

CPO 6206: Graduate Seminar in African Politics

Class Meeting Time: Tuesday 8:30 – 11:30 AM

Class Venue: Anderson Hall 21

Instructor: Dr. Sebastian Elischer

Office: Anderson Hall 212

Office Hours: Monday 3 PM – 4:30 PM

Tuesday 1 PM – 2:30 PM

Email: selischer@ufl.edu

Seminar Description

The seminar examines key issues in contemporary sub-Saharan African politics. Open to all graduate students, it discusses sub-Saharan Africa's political dynamics from a variety of methodological and disciplinary angles. The following reoccurring themes will be at the heart of our weekly meetings: the logic behind and the consequences of European colonialism, the challenges of state formation, the emergence of hybrid regimes, the dynamics of contemporary political regimes, key features of the continent's political economy, the drivers of violence and conflict, gender in African politics, and the effects of regional cooperation arrangements. The readings are a mix of classic and recent works. To fully grasp their content, students are expected to spend considerable time reading and thinking. Students should feel free to consult and discuss additional material they regard as beneficial to the discussion.

Expectations, Assignments, and Grading

To follow and to participate in the discussions in class, students need to read the required reading prior to class. As this is a graduate seminar, students lead the class discussions. All seminar participants select two African countries and regularly provide information on how the topic we discuss unfolds in the two countries of their choice. The exercise is designed to make students transfer their thematic and conceptual knowledge to empirical cases. It encourages students to acknowledge the political and societal diversity on the continent and to approach African politics from a comparative perspective. Class attendance and active participation account for 20% of the final grade.

Students provide a thematic review (around 10 pages; Times New Roman 12; 1.5 line spacing) of a topic that we discuss in class. The thematic review follows the format of a book review. It compares and summarizes 3-5 peer-reviewed sources that students read in addition to the required reading. Students present their review in class (around 30 minutes plus a short Q&A session) and distribute the written review to all participants **one week after the oral presentation**. The thematic review (20%) and the oral presentation (10%) account for 30% of the final grade.

Finally, all seminar participants write a research paper on a topic of their choice (15-20 pages). By early March all students need to discuss their research assignment with me during my office hours. The research outline for the final assignment (1-2 pages plus bibliography) is due on **March 10 at 5 PM**. The research outline accounts for 10% of the final grade. The due date of the final research paper will be determined during the first month of the semester. Please submit your final paper electronically to my email account. Late and paper submissions will not be accepted. The final research paper account for 40% of the final grade.

Grading: class participation including regular updates on the political trajectory of two African countries (20%), written thematic review and class presentation (20%+10%=30%), research outline (10%) and final research paper (40%).

Grading scale:

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

Attendance Policy

Requirements for class attendance and make-up exams, assignments, and other work in this course are consistent with university policies that can be found at: <https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/attendance.aspx>

Online Evaluation

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing online evaluations at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu>. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semesters, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu/results>.

Policies on Persons with Disabilities

Students with disabilities requesting accommodations should first register with the Disability Resource Center (352-392-8565, www.dso.ufl.edu/drc) by providing appropriate documentation. Once registered, students will receive an accommodation letter which must be presented to the instructor when requesting accommodation. Students with disabilities should follow this procedure as early as possible in the semester.

Policy on Cheating and Plagiarism

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honesty and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment." The Honor Code (<http://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conduct-honor-code/>) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel.

Policy on Late Assignments

I understand that sometimes there are reasons why an assignment cannot be handed in on time. If you anticipate such a situation, please contact me prior to the deadline of the assignment.

Required Textbooks

Welz, Martin (2021). *Africa Since Decolonization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bleck, Jaimie and van de Walle, Nicolas (2019). *Electoral Politics in Africa Since 1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Herbst, Jeffrey (2014). *States and Power in Africa. Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. USA: Princeton University Press.

Class Calendar
Any session may be subject to change

January 10: Introduction to the Seminar

Introductions, discussion of the syllabus, discussion of your expectations, and initial discussion about the drivers of African politics.

Required Reading

Welz (2021). Prologue and Chapter 1.

PART I: THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND STATEHOOD

To understand sub-Saharan Africa's contemporary predicament, we need to examine some of the long-term implications of European colonialism. We discuss the creation of African states, the struggle against colonialism and the consequences of both for contemporary state capacity.

January 17: Colonialism and the Struggle for Independence

Required Reading

Welz (2021). Chapter 2.

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

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

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

Additional Reading

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

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.

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

January 24: State Building and Nationhood

Required Reading

Herbst, Jeffrey (2014). *States and Power in Africa. Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Yao, J. (2022). The Power of Geographical Imaginaries in the European International Order: Colonialism, the 1884–85 Berlin Conference, and Model International Organizations. *International Organization*, 76 (4), 901-928.

Young, Crawford (2012). *The Postcolonial State in Africa: Fifty Years of Independence, 1960–2010*. USA: University of Wisconsin Press. Chapter 1 and 2. The library holds an electronic copy.

In addition to the required reading please consult the state fragility index. Available online.

Additional Reading

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

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.

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.

PART II: THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY AND TRANSPARENCY

For the better part of Africa's post-colonial history nondemocratic rulers determined its political trajectory. We review the history of the struggle for transparency, accountability, and democratic elections.

