van De Walle, "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa," *World Politics*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (Jul 1994): 453-489.

Robert Bates. 2008. *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa*, Cambridge UP: Chap 1-3 (pp. 3-53), Chap 6 & Conclusion (pp. 97-139).

For further exploration (Optional, not required):

Pierre Englebert. 2000. "Pre-Colonial Institutions, Post-Colonial States, and Economic Development in Tropical Africa." *Political Research Quarterly* 53 (1): 7–36.

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

Richard Joseph. 1987. "The Problem of Democracy," in his *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria*, NY: Cambridge & Ibadan: Spectrum, pp. 15-68.

Michael Bratton and Nicolas van de Walle. 1996. *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge UP.

Leonardo A. Villalón and Peter VonDoepp. 2005. *The Fate of Africa's Democratic Experiments: Elites and Institutions*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Richard Joseph (ed). 1999. *State, Conflict and Democracy in Africa*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Nicolas Van de Walle. "The Impact of Multi-Party Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa." September 25, 2000.

Catherine Boone. 2009. "Electoral Populism Where Property Rights are Weak: Land Politics in Contemporary Sub-Saharan Africa," *Comparative Politics*, 41:2 (Jan), 183-201.

SECTION II: Conflict and Security in the African State

Week 5 – Sources of (In)stability and Security

What do we mean by security? What does it entail, and for whom?

Required readings:

Paul Williams. 2007. "Thinking About Security in Africa." *International Affairs* 83 (6): 1021–1038.

Daniel Posner. "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," *American Political Science Review*, 98:4 (Nov 2004): 529-45.

Andreas Mehler. 2011. "Rebels and Parties: The Impact of Armed Insurgency on Representation in the Central African Republic," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 49:1 (March), 115-39. (Accessed June 6, 2017, http://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/38330/ssoar-jmodafrstud-2011-1-mehler-Rebels_and_parties_the_impact.pdf?sequence=1)

Paul Williams. 2007. "From Non-intervention to Non-indifference: The Origins and Development of the African Union's Security Culture," *African Affairs*, 106: 423 (April), 253-79.

For further exploration (Optional, not required):

Philip Roessler. 2010. "The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa," *World Politics*, 63:2 (April), 300-46.

Michael Ross. 2004. "How do natural resources influence civil war? Evidence from thirteen cases." *International Organization* 58 (1): 35–67.

Jeffrey Herbst. 2004. "African Militaries and Rebellion: The Political Economy of Threat and Combat Effectiveness." *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (3): 357-369.

John Frank Clark. "The Decline of the African Military Coup," *Journal of Democracy*, 18, 3 (Jul 2007): 141-55.

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Coups Traps: Why does Africa have so many Coups d'Etat?" Centre for the Study of African Economies, Department of Economics, University of Oxford, Preliminary Draft: August 2005. (Accessed Sep 11, 2016, <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~econpco/research/pdfs/Coup-traps.pdf>)

Week 6 – Conflict and Challenges in Preserving Political Order

How has the nature of conflict evolved? What are the implications for regimes and for the maintenance of political order?

Required readings:

William Reno. 2011. *Warfare in Independent Africa*, Cambridge University Press: Chap 1 (pp. 1-36), Chap 5-6 (pp. 163-241).

Steve Brayton. 2002. “Outsourcing War: Mercenaries and the Privatization of Peacekeeping,” *Journal of International Affairs*, 55:2 (Spring), 303-29.

NB: Research paper and posted summary due Friday, August 10

For further exploration (Optional, not required):

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. “Greed and Grievance in Civil War.” *Oxford Economic Papers* 56: 563–595.

James Fearon and David Laitin. 2003. “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War.” *American Political Science Review* 97 (1): 75–90.

Johan de Smedt. 2009. “‘No Raila, No Peace!’ Big Man Politics and Election Violence at the Kibera Grassroots,” *African Affairs*, 108: 443 (July), 581-98.

