



Governance and Africa

Fall 2012 | SOC 43510
MW 11:45AM - 1:00PM, O'Shag 202

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Office Hours: Monday 3-5PM,
or by appointment

In this course we will try to understand both the successes and failures of statecraft on the African continent. Why do some states provide reasonably peaceful political climates while others have been torn by decades of civil strife? What effect did the colonial past have on the governments we see today? Why have some states developed a reputation for reasonably effective governance while others are among the most corrupt governments on the planet? How have states dealt with varied health and educational challenges, like low literacy rates and high infant mortality? These are just a few of the questions we will address in this course. Each student will become an expert on one of the countries on the continent, as well as governance on the continent in general, and assignments are designed to help cultivate that expertise.

Course Goals

By the end of this course, you will be able to...

- Think and speak knowledgeably about governance and statecraft in Africa
- Read critically and contribute intelligently to conversations about Africa
- Possess a deep understanding of historical, social, environmental, and political causes of governance challenges in Africa
- Contribute to the creation of original knowledge needed by a development professional working with the government of Rwanda.

My ultimate goal for this course is that you become more of a college educated person with the ability to read, write, think, analyze and communicate at the college level.

Teaching Philosophy

I aim for class to take the form of a dialogue. My job as your teacher is to make your lives easier, not more difficult. If at any time, I am not accomplishing this goal, please speak up.

By the end of this course, I hope you will be a more curious and thoughtful human being, and I will endeavor to create the classroom environment that will make that possible. Educational research shows, however, that students learn more when they engage with difficult and complex ideas themselves. So please expect to roll up your sleeves and “get dirty” in the business of your own education.

Ground Rules for Discussion

Listen and respect each other’s opinions. Critique the idea, not the person. What is said in discussion stays in the room. Dare to be a devil’s advocate. We want to challenge ideas and assumptions.

Required Texts: Fate of Africa (Martin), State Directed Development (Kohli), Markets & States in Tropical Africa (Bates), eReserves.

Recommended Text: Joseph M Williams. *Style: The Basics of Clarity and Grace.*

Policy for Grading & Evaluation

- All papers are due at the *beginning* of class on the assigned date. Papers turned in after this time will be penalized half a letter grade for each additional day late.
- You are expected to take exams in class on the day they are scheduled (the only exception are students who take exams through the Office of Disability Services).
- Please review the dates for exams and papers as laid out in this syllabus. If you have any conflicts that cannot be changed, it is your responsibility to notify me in writing within the first two weeks of class so we can resolve the issue. If you do not notify me within the first two weeks of class, then you are expected to be able to attend the dates for exams and papers as laid out in the syllabus.

- 5% Academic Integrity Quiz (multiple retakes until final exam)
- 5% Africa Map Quizzes (multiple retakes until final exam)
- 20% Class participation, attendance, and preparation
- 15% Solar Cooker Construction and Write-Up
- 25% Governance Briefs (select any 5 of the 9 options; 5% each)
- 30% Country Final Report & presentation

Grading Scale:

98-100 (A+)	88-89 (B+)	78-79 (C+)	68-69 (D+)
93-97 (A)	83-87 (B)	73-77 (C)	60-67 (D)
09-92 (A-)	80-82 (B-)	70-72 (C-)	0-59 (F)

Assignments Overview:

Governance Briefs:

Governance Briefs should be double spaced in a 12 point font. They should be as long as you feel they need to be to convey what is interesting and exciting about the topic, but a good suggestion is about 5 pages of writing.

Please note that two briefs (#1 and #9) may be turned in at any time, but you may not turn in more than one brief in a single class session. So, for example, if you plan to turn in #3 on the 26th of September, you may not also do #1 or #9 on the same readings.

#1: (*May turn in at any time before last class; May only do one of this type*). Find a current news story on your country. Briefly explain the situation, and then provide a smart analysis (more informed, more critically, more historically etc) by relating it to some topic covered from readings or class. You may find articles for national newspapers via LexusNexus or <http://www.economist.com/world/africa>.

#2: (_____): We have read several different ideas about what a good or effective government and society should be, do, or accomplish. Select several aspects that seem particularly important to you, and argue why they are better or more important conditions than some of the others we've read about. Be sure to clarify what ideas come from our readings and what, if any, conditions you think are important that were not mentioned in the readings.

#3 (_____): A friend of yours tells you "Everything that's wrong with Africa today is because of colonialism." Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Select one or two of the arguments from class or the readings and, in your own words, summarize the argument. Then take a stance on whether or not we can blame all (or most) of Africa's governance issues on colonialism.

