

**UCLA  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE 241: AFRICAN POLITICS FIELD SEMINAR**

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Fall 2014  
Thurs, 10am-12:50pm  
Office Hours: Mon, 2:30-4:30pm

This course has two purposes: to introduce students to some of the major arguments, hypotheses and debates in the literature on African politics and development, and to help students develop the skills to become both more intelligent consumers and more effective producers of this literature. To accomplish these goals, intense discussions of an extensive set of readings will be combined with a series of written assignments designed to help students develop research strategies to evaluate the hypotheses they encounter in the literature and that their reading of the literature, and general immersion in the politics and society of the region, generates in their own minds. Throughout these exercises, and in our seminar discussions, we will pay special attention to the particular difficulties—and opportunities—of doing research in a developing country setting such as Africa.

The readings for the seminar take up a set of key issues in African politics, economy, and society. The topics covered are not intended to be exhaustive but to emphasize either key foundational issues (e.g., colonialism and its impact; the weakness of political institutions and the implications of this weakness for policymaking and growth outcomes; the role of ethnicity; the nature of African “democracy”) or areas of particularly interesting current research. To this end, the readings are a mix of “classic” articles and very recent work that exemplifies the “cutting edge.”

The course is designed principally for UCLA Political Science Ph.D. students who focus their research on Africa and/or other parts of the developing world. Ph.D. and M.A. students from other social science departments are also welcome if space permits. Non-social science M.A. students should consult with the instructor before enrolling in the course.

## REQUIREMENTS

There are three requirements for the course. First, students are required to attend all class meetings, come to seminar having read and thought about the assigned materials for the week, and participate actively in class discussions.

Second, all students are required to prepare three 1-2 page research design memos (one during weeks 2-4; one during weeks 5-7; and one during weeks 8-10). The memos will take a theory or hypothesis introduced in (or related to) the week’s readings and describe how one might go about collecting the appropriate evidence to test it, or one of its central observable implications. A detailed set of instructions for the research design memos will be distributed and discussed during the first seminar meeting. The memos will be due at noon each Wednesday (the day before the seminar), with copies posted to the class website. All students are expected come to class having read the memos of their colleagues, as well as the assigned readings.

The third requirement is a 15-20 page research paper that identifies variation in an important outcome of interest in Africa (not necessarily one that we have focused on in the course, although it may be), proposes a hypothesis/argument to account for that variation, and outlines a research strategy that would provide an empirical test of that hypothesis/argument. The paper is due at 5pm on December 15. This assignment should be thought of as a substantive research proposal rather than a data collection and analysis project, although proposals must include a data analytic component in demonstrating the variation they wish to explain. All students will meet with the instructor at some point before week 7 to discuss their paper topics.

The weight accorded these three assignments will be as follows: participation in seminar discussions (25%), research memos (45%), and finished research paper (30%).

## READINGS

The readings for each week are extensive. They were selected because they are considered classic, because they develop useful analytical concepts or engage in important theoretical debates, or because they represent particularly good examples of recent social science research on the topic in question. Taken together, they constitute a useful, though far from complete or comprehensive, introduction to some of the theories and issues that make up the “canonical” literature on African political and economic development, and some of the approaches that scholars have adopted in recent years to study them.

Copies of all seminar readings have been posted to the course website with the exception of Robert Bates’ *Markets and States in Tropical Africa* (which we read in its entirety), James Ferguson’s *The Anti-Politics Machine*, and Nicolas van de Walle’s *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis* (both of which we read more than half of). All three of these books are readily available from Amazon.com and other online and local booksellers.

## ADDITIONAL NOTES

If this is your first Africa course, you might want to read Martin Meredith’s book, *The Fate of Africa: A History of Fifty Years of Independence* (New York: Public Affairs, 2005) as a way of bringing yourself up to speed. The book offers an excellent introductory overview of Africa and its history and provides a useful contextual background for the more theoretically-and methodologically- oriented readings that we will engage in the seminar.

## **COURSE SCHEDULE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS**

### ***October 2: Logistics and Overview of the Course; the Biogeographic and Historical Context***

- Alsan, Marcella. 2014. "The Effect of the Tsetse Fly on African Development." Unpublished paper.
- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. "Power and Space in Precolonial Africa," in *States and Power in Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press): 35-57.
- Nunn, Nathan. 2010. "Shackled to the Past: The Causes and Consequences of Africa's Slave Trade." In Jared Diamond and James A. Robinson, eds. *Natural Experiments of History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press): 142-184.
- Besley, Timothy and Marta Reynal-Querol. 2014. "The Legacy of Historical Conflict: Evidence from Africa." *American Political Science Review* 108(2): 319-336.

