

CPO 6206: Seminar in African Politics

Class Meeting Time: Monday, 8:30 AM to 11:30 AM

Class Venue: Matherly Hall 151

Professor: Sebastian Elischer

Office: Anderson Hall 212

Office Hours: Monday 3 PM to 5:30 PM

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Seminar Description

This seminar is a graduate, in-depth survey of the major debates in African politics. It is open to everyone who is interested in examining political events in Africa. The seminar accommodates the interests of students from a variety of disciplines. It is structured around several recurrent and mutually dependent themes: political history, state formation, regime change and regime consolidation, political economy, violence, conflict and cooperation. Its main objective is to provide students with the ability to study empirical phenomena with the help of general analytical tools. Thereby the seminar enables students to compare and contrast political phenomena in Africa with the same phenomena in other world regions. The seminar examines African politics from a number of methodological angles. Each seminar contains key readings and a selection of additional sources students may consult in order to deepen their knowledge of any of the topics we discuss. The readings are a mix of classic and recent works. Most are comparative; others focus on individual cases. Students should feel free to consult and discuss any material that they feel contributes to any of the sessions listed below.

Requirements, Assignments and Grading

I expect students to read the assigned material (required reading) and come to class prepared. Class attendance is critical. Students should lead the discussions in class. For this to happen students have to read through the material and attend all sessions. In case you cannot make it to class for whatever reason(s), please tell me in advance via email prior to the meeting in question.

In order to get full credit for this seminar students have to pass several assignments. First, all participants need to select two African countries. In regular intervals students provide information on how the topic we discuss in class unfolds in the two countries they have chosen. This exercise is designed to make students transfer their thematic and conceptual knowledge to empirical cases. It is also designed to make students think comparatively. Second, all students are required to provide one thematic review (around 10 pages) of a topic we discuss in class. The thematic review should follow the format of a book review. The thematic review should focus either on the reading lists for the session in question (and cover at least 5 sources!) or alternative sources (which students identify on their own). Students are required to present their review in class (around 15 to 20 minutes) and to distribute their written review to all participants one week after the oral presentation and hence one week after we discussed the topic in class.

Finally, students need to write a research paper on a topic of their choice (20 pages excluding bibliography). After week eight all students have to discuss their research assignment with me during my office hours. Everyone also needs to discuss their paper in class in order to get

constructive feedback. There will be more detailed information about all assignments in our first meeting.

Grading: class participation including regular updates on the political trajectory of two African countries (25%), thematic review and class presentation (25%) and final research paper (50%).

Grading scale:

A	91 or above	B	81-84
A-	88-90	B-	78-80
B+	85-87	C+	75-77

Policies on Persons with Disabilities

Students requesting classroom accommodation must first register with the Dean of Students Office. It will provide documentation to the student who must then provide this documentation to the instructor when requesting accommodation. Anyone with a disability should feel free to see me during office hours to make the necessary arrangements.

Policy on Cheating and Plagerism

All students should observe the University of Florida's standards of academic honesty. In the event that a student is found cheating or plagiarizing, he/she will automatically fail the course and will be reported to Student Judicial Affairs and to the Department Chair and Graduate Coordinator for possible dismissal from the program. Acts of plagiarism include:

- Turning in a paper or another assignment that was written by someone else (i.e., by another student, by a research service, or downloaded off the Internet);
- Copying, verbatim, a sentence or paragraph of text from the work of another author without properly acknowledging the source through a commonly accepted citation style and using quotation marks;
- Paraphrasing (i.e., restating in your own words) text written by someone else without citing that author;
- Using a unique idea or concept, which you discovered in a specific reading, without citing that work.

Policy on Late Assignments

I understand that sometimes there are reasons why an assignment cannot be handed in on time. If you see such a situation emerging please contact me ahead of time to discuss the issue with me. This MUST happen prior to the deadline of the assignment. In any case: Whatever happens, please do get in touch with me!

Required Textbooks

Two books are required for this seminar. All participants should purchase these books. They are available at the university bookstore or can be ordered online. The majority of the readings will be articles and excerpts. I will undertake any effort to post these sources online.