#4 (_____): Imagine you can go back in time and serve as the advisor to the President of a fledgling African state after Independence. Would you encourage them to pursue industrialization? Why or why not? Explain some of the pitfalls of how African states pursued industrialization and then advise the President what he should do differently.

#5 (_____): Compare and contrast Bates' and Kohli's view of government intervention in the economy. Whose argument do you find more compelling and why?

#6 (_____, and she asks you, "Why is there so much violence in Africa, and why do their leaders always seem to be so corrupt and selfish?" Drawing from class readings, help explain the phenomena to your mother.

#7 (_____): Explain the concept of institutional isomorphism. What does it mean and how does it happen? What are the limits of institutional

isomorphism to create (or force) organizational change? Apply the concept briefly to explain both the popularity of SOEs and the subsequent rise in privatizations.

#8 (_____): In what ways have NGOs take over some of the functions formerly performed by state governments? Based on evidence from the readings and class, do you think this is a good or bad trend for African citizens? For African governments?

#9 (*May turn in at any time before last class; May only do one of this type*). Use gapminder.org to find two variables that are related to that session's reading. Plot the variables and look at how the patterns change over time. Describe the patterns you observe in the data and how they change over time. Conclude by relating what you found in the data back to the session's reading.

Participation Attendance & Preparation Policy

- This class uses discussion, the cornerstone of your college experience. Reading and thinking will make you a student, but debating ideas in a public forum will make you an intellectual. Therefore, in this course, **YOU NEED TO TALK**. Expressing your ideas with the others in the class is the ideal way to learn (and it is an integral part of your grade).
- If you are a student who struggles to communicate your ideas in front of a group, please arrange to see me privately during office hours and we will discuss strategies for helping you be more actively involved in class.
- **YOU CANNOT PARTICIPATE WITHOUT ATTENDING CLASS.** If you cannot attend class for a legitimate and urgent reason (e.g., illness), please notify me as soon as possible beforehand.
- It is remarkably difficult to meaningfully participate if your body is in class but your eyes and your mind are on twitter, facebook, or elsewhere. We will decide collectively what the class' policy on the use of laptops and electronic devices will be, and all students will be expected to abide by that policy. Violations of the agreed-upon policy will result in a reduction of the student's participation grade.
- If you are not prepared for class, then you are not ready to be a member of our learning community. I have taught long enough to know the difference between a student who has read and thought about the material and a student who is trying to coast.
- Any student with a verified disability requiring special accommodations should speak to me and to the Office of Disability Services (574-631-7157) as early as possible in the quarter, preferably within the first two weeks of the course. All discussions will remain confidential.

Academic Integrity

You are expected to know, understand and abide by all the guidelines on academic honesty as described in the University of Notre Dame Academic Code of Honor located at www.nd.edu/~hnr/code. This course will hold you accountable to the strictest standards of academic integrity. Failures of academic integrity include, but are not limited to, cheating, plagiarizing, fabricating information or citations, facilitating acts of academic dishonesty by others, having unauthorized possession of examinations, submitting work of another person, resubmitting your own previously used work without informing the instructor, or tampering with the academic work of other students.

Plagiarism undermines the entire enterprise of learning. It harms you and your fellow students. It destroys the trust and fellowship between students and the teacher. If you borrow someone else's *words* or *ideas*, whether in print or on the internet, in whole or in part, you must give credit where that credit is due. If you are ever in doubt, ask someone qualified to help you. This includes your instructor or someone at the writing center. *You would always be better off taking a late penalty on a paper than turning in a plagiarized paper for lack of time.*

Students who are found to have violated academic integrity standards will be subject to academic sanctions and will be reported to the Departmental Honesty Committee.

Students in this course will be required to pass the Academic Integrity Quiz with a score of 100%. You must retake the quiz as many times as is necessary to score 100%, up to the final exam period.

INTRODUCTION

Wednesday 22-Aug

- How will we as a class foster an environment of respect and responsibility?
- When you think of "Africa" or "governance" what do you think of?
- Course overview
- Discussion of electronic device usage policy
- Discussion of class food policy
- Discussion of Academic Integrity
- Overview of governance brief assignments, choice & responsibility

Monday 27-Aug

Special Session: Solar Cooking and Energy Scarcity

Reading TBD.

PART I: OVERVIEW

WHAT IS SUCCESSFUL GOVERNANCE?

- What are the different ways that a successful government or society is defined?
- What concrete outcomes are associated with “good” or “successful” governance?