Mary Kaldor. 2012. *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Julian Ku and Jide Nzelibe. 2006. “Do International Criminal Tribunals Deter or Exacerbate Humanitarian Atrocities?” *Washington University Law Review*, 84:4, 777-834.

Scott Straus. 2012. “Wars Do End! Changing Patterns of Violence in sub-Saharan Africa,” *African Affairs*, 111: 443 (April) 179-201.

Dorina Bekoe, “Trends in Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa,” Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace, 2010.

Marielle Debos. 2008. “Fluid Loyalties in a Regional Crisis: Chadian ‘Ex-Liberators’ in the Central African Republic,” *African Affairs*, 107: 427 (March), 225-241.

Paul Williams. 2011. *War & Conflict in Africa*. Cambridge: Polity.

Crawford Young. “Deciphering Disorder in Africa: Is Identity the Key?” *World Politics*, 54:4 (Jul 2002): 532-57.

Jeremy Weinstein. 2011. *Inside Rebellion*, Cambridge University Press.

Week 7 – Reflections on Governance and Security Paradigms

Where does one go from here? What are the opportunities and potential challenges faced by African states in the future? How might these be addressed?

Required readings:

Kenneth Menkhaus. 2007. "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building, and the Politics of Coping," *International Security*, 31:3 (Winter), 74-106.

Pierre Englebert and Denis Tull. 2008. "Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States," *International Security*, 32:4 (Spring), 106-39.

William Reno. 2011. *Warfare in Independent Africa*, Cambridge University Press: Conclusion: The Past and Future of Warfare in Africa (pp. 242-55).

Pierre Englebert. 2010. *Africa: Unity, Sovereignty & Sorrow*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner: Conclusion (pp. 243-260).

For further exploration (Optional, not required):

William F.S. Miles. 2012. "Deploying Development to Counter Terrorism: Post-9/11 Transformation of U.S. Foreign Aid to Africa," *African Studies Review*, 55: 3 (Dec), 27-60.

Mats Utas, ed. 2012. *African Conflicts and Informal Power: Big men and Networks*, NY: Zed Books.

Deborah Brautigam. 2009. *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, Oxford University Press.

Additional thoughts

Respect for others in sharing ideas; Netiquette:

As is the case with many academic courses, students may be exposed to provocative thoughts or ideas, including those professed by the instructor. These thoughts may or may not reflect my own line of thinking, and indeed may well be intended to encourage students to either defend a particular point of view or to consider and/or counter alternative perspectives. As such, my role in this course is not to provide you with prescriptive answers; rather, it is intended to guide and encourage students to think more broadly about the subject matter. **In all cases, discussion participants are expected to demonstrate respect for others in their exchanges.**

Please realize that attempts at humor, and satire in particular, may be misconstrued online. Emoticons such as a smiley face :) may help communicate humor to your reader. Further tips on 'Netiquette' may be found at www.albion.com/netiquette.

Academic Integrity:

Academic Dishonesty is NEVER tolerated by UTEP. All cases are reported to the Dean of Students for Academic Sanctions. These sanctions may include expulsion. All work submitted must be original; students may not submit graded work from another course.

Forms of academic dishonesty include:

Collusion— lending your work to another person to submit as his or her own;

Fabrication— deliberately creating false information on a works cited page, and

Plagiarism— the presentation of another person's work as your own, whether you mean to or not (e.g. copying parts of or whole papers off of the Internet).

Disability Services:

If you have a disability and require class accommodations, please contact The Center for Accommodations and Support Services (CASS) at 915-747-5148, or by email to cass@utep.edu, or visit their office located in UTEP Union East, Room 106. For additional information, please visit the CASS website at www.sa.utep.edu/cass.

Individuals with disabilities have the right to equal access and opportunity. It is the student's responsibility to contact the instructor and CASS at The University of Texas at El Paso.

Disclaimer Statement

Course content may vary from the outline to meet specific objectives.