Cheeseman, Nic (2015). *Democracy in Africa. Successes, Failures, and the Struggle for Political Reform*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Meredith, Martin (2011). *The Fate of Africa: A History of the Continent Since Independence*. UK. Public Affairs.

Class Calendar

Please note that any session may be subject to change

August 24: Introduction to the Seminar

A chance to get acquainted! We discuss the syllabus and your expectations. We organize all participants for future meetings. There are no assigned readings for this class but students may read through the following articles to get a feeling for how to think about and approach African politics in contemporary political research.

Basedau, Matthias and Patrick Köllner (2007). Area studies, comparative area studies, and the study of politics: Context, substance, and methodological challenges. *Comparative Governance and Politics* 1 (1): 105-124.

Ahram, Ariel (2011). The theory and method of comparative area studies. *Qualitative Research* 11 (1): 69-90.

August 31: Pan-Africanism and African Independence

Required Reading

Meredith, Martin (2011). Chapter 1 to 7.

Rupert Emerson (1962). Pan-Africanism. *International Organization* 16 (2): 275-290.

Geiss, Imanuel (1969). Pan-Africanism. *Journal of Contemporary History* 4 (1): 187-200.

Additional Reading

Coleman, James (1954). Nationalism in Tropical Africa. *American Political Science Review* 48 (2): 404-426.

Shepperson, George (1962). Pan-Africanism and "Pan-Africanism": Some Historical Notes. *Phylon* 23 (4): 346-358.

Appiah, Anthony (1992). *In my father's house. Africa in the philosophy of culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3-46.

Nantambu, Kwame (1998). Pan-Africanism Versus Pan-African Nationalism: An Afrocentric Analysis. *Journal of Black Studies* 28 (5): 561-574.

Langley, J. Ayo (1969). Pan-Africanism in Paris, 1924-36. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 7 (1): 69-94.

Geiss, Immanuel (1974). *The Pan-African Movement: A History of Pan-Africanism in America, Europe, and Africa*. UK: Holmes & Meier Publications.

McWilliams, Wilson and Jonathon Wise Polier (1964). Pan-Africanism and the Dilemmas of National Development. *Phylon* 25 (1): 44-64.

September 7: Independence, State-Building and the African State

Required Reading

Herbst, Jeffrey (2000). *States and Power in Africa. Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, pp. 58-96, 251-272.

Young, Crawford (2012). *The Postcolonial State in Africa: Fifty Years of Independence, 1960–2010*. USA: University of Wisconsin Press, chapter 1-3.

Lee, Melissa, Gregor Walter, and John Wiesel (2014). Taking the State (Back) Out? Statehood and the Delivery of Collective Goods. *Governance* 27 (3): 635-654.

Additional Reading

Bates, Robert (2008). *When Things Fell Apart*. USA: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1,3 and 5.

Herbst, Jeffrey (1995). Responding to State Failure in Africa. *International Security* 21(3): 120-144.

Nolutshungu, Sam (1996). *Limits of Anarchy. Intervention and State Formation in Chad*. USA: University of Virginia, pp.27-91.

Teretta, Meredith (2014). *Nation of Outlaws, State of Violence*. USA: Ohio University Press, pp.97-133 and pp.217-249.

September 14: The Rise of Autocratic Rule. One Party Rule and Military Dictatorships

Required Reading

Cheeseman, Nicholas (2015). Introduction and Chapter 1.

Jackson, Robert and Carl Rosberg (1982). *Personal Rule in Black Africa: Prince, Autocrat, Prophet, Tyrant*. Los Angeles, and London, University of California Press, Chapter 1 and 2.
or: Meredith, Martin, Chapter 8 and 9.

Students who want to focus on one-party rule should consult one of the following:

Bienen, Henry (1967). The Ruling Party in the African One-Party State: TANU in Tanzania. *Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 5 (3): 214-230.

Zollberg, Aristide (1966). *Creating Political Order. The Party States of West Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp.1-36, 66-92.

Widner, Jennifer (1993). The Rise of a Party-State in Kenya: From "Harambee!" to "Nyayo!". USA: University of California Press, Introduction and Conclusion.

