

CPO 3204 – Introduction to African Politics

Class Meeting Time: Monday, Wednesday and Friday 9.35 AM to 10:25 AM
Class Venue: Anderson Hall 101
Professor: Dr. Sebastian Elischer
Office: Anderson Hall 212
Office Hours: Monday 4 PM to 6 PM and Wednesday 11 AM to 12 PM.
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Course Outline

It is a great time to study African politics! In recent years sub-Saharan Africa has undergone far reaching political, social and economic changes. These changes challenge the conventional image of Africa as a failed continent and make Africa one of the most rewarding world regions to study.

The class explores the historical evolution of African politics between independence and today. Key themes include democratization, the origins of conflict, and path dependent development. The course balances regional knowledge with broader comparative theory in order to address questions about African exceptionalism, democracy, and political culture. The **first unit (Week 1 – 4)** outlines the historical evolution of state formation in Africa. We discuss the rationale behind colonialism and de-colonization. We also critically examine why African states are considered weak states and why Africa has produced a large number of so-called ‘failed states’. The first unit provides the historical and political foundation on which contemporary African politics is unfolding. The **second unit (Week 5 – 8)** examines the evolution of different political regimes across time and space. We discuss the causes behind the formation of one-party and military rule in the 1960s and 1970s. We also take a close look at the origins and consequences of African democratization attempts in the early 1990s and thereafter. Finally we discuss recent economic developments. While some countries are showing solid and sustainable economic growth, others suffers from severe structural disadvantages. The **third unit (Week 10 – 14)** examines a variety of hot topics in contemporary African politics. We analyze the immediate and long-term consequences of ethnic violence and civil war. We also have a look at countries in which ethnicity either plays a constructive role or where ethnic loyalties matter very little. Finally we discuss a number of emerging topics in African scholarship including the growing effect of religion in African political life and the effect of social and populist movements.

Skills and Competencies

The course prepares students for different careers in the public sector (state department, research assistant to decision-makers, aid workers, employment at international organizations). It provides students with a variety of social science concepts and the ability to apply them to empirical cases. Students learn how to develop positions and defend them in oral presentations. Students contextualize and compare major political trends in African politics and relate them to political trends elsewhere.

Requirements, Assignments and Grading

Students must read the assigned material for each week and come to class prepared. Students must attend every class and actively participate. If you cannot make it to class let me know prior to the class which you cannot attend. When this is not possible get in touch with me as soon as possible. As long as you communicate with me I will try and accommodate your needs.

This class is a 'Gordon Rule' course. This means you are required to write a minimum of 6000 words in order for this course to count toward your 24,000 word writing requirement necessary to graduate. The following resources are crucial for understanding this policy:

- <http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/soc/201201/gord.html>
- <http://gened.aa.ufl.edu/writing-requirement.aspx>
- <http://gened.aa.ufl.edu/sample-writing-assessment-rubric.aspx>

Students will have to pass several assignments in order to get full credits for this class.

- Two papers, each composed of a minimum of 3000 words excluding bibliography. The **first paper** examines the struggle for independence from European colonialism in a country of your choice. The first paper is **due on February 26**. The **second paper** analyzes the regime trajectory of a country of your choice from the early 1990s onwards. The second paper is **due on April 25**. Feel free to select the same country for both reports. At the same time feel free to choose different countries for each paper. Each paper accounts for 25% of your final grade.
- An oral presentation on a country of your choice (in a group of three people). All **student presentations** take place during Week 4 (**January 25 to 29**). All student presentations analyze different paths to decolonization. The idea is to present on the country of your choice in order to prepare for the first written paper (see above). Please note that in order to prepare for the oral presentation students need to engage with the material at a deeper level and go far beyond the required reading for that week. All students need to discuss their presentation with me during my office hours. The oral presentation accounts for 10% of your grade.
- Three quizzes covering the content of each unit (see course outline). Each quiz accounts for 10% of your final grade. **Quiz 1** takes place on **February 1**. **Quiz 2** takes place on **March 7**. **Quiz 3** takes place on **April 11**.
- Class participation and regular attendance account for 10% of your final grade. At the beginning of term all students are required to select one African country. In regular intervals students provide feedback on recent events in their country of choice. Please note that you cannot write your paper(s) on the country you choose for the regular updates.