### ***October 9: Colonialism and its Legacy***

- Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. "The Europeans and the African Problem," in *States and Power in Africa* (Princeton: Princeton University Press): 58-96.
- Bates, Robert. 1983. "Pressure Groups, Public Policy and Agricultural Development: A Study of Divergent Outcomes." In Bates, *Essays on the Political Economy of Rural Africa* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press): 61-91.
- Ekeh, Peter. 1975. "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17: 91-112.
- Posner, Daniel N. 2005. "Part I: Accounting for the Ethnic Cleavage Structure." In Posner, *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press): 21-88.
- Michalopoulos, Stelios and Elias Papaioannou. 2014. "National Institutions and Subnational Development in Africa." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129(1): 151-213.
- Lee, Alexander and Kenneth Schultz. 2012. "Comparing British and French Colonial Legacies: A Discontinuity Analysis of Cameroon." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7(1): 1-46.

### ***October 16: The State in Africa: Personalism and Patrimonialism***

- Jackson, Robert and Carl Rosberg. 1994. "The Political Economy of African Personal Rule." In David Apter and Carl Rosberg, *Political Development and the New Realism in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press): 291-322.
- Chabal, Patrick and Jean-Pascal Daloz. 1999. "W(h)ither the State?" and "Recycled Elites." In Chabal and Daloz, *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument* (Oxford: James Currey): 1-16 and 31-44.
- Young, Crawford and Thomas Turner. 1985. "The Patrimonial State and Personal Rule." In Young and Turner, *The Rise and Decline of the Zairian State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press): 164-184.
- van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. "Decision Making in Postcolonial Africa." In van de Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999* (New York: Cambridge University Press): 113-151.
- Arriola, Leonardo. 2009. "Patronage and Political Stability in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(10): 1339-1362.
- Posner, Daniel and Daniel Young. 2007. "The Institutionalization of Political Power in Africa," *Journal of Democracy* 18(3): 126-140.

**October 23: Why Did (Do?) African Leaders Choose Growth-Killing Policies?**

- van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. "Approaches to Africa's Permanent Crisis" and "Patterns in Reform Implementation, 1979-1999." In van de Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis* (New York: Cambridge University Press): 20-112.
- Bates, Robert. 1981. *Markets and States in Tropical Africa* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press). [entire book]
- Bates, Robert. 1989. "The Politics of Food Crises" and "Appendix 5A: Famine: Meru, August 1984." In Bates, *Beyond the Miracle of the Market: The Political Economy of Agrarian Development in Kenya* (New York: Cambridge University Press): 123-146.
- Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. 2006. "Economic Backwardness in Political Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 100(1): 115-131.
- Bates, Robert. 2008. "Domestic Interests and Control Regimes." In Benno Ndulu et al, *The Political Economy of Economic Growth in Africa, 1960-2000* (New York: Cambridge University Press): 175-201.

**October 30: Elections, Legislatures, and "Democracy" in Africa**

- Lindberg, Staffan. 2010. "What Accountability Pressures do MPs in Africa Face and How Do They Respond? Evidence from Ghana." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 48(1): 117-142.
- Bleck, Jaimie and Nicolas van de Walle. 2012. "Valence Issues in African Elections: Navigating Uncertainty and the Weight of the Past." *Comparative Political Studies* 46(11): 1394-1421.
- Barkan, Joel, Robert Mattes, Shaheen Mozaffar, and Kimberly Smiddy. 2010. "The African Legislatures Project: First Findings." *Centre for Social Science Research Working Paper No. 277*.
- Harding, Robin and David Stasavage. 2014. "What Democracy Does (and Doesn't Do) for Basic Services: School Fees, School Inputs, and African Elections." *Journal of Politics* 76(1): 229-245.
- Vicente, Pedro. 2014. "Is Vote-buying Effective? Evidence from a Field Experiment in West Africa." *Economic Journal* 124(574): F356-F387.
- Kramon, Eric. 2012. "Why Do Politicians Buy Votes When the Ballot is Secret? Theory and Experimental Evidence from Kenya." Unpublished paper.