Students who want to focus on military rule should consult one of the following:

Bienen, Henry (1978). Military Rule and Political Process: Nigerian examples. *Comparative Politics*: 205-225.

Bienen, Henry (1985). Populist Military Regimes in West Africa. *Armed Forces & Society* 11 (3): 357-377.

Decalo, Samuel (1990). *Coups and Army Rule in Africa: Motivations and Constraints*. USA: Yale University Press, Introduction and Chapters 2, 4 and 6.

McGowan, Patrick (2005). Coups and Conflicts in West Africa, 1955-2004. Part I: Theoretical Perspectives. *Armed Forces & Society* 32.

Clark, John (2007). The Decline of the African Military Coup. *Journal of Democracy* 18 (3): 141-155.

September 21: Neopatrimonialism and Informal Institutions

Required Reading

Cheeseman, Nic, Chapter 2.

Erdmann, Gero and Ulf Engel (2007). Neopatrimonialism Reconsidered: Critical Review and Elaboration of an Elusive Concept. *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 45 (1): 95-119.

LeBas, Adrienne (2013). Violence and Urban Order in Nairobi, Kenya and Lagos, Nigeria. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48 (3): 240-262.

Additional Reading

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

Bach, Daniel (2011). Patrimonialism and Neopatrimonialism: Comparative Trajectories and Readings. *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 49 (3): 275-294.

Chabal, Patrick and Jean-Pascal Daloz (1999). *Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument*. USA: Indiana University Press.

Bratton, Michael (2007). Formal versus Informal Institutions in Africa. *Journal of Democracy* 18 (3): 96-110.

September 28: Democratization and Elections

Required Reading

Cheeseman, Nic, Chapter 3.

Meredith, Martin, Chapter 23 and 24.

Robinson, Pearl (1994). The National Conference Phenomenon in Francophone Africa. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 36 (3): 575-610.

Additional Reading

Van de Walle, Nicholas and Michael Bratton (1994). *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective* USA. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 3 and 6.

Lindberg, Staffan (2006). *Democracy and Elections in Africa*. USA: Johns Hopkins University Press. Introduction and Chapter 3.

Bogaards, Matthijs (2013). Reexamining African Elections. *Journal of Democracy* 24 (4): 151-160.

Gibson, Clark (2002). Of Waves and Ripples: Democracy and Political Change in Africa in the 1990s. *Annual Review of Political Science* 5 (1): 201-221.

Gisselquist, Rachel (2008). Democratic Transition and Democratic Survival in Benin. *Democratization* 15 (4): 789-814.

Villalón, Leonardo Alfonso and Peter VonDoepp (2005). *The Fate of Africa's Democratic Experiments*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

October 5: Political Regimes and Regime Dynamics

Required Reading

Cheeseman, Nicolas, Chapter 5

Albaugh, Erika (2011). An autocrat's toolkit: adaptation and manipulation in 'democratic' Cameroon. *Democratization* 18 (2): 388-414.

Van de Walle, Nic (2002). Africa's Range of Regimes. *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 66-80.

Additional Reading

Reyntjens, Filip (2013). *Political Governance in Post-Genocide Rwanda*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1 and 2.

Levitsky and Way (2010). *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. USA: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 6.

Lynch, Gabrielle and Gordon Crawford (2011). Democratization in Africa 1990–2010: An Assessment. *Democratization* 18 (2): 275-310.

Bogaards, Matthijs and Sebastian Elischer (2015). Competitive Authoritarianism in Africa Revisited. *Comparative Governance and Politics* (forthcoming 2015).

Cheeseman, Nic, Gabrielle Lynch, and Justin Willis (2014). Democracy and Its Discontents: Understanding Kenya's 2013 Elections. *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8 (1): 2-24.

Bratton, Micheal (2015). *Power Politics in Zimbabwe*. Colorado: Lynne Rinner Press.

Reyntjens, Filip (2011). Constructing the Truth, Dealing with Dissent, Domesticating the World: Governance in Post-Genocide Rwanda. *African Affairs* 110 (438): 1-34.