Wednesday 29-Aug

Hall, Peter A., and Michéle Lamont. 2009. “Introduction” p1-22 in *Successful Societies* Peter A. Hall and Michéle Lamont, eds. Cambridge University Press: New York.

Migdal, Joel S. 1988. “Introduction” pp 3-9 in *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Monday 3-Sep

Bo, Rothstein, and Teorell Jan. 2008. "What Is Quality of Government? A Theory of Impartial Government Institutions." *Governance* 21:165-190.

SEEING LIKE A STATE

- What means does the state have for seeing or imagining its populace?
- What biases are built into these ways of seeing?
- What capacities do the demands of “seeing a citizenry” impose on a state?
- How do these means of making the population legible relate to the goals of successful governance/successful societies?

Wednesday 5-Sep

Scott, James C. 1998. “Introduction” p1-8 and “Cities, People and Language” p53-83 in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

HOW DO WE GET GOOD GOVERNANCE?

- How do the features of Weberian bureaucracy help promote effective or impartial government?
- What conditions are related to high quality of government?

Monday 10-Sep

Weber, Max. 1978. “Bureaucracy” p956-963 in *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology Vol II*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

La Porta, R., F. Lopez-de-Silanes, A. Shleifer, and R. Vishny. 1999. "The quality of government." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 15:222-279.

DUE: Governance Brief #2

ADMINISTRATIVE STRENGTH IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Wednesday 12-Sep

Ertman, Thomas. 1997. "Introduction" p 1-34 in *Birth of the Leviathan*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

PART II: PRECOLONIAL & COLONIAL LEGACIES

Monday 17-Sep

Meredith, Martin. 2005. "Introduction" p1-16 in *The Fate of Africa*.

Kohli, Atun. 2004. "Precolonial Nigeria" pp 291-301 in *State Directed Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wednesday 19-Sep

Lange, Matthew. 2009. "Introduction" p1-20 and "The Developmental Legacies of British Colonialism" p21-44 in *Lineages of Despotism and Development: British Colonialism and State Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Monday 24-Sep

Boone, Catherine. 1994. "States and ruling classes in postcolonial Africa: the enduring contradictions of power." P108-142 in *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World*.

Colonial Case Study: Nigeria

Wednesday 26-Sep

Kohli, Atun. 2004. "Colonial Nigeria" pp 301-328 in *State Directed Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

See also: <http://tinyurl.com/WB-VoicesNigeria>

Special Topics in Colonialism: Unintended Health Legacies

Monday 1-Oct

Epstein, Helen. 2007. "Why are HIV cases so High in Africa?" p49-65 in *The Invisible Cure: Why We Are Losing the Fight Against AIDS in Africa*. New York, NY: Picador.

DUE: Governance Brief #3

PART III: INDEPENDENCE

"The best way of learning to be an independent sovereign state is to be an independent sovereign state." –Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana)

"To be ruled by another nation is an indelible disgrace." –Julius Nyerere

Independence

Wednesday 3-Oct

Meredith, Martin. 2005. "The Birth of Nations" p141-161 in *The Fate of Africa*

Case study: Freedom Struggle in South Africa

Select one or both of these world historic speeches and listen:

- <http://tinyurl.com/Mandela-1964>
- <http://tinyurl.com/MacMillan-WindsOfChange>

Industrialization: Glamour, Hope and Hindsight

Monday 8-Oct

- Compare and contrast the portrait of industrialization by Kohli and Bates.
- African governments seek to industrialize. How did they pursue this goal?
- Why did they fail? What are the effects of failure for farmers?
- Do you think African countries should give up on the effort to industrialize?

Bates, Robert H. 1981. "The Emerging Industrial Sector" pp 62-77 in *Market and States in Tropical Africa*

Kohli, Atun. 2004. "Sovereign Nigeria: Neopatrimonialism and the Failure of Industrialization" pp 329-366 in *State Directed Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The Decline of African States

Wednesday 10-Oct

Meredith, Martin. 2005. "The Slippery Slope" p275-292 in *The Fate of Africa*
See also: <http://tinyurl.com/WB-VoicesGhana>

DUE: Governance Brief #4

Monday 15-Oct Midterm Break

Wednesday 17-Oct Midterm Break

GETTING MONEY

When states want to provide services to citizens or encourage development, either actively or passively, one primary problem they face is getting money for the private or public sector to use to spur growth. States have generally gotten money through five channels: domestic revenue (taxes & tariffs), 'rents' from physical resources, borrowing, foreign aid, and foreign investment. Some states have also engaged directly in production (State Owned Enterprises) though this has not often been profitable enough to be a steady source of revenue. What implications do these different resource types have for states?