**November 6: Ethnic Voting in Africa**

- Posner, Daniel N. 2005. "Ethnicity and Ethnic Politics in Zambia." In Posner, *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press): 91-129.
- Posner, Daniel N. 2007. "Regime Change and Ethnic Cleavages in Africa," *Comparative Political Studies* 40 (11): 1302-1327.
- Ichino, Nahomi and Noah Nathan. 2013. "Crossing the Line: Local Ethnic Geography and Voting in Ghana." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 344-361.
- Dunning, Thad and Lauren Harrison. 2010. "Cross-cutting Cleavages and Ethnic Voting: An Experimental Study of Cousinage in Mali," *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 21-39.
- Bratton, Michael, Ravi Bhavnani and Tse-Hsin Chen. 2012. "Voting Intentions in Africa: Ethnic, Economic or Partisan?" *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 50(1): 27-52.
- Arriola, Leonardo. 2013. "Capital and Opposition in Africa: Coalition Building in Multiethnic Societies." *World Politics* 64(2): 233-272.

**November 13: Ethnic Diversity in Africa**

- Easterly, William and Ross Levine. 1997. "Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112(4): 1203-1250.
- Miguel, Edward and Mary Kay Gugerty. 2005. "Ethnic Divisions, Social Sanctions, and Public Goods in Kenya," *Journal of Public Economics* 89 (December): 2325-2368.
- Habyarimana, James, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel N. Posner, and Jeremy Weinstein. 2007. "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 709-725.
- Glennerster, Rachel, Edward Miguel and Alexander D. Rothenberg. 2013. "Collective Action in Diverse Sierra Leone Communities." *Economic Journal* 123 (May): 285-316.
- Hjort, Jonas. Forthcoming. "Ethnic Divisions and Production in Firms." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.

**November 20: Distributive Politics in Kenya**

- Barkan, Joel and Michael Chege. 1989. "Decentralizing the State: District Focus and the Politics of Reallocation in Kenya." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 27(3): 431-453.
- Burgess, Robin, Remi Jedwab, Edward Miguel, Ameet Morjaria, Gerard Padro i Miquel. 2014. "The Value of Democracy: Evidence from Road Building in Kenya." Unpublished paper.
- Morjaria, Ameet. 2013. "Electoral Competition and Deforestation: Evidence from Kenya." Unpublished paper.
- Kramon, Eric and Daniel Posner. 2014. "Ethnic Favoritism in Primary Education in Kenya." Unpublished paper.
- Jablonski, Ryan. 2014. "How Aid Targets Votes: The Impact of Electoral Incentives on Foreign Aid Distribution." *World Politics* 66(2): 293-330.
- Briggs, Ryan. 2014. "Aiding and Abetting: Project Aid and Ethnic Politics in Kenya." *World Development* 64: 194-205.

**November 27: THANKSGIVING; NO CLASS**

**December 3: What Have We Learned from the Afrobarometer? [NOTE SPECIAL WEDNESDAY MEETING]**

- Bratton, Michael, Robert Mattes and E Gyimah-Boadi. 2005. "Survey Research in Africa." In *Public Opinion, Market Reform and Democracy in Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press): 50-61.
- Afrobarometer, Round 6 Survey Manual (May 2014). [read "Section 5: Sampling"; skim the rest]
- Afrobarometer, Round 5 Questionnaire for Zambia (2013). [for reference]
- Adida, Claire, Karen E. Ferree, Daniel N. Posner, and Amanda Robinson. 2014. "Who's Asking? Interviewer Coethnicity Effects in African Survey Data." Unpublished paper.
- Conroy-Krutz, Jeffrey and Carolyn Logan. 2012. "Museveni and the 2011 Ugandan Election: Did the Money Matter?" *Journal of Modern African Studies* 50(4): 625-655.
- Kasara, Kimuli. 2013. "Separate and Suspicious: Local Social and Political Context and Ethnic Tolerance in Kenya." *Journal of Politics* 75(4): 921-936.
- Robinson, Amanda. 2014. "National versus Ethnic Identification in Africa: Modernization, Colonial Legacy, and the Origins of Territorial Nationalism." *World Politics* 66(4): 709-746.

Kramon, Eric. 2013. "Vote-Buying and Electoral Turnout in Africa." In Michael Bratton, ed., *Voting and Democratic Citizenship in Africa* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner): 101-119.

***December 11: Development Assistance in Africa***

van de Walle, Nicolas. 2001. "The Crisis and Foreign Aid." In van de Walle, *African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis, 1979-1999* (New York: Cambridge University Press): 188-234.

Ferguson, James. 1984. *The Anti-Politics Machine* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press): chs 1-3, 6, 9 (pp. 251-256 only) and Epilogue.

Ensminger, Jean. 2013. "Inside Corruption Networks: Following the Money in Community Driven Development." Unpublished paper.