October 12: Formal Institutions and Their Effects

Required Reading

Posner, Daniel and Daniel Young (2007). The Institutionalization of Political Power in Africa. *Journal of Democracy* 18 (3): 126-140.

Boone, Catherine (2014). *Property and Political Order in Africa: Land Rights and the Structure of Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1 and 2.

Barkan, Joel (2009). *Legislative Power in Emerging African Democracies*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner. Chapter 1 and 2.

Additional Reading

Maltz, Gideon (2007). The Case for Presidential Term Limits. *Journal of Democracy* 18 (1): 128-142.

Mattes, Robert, and Michael Bratton (2007). Learning About Democracy in Africa: Awareness, Performance, and Experience. *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1).

Horowitz, Donald. (2003). Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision-Makers. *Journal of Democracy* 14(4): 116-127.

Lijphart, Arendt. 2004. Constitutional Design for Divided Societies. *Journal of Democracy* 15(2): 97-109.

Gazibo, Mamoudou (2006). The Forging of Institutional Autonomy: A Comparative Study of Electoral Management Commissions in Africa. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 39 (3): 611-633.

Horowitz, Donald (2004). The Alternative Vote and Interethnic Moderation. *Public Choice* 121 (3): 507-516.

October 19: The Search for Economic Growth

Required Reading

Cheeseman, Nic, Chapter 4.

Or: Meredith, Martin, Chapter 21 and 22.

Bracking, Sarah (1999). Structural Adjustment: Why It Wasn't Necessary & Why It Did Work. *Review of African Political Economy* 26 (80): 207-226.

Radelet, Steven and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (2011). *Emerging Africa: How 17 Countries Are Leading the Way*. Washington DC: Center for Global Development, Chapter 1 and 2.

Additional Reading

Bayart, Jean-François (2000). Africa in the World: a History of Extraversion. *African Affairs* 99 (395): 217-267.

Dunning, Thad (2004). Conditioning the Effects of Aid: Cold War Politics, Donor Credibility, and Democracy in Africa. *International Organization* 58 (2): 409-423.

Moyo, Dambisa (2009). *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not Working and How There is a Better Way for Africa*. Macmillan.

Tangri, Roger, and Andrew Mwenda (2006). Politics, Donors and the Ineffectiveness of Anti-Corruption Institutions in Uganda. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 44 (1): 101-124.

Kandeh, Jimmy (2008). Rogue Incumbents, Donor Assistance and Sierra Leone's Second Post-Conflict Elections of 2007. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 46 (4): 603-635.

Helleiner, Gerald (1983). The IMF and Africa in the 1980s. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 17 (1): 17-33.

Calderisi, Robert (2006). The Trouble with Africa. *Why Foreign Aid is Not Working*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

United Nations (2013). *Economic Report on Africa 2013*. New York: United Nations.

Jerven, Morten (2015). *Africa. Why Economists Get It Wrong*. London: Zed Books.

October 26: Ethnic Politics

Required Reading

Posner, Daniel (2004). The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi. *American Political Science Review* 98 (4): 529-545.

Lindberg, Staffan and Minion Morrison (2008). Are African Voters Really Ethnic or Clientelistic? Survey Evidence from Ghana. *Political Science Quarterly* 123 (1): 95-122.

Elischer, Sebastian (2013). *Political Parties in Africa. Ethnicity and Party Formation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Introduction and Conclusion.

Additional Reading

Posner, Daniel (2005). *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Arriola, Leonardo (2013). *Multiethnic Coalition in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Chandra, K. and S. Wilkinson (2008). Measuring the Effect of 'Ethnicity'. *Comparative Political Studies* 41 (2008): 515-563.

Ferree, Karen (2006). Explaining South Africa's Racial Census. *Journal of Politics* 68 (4): 803-815.

Geschiere, P. and S. Jackson (2006): Autochthony and the Crisis of Citizenship: Democratization, Decentralization, and the Politics of Belonging. *African Studies Review* 49 (2): 1-14.

November 2: Violence and Conflict

Required Reading

Meredith, Martin (2011), Chapters 26, 27 and 29.