Composition of final grade:

paper 1 (25%) + paper 2 (25%) + oral presentation (10%) + three quizzes (30%) + participation in class (10%) = 100%

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 Plagiarism

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. **Whatever happens, please do get in touch with me!**

Required Textbooks

Two books are required for this class. All participants must purchase these books. They are available at the university bookstore or can be ordered online. I will undertake any effort to post additional readings online.

Hyden, Goran (2013). *African Politics in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press (2nd Edition).

Thomson, Alex (2010). *An Introduction to African Politics*. New York: Routledge (3rd Edition).

Class Calendar

Any session may be subject to change!

How to interpret the reading list for each week, how to prepare for class and how to prepare for your assignments

Student *must* read the *required reading* prior to class. Without the required reading you will be unable to participate in class discussions. I normally do not lecture on the content of the required reading. Instead the required reading serves as the starting point for our discussions in class. It is therefore essential that you come to class prepared. The *additional reading* provides further information on all topics. Students interested in a particular topic should take the additional reading as starting point to engage in further research. In order to write a good research paper students need to engage with the literature on a much deeper level than we do in class and go beyond the required and the additional reading. To do well in the three quizzes you need to do the required reading and follow the discussion in class. To do well in the class presentations you need to do background research and coordinate your presentation with me.

Where appropriate and if time permits students are rewarded with documentaries on contemporary African events.

Week 1: January 6 and 8: Getting Started

Sit back, relax and start thinking! Organizational meetings, getting to know each other, expectations and assignments, introduction of open source databases (including Freedom House, Bertelsmann Transformation Index, the Fragile State Index), discussion of syllabus, selection of countries for oral presentation.

Required Reading

Hyden (2013) Chapter 1.

Week 2: January 11, 13 and 15: Colonization and the Scramble for Africa

We examine the reasons and the consequences of Europe's conquest of Africa.

Required Reading

Chapter 1 (by Adu Boahen) and Chapter 2 (by G.N. Uzoigwe) in *The General History of Africa. Part VII*. The chapters are part of the UN-sponsored African history project. They are available here: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001842/184296eo.pdf>

Appiah, Kwame (1992): *In My Father's House*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1.

Additional Reading

Conklin, Alice (1998): Colonialism and Human Rights, A Contradiction in Terms? The Case of France and West Africa, 1895-1914. *The American Historical Review* 103 (2): 419-442

Week 3: January 20 and 22: Colonial Rule and the African State

No class on January 18! It is commonplace to portray many of Africa's political and economic challenges as the long-term consequences of colonial rule. We discuss the foundations of colonial rule and the processes of state formation. We analyze why many African states are "weak" and why state failure is a comparatively frequent occurrence in Africa.

All group presentations take place next week. Make sure your group discusses your project with me during my office hours this week!

Required Reading

Thomson (2010): Chapter 2 including the Kenyan case study

Hyden (2013): Chapter 3

Herbst, Jeffrey (2000). *States and Power in Africa*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, pp.58-96.

Additional Reading

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

Lees, Melissa et al. (2014). Taking the State (Back) Out? Statehood and the Delivery of Collective Goods. *Governance* 27 (3): 635-654.

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

Week 4: January 25, 27 and 29: The Struggle for Decolonization: Country Cases

The week is dedicated to the dissenters of colonial suppression. We discuss the rise of pan-Africanism and the emergence of anti-colonial movements. Student presentations (scheduled for January 25, 27 and 29) examine the path to independence in greater detail.

Required Reading

Thomson (2010): Chapter 3 without the Tanzanian case study

Week 5: February 1, 3 and 5: Autocratic Rule in the 1960s and 1970s

The first quiz takes place on February 1! It covers everything we discussed between Week 2 and 4. Africa's liberalization from European suppression did not produce the desired political outcomes. Across the continent military-led and/ or one-party states emerged. We review their emergence and discuss some of the factors conducive to the rise of autocratic rule.