TAXATION & LDCs

Monday 22-Oct

- Historically, how did taxes help strengthen European state-building?
- Have taxes played a similar role in African states? Why or why not?
- Based on the readings, would you counsel African leaders to tax their populations more or no?

In class: Handout summary of Tilly's Coercion & Capital argument

Moore, Mick. 2004. "Revenues, State Formation, and the Quality of Governance in Developing Countries." *International Political Science Review* 25:297-319.

Bräutigam, Deborah. 2008. "Contingent Capacity: Export Taxation and State-Building in Mauritius" p135-159 in *Taxation and state-building in developing countries: capacity and consent*. Bräutigam, Deborah, Odd-Helge Fjeldstad, and Mick Moore, eds. New York: Cambridge University Press.

STATE INTERVENTION IN THE ECONOMY

- Why did governments "intervene" in the economy?
- How did they do so? What tools were they able to use?

- Compare and contrast Bates and Kohli's view of government intervention, paying special attention to export-promoting vs import-substituting interventions

Wednesday 24-Oct & Monday 29-Oct

**Note: this will be a week-long topical session. Please balance your reading load.*

Bates, Robert H. 1981 "Introduction" and "Policies Toward Cash Crops for Export" p1-29 in *Markets and States in Tropical Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kohli, Atun. 2004. "Introduction: States and Industrialization in the Global Periphery" pp 1-26 in *State Directed Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Woods, Dwayne. 2004. "Predatory Elites, Rents and Cocoa: A Comparative Analysis of Ghana and Ivory Coast." *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 42:224-241.

RESOURCES, GOVERNANCE AND CONFLICT

Wednesday 31-Oct

No reading. Movie and Debate

DUE: Governance Brief #5

Monday 5-Nov

Political Consequences of Market-Based Power

Bacevich, A.J. Charles J., Jr. Dunlap, Richard H. Kohn, and Edward N. Luttwak. 2006. "American Doup d'Etat: Military Thinkers Discuss the Unthinkable." *Harper's*, April, pp 43-50.

Reno, William. 1997. "War, Markets, and the Reconfiguration of West Africa's Weak States" *Comparative Politics* 29(4): 493-510

See also:

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97:75-90.

That ethnicity doesn't make states more likely to have civil war. Rather it is the factors that contribute to insurgency, including poverty.

Structure of Resource Industries

Wednesday 7-Nov

Snyder, Richard and Ravi Bhavnani. 2005. "Diamonds, Blood, and Taxes: A Revenue-Centered Framework for Explaining Political Order" *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, No. 4, 563-597

Case Study: Mobutu and Zaire

Monday 12-Nov

Meredith, Martin. 2005. "The Great Plunderer" p293-308 in *The Fate of Africa*

Evans, Peter. 1989. "Predatory, Developmental, and Other Apparatuses: A Comparative Political Economy Perspective on the Third World State." *Sociological Forum* 4:561-587.

DUE: Governance Brief #6

The Power of Global Institutions

Wednesday 14-Nov

- What is "institutional isomorphism" and how does it apply to African states?
- What mechanisms help spread "institutional isomorphism"?
- What are the limits of third parties, like the IMF and World Bank for spreading institutions and reforms

DiMaggio, Paul J., and Walter W. Powell. 1983. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *The American Sociological Review* 48:147-160.

Henisz, Witold J., Bennet A. Zelner, and Mauro F. Guillén. 2005. "The Worldwide Diffusion of Market-Oriented Infrastructure Reform 1977-1999." *American Sociological Review* 70:871-897.

Monday 19-Nov

Final Paper prep - Readings TBA.

Wednesday 21-Nov

No class - Happy Thanksgiving!

Monday 26-Nov

Final Paper prep - Readings TBA.

DUE: Governance Brief #7

GLOBALIZATION AND THE FUTURE OF AFRICAN STATES

Non-Governmental Actors and States

Wednesday 28-Nov

CIFs Open

Rosenau, James. 2002. "NGOs and Fragmented Authority in Globalizing Space"
p 261-280 in *Political Space: Frontiers of Change and Governance in a
Globalizing World*, Ferguson and Jones eds. New York: SUNY Press

Monday 3-Dec

Final Paper prep - Readings TBA.

DUE: Governance Brief #8

Wednesday 5-Dec

No Reading.

DUE: IN CLASS PRESENTATIONS

Tuesday December 11, 2011

Final papers due before FINAL EXAM PERIOD begins (4:15-6:15 PM)