Reno, William (1999). *Warlord Politics and African States*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner (details to be announced).

Abdullah, Ibrahim (1998). Bush Path to Destruction: The Origin and Character of the Revolutionary United Front/ Sierra Leone. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 36 (2): 203-255.

Additional Reading

Bah, Abu Bakarr (2010). Democracy and Civil War: Citizenship and Peacemaking in Côte d'Ivoire. *African Affairs* 109 (437): 597-615.

Mehler, Andreas (2012). Why Security Forces Do Not Deliver Security. Evidence from Liberia and the Central African Republic. *Armed Forces & Society* 38 (1): 49-69.

Vlassenroot, Tim and Koen Vlassenroot (2010). *The Lord's Resistance Army. Myth and Reality*. Chapter 1 to 4.

Mathis, Sarah (2013). From Warlords to Freedom Fighters: Political violence and state formation in Umbumbulu, South Africa. *African Affairs* 112 (448): 421-439

Uvin, Peter (1999). Ethnicity and Power in Burundi and Rwanda: Different Paths to Mass Violence. *Comparative Politics* 31 (3): 253-71.

Theisen, Ole Magnus (2012). Climate clashes? Weather Variability, Land Pressure, and Organized Violence in Kenya, 1989–2004. *Journal of Peace Research* 49 (1): 81-96.

Krosiak, Daniela (2007). *The Role of France in the Rwandan Genocide*. Hurst & Co.

November 9: Political Participation in Contemporary African Politics

Required Reading

Resnick, Danielle (2014). *Urban Poverty and Party Populism in African Democracies*. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 1 and 3.

LeBas, Adrienne (2006). Polarization as a Craft: Party Formation and State Violence in Zimbabwe. *Comparative Politics* 38 (4): 419-438.

Von Holdt, Karl (2002). Social Movement Unionism: the Case of South Africa. *Work Employment & Society* 26 (2): 283-304.

Additional Reading

Ellis, Stephen and Ineke van Kessel (2009). *Movers and Shakers. Social Movements in Africa*. Boston: Brill Publishers, Chapter 6 and 7.

Tripp, Aili Mari (1998). Expanding Civil Society: Women and Political Space in Contemporary Uganda. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 36 (2): 84-107.

Larmer, Miles and Alastair Fraser (2007). Of Cabbages and King Cobra: Populist Politics and Zambia's 2006 election. *African Affairs* 106 (425): 611-637.

November 16: Religion and Politics in Africa

Required Reading

Villalon, Leonardo (2010). From Argument to Negotiation: Constructing Democracy in African Muslim Contexts. *Comparative Politics* 42 (4): 375-393.

Elischer, Sebastian (2015). Autocratic Legacies and State Management of Islamic Activism in Niger. *African Affairs* (forthcoming).

Tamale, Sylvia (2013). Confronting the Politics of Nonconforming Sexualities in Africa. *African Studies Review* 56 (2): 31-45.

Additional Reading

Grossmann, Guy (2015). Renewalist Christianity and the Political Saliency of LGBTs: Theory and Evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Politics* 77 (2): 337-351.

Hansen, Stig (2013). *Al-Shabaab in Somalia*. London: Hurst and Company.

November 23: Africa in the World I: Regional Dynamics

Required Reading

Abass, Ademola (2000). The New Collective Security Mechanism of ECOWAS: Innovations and Problems. *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 5 (2): 211–229.

Söderbaum, Fredrik (2007). Regionalization and Civil Society: The Case of Southern Africa. *New Political Economy* 12 (3): 319–337.

Additional Reading

Bach, Daniel (1999). *Regionalism in Africa. Integration and Disintegration*. Oxford: James Currey.

African Union (2010). *Minimum Integration Programme*. Addis Ababa: African Union.

November 30: Africa in the World II: Global Dynamics

Harman, Sophie, and William Brown (2013): In From the Margins? The Changing Place of Africa in International Relations? *International Affairs* 89 (1): 69–87.

Møller, Bjørn (2009). The African Union as a Security Actor: African solutions to African problems? Crisis States Research Centre Working Papers Series 2, 57. Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK.

December 7: tba