Required Reading

Thomson (2010) Chapter 7 including the Ugandan case study

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

Additional Reading

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

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

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.

Week 6: February 8, 10 and 12: Neopatrimonialism as Mode of Government

Maybe the biggest challenge to good governance and economic growth is the fact that many African bureaucracies do not follow the logic of formal rules but the logic of neopatrimonialism. We review this important concept in African politics. We also discuss scholars who argue that African politics has seen a greater shift towards the formalization of politics.

Required Reading

Hyden (2013): Chapter 4 and 5

Thomson (2010): Chapter 6 including the case study from Ivory Coast

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

Additional Reading

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

Chabal, Patrick and Jean-Pascal Daloz (1999). *Africa Works. Disorder as Political Instrument*. James Currey: International African Institute.

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.

Week 7: February 15, 17 and 19: Democratization and Africa's Second Liberation

Against all odds sub-Saharan Africa experienced a period of widespread political liberalization from the early 1990s onwards. We discuss why democratization occurred and how democratic protest was channeled into political institutional reform.

Required Reading

Thomson (2010): Chapter 11 without the Zimbabwean case study

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

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.

Additional Reading

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

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.

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

Week 8: February 22, 24 and 26: Hybrid Regimes and De-Democratization

Your first paper is due on February 26!! Not all democratization attempts were successful. Most African states qualify neither as fully democratic nor as fully autocratic. We analyze the rise of these 'hybrid regimes'. In some countries autocrats survived. We look at the mechanisms by which Africa's autocrats managed to cling onto power.

Required Reading

Thomson (2010): Zimbabwean case study of Chapter 11

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

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

Additional Reading

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

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

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.

Week 9: Spring Break! No classes between February 26 and March 5.

Week 10: March 7, 9, 11: Ethnic Politics

The second quiz takes place on March 7. It covers everything we discussed between Week 5 and 8. Ethnic loyalties exercise a visible effect in African politics and some claim that ethnic politics constitute a major obstacle for democratic reform and political stability. We review the argument and discuss its validity on the basis of country cases.

Required Reading

Hyden (2013): Chapter 9

Thomson (2010): Chapter 4 including the Nigerian case study

Additional Reading

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

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.

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.

Week 11: March 14, 16 and 13: Violence and Conflict

Despite significant political progress Africa remains the continent with the highest rate of state failure and civil wars. We take a look at some of these conflicts and review their dynamics.

Required Reading

Thomson (2010): Chapter 10 including the case study of Zaire.

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

Additional Reading

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.

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

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

Week 12: March 21, 23, 25: Africa's Search for Economic Growth

It is hardly an exaggeration to state that Africa is in a dire economic situation. This week we look at recent economic developments and examine recent outside attempts to initiate a modicum of socio-economic development.

Required Reading

Hyden (2013): Chapter 10

Thomson (2010): Chapter 9 including the Ghanaian case study

Additional Reading

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.

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

Week 13: March 28, 30 and April 1: Religion in African Politics

The democratic opening of the early 1990s led to the diversification of Africa's religious landscape. Recent years have seen the rise of revivalist Christian and Moslem communities. We discuss the intersection of revivalist religious groups 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.

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.

Week 14: April 4, 6 and 8: Social Movements and Populist Politics

We look at the effect of civil society and political parties 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.

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

Additional Reading

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

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

Week 15: April 11, 13 and 15: Women in African Politics

The third quiz takes place on April 11. It covers everything we discussed between Week 10 and 14. We examine the prominent role of women in nation-building.

Required Reading

Tripp, Aili Mari (2015). *Women and Power in Postconflict Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 and 2.

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

Oloka-Onyango, J. and Tamale, S (1995). "The Personal is Political," or Why Women's Rights are Indeed Human Rights: An African Perspective on International Feminism. *Human Rights Quarterly*. 17(4): 691-731.

Week 16: April 18, 20: Discussion of Second Research Paper and Any Other Business