January 31: One Party Rule and Military Dictatorships

Required Reading

Cheeseman, Nicholas (2015). *Democracy in Africa*. Chapter 1 and 3. I will circulate electronic copies of the two chapters.

Peter Anyang' Nyong'o (1992). Africa: The Failure of One-Party Rule. *Journal of Democracy* 3 (1): 90-96.

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.

Elischer, S., & Lawrance, B.N. (2022). Reassessing Africa's New Post-Coup Landscape. *African Studies Review* 65 (1): 1-7.

In addition to the required reading please consult Afrobarometer data. Available online.

Additional Reading

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.

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.

February 7: Institutions

Required Reading

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

Cheeseman, Nic (2018): *Institutions and Democracy in Africa: How the Rules of the Game Shape Political Developments*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Introduction. I will provide a copy of the introduction.

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

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

In addition to the required reading please consult the Transparency International's corruption perception index. It is available online.

Additional Reading

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

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

February 14: Regime Dynamics in Africa since the early 1990s

Required Reading

Cheeseman, Nicholas (2015). *Democracy in Africa*. Chapter 3. I will circulate electronic copies of the two chapters.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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.

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

Bogaards, Matthijs and Sebastian Elischer (2016). Competitive Authoritarianism in Africa Revisited. *Comparative Governance and Politics*, Special Issue 6, p.5-18.

February 21: Electoral Politics

Required Reading

Bleck and van de Walle (2019): Chapter 1, 2, 4 and 8.

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

Additional Reading

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.

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

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.

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

February 28: The Search for Economic Growth

Required Reading

Welz (2021): Chapter 5 and 6.

Taylor, Ian (2014): Is Africa Rising? *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 21 (1) (Fall/Winter): 143-161.

Ian Taylor (2019) France à fric: the CFA zone in Africa and neocolonialism, *Third World Quarterly*, 40:6, 1064-1088.

There is no class on March 7. Students should use the time to think about their final research assignment. Please discuss your ideas with me during my office hours. The research outline is due on March 10 at 5 PM.

No class on March 14 (Spring Break).

PART III: VIOLENCE and CONFLICT

Significant parts of the African continent suffer from sustained and violent conflict. We examine conventional conflict resolution mechanisms and some of the causes behind enduring conflicts

March 21: Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

Required reading:

Welz (2021). Chapter 11

De Bruin, Erica (2022): Power Sharing and Coups d'état in Postconflict Settings: Evidence from Burundi and Guinea-Bissau. *Armed Forces & Society*, Online First.

Roessler, Philip & Ohls, David (2018): Self-Enforcing Power Sharing in Weak States. *International Organization*, 72 (2), 423-454.

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

Additional Reading:

Roessler, Philip (2016): *Ethnic Politics and State Power in Africa: The Logic of the Coup-Civil War Trap*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

March 28: The Drivers of Conflict

Required reading:

Welz (2021): Chapter 10

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.

Klaus, Kathleen and Mitchell, MI. (2015): Land grievances and the mobilization of electoral violence: Evidence from Côte d'Ivoire and Kenya. *Journal of Peace Research*, 52(5), 622-635.

Hendrix, Cullen and Salehyan, Idean (2012): Climate change, rainfall, and social conflict in Africa. *Journal of Peace Research*, 49(1), 35-50.

Additional Reading

Straus, Scott (2015). *Making and Unmaking of Nations. War, Leadership, and Genocide in Modern Africa*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Reno, William (2011): *Warfare in Independent Africa*. New York: Cambridge University, Press, Chapter 1.

April 4: Religious Conflict

Required reading:

Elischer, Sebastian (2015). Autocratic Legacies and State Management of Islamic Activism in Niger. *African Affairs* 114 (457): 577-597.

Hansen, S. J. (2018): Unity Under Allah? Cohesion Mechanisms in Jihadist Organizations in Africa. *Armed Forces & Society*, 44(4), 587–605.

Tor A. Benjaminsen & Boubacar Ba (2019) Why do pastoralists in Mali join jihadist groups? A political ecological explanation, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 46:1, 1-20.

PART IV: EMERGING ISSUES IN AFRICAN POLITICS.

The final section examines important additional research topic in African politics.

April 11: Gender and African Politics

Required Reading

Edgell, Amanda (2018): Vying for a Man Seat: Gender Quotas and Sustainable Representation in Africa. *African Studies Review*, 61(1), 185-214.

Erin Accampo Hern (2020): Gender and participation in Africa's electoral regimes: an analysis of variation in the gender gap, *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 8 (2), 293-315.

Kang, A., & Tripp, A. (2018): Coalitions Matter: Citizenship, Women, and Quota Adoption in Africa. *Perspectives on Politics*, 16(1), 73-91.

April 18: Africa in Regional and International Affairs

Required Reading

Welz (2021): Chapter 8 and 12

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

Hartmann, C. (2017): ECOWAS and the Restoration of Democracy in the Gambia. *Africa Spectrum*, 52(1), 85–99.

Paul D. Williams (2018): Joining AMISOM: why six African states contributed troops to the African Union Mission in Somalia, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 12 (1): 172-192.

Souare, Issaka. 2014. The African Union as a Norm Entrepreneur on Military Coups D'Etat in Africa (1952-2012): An Empirical Assessment. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 52 (1): 69–94.

There is no class on April 25. Use the time to work on their final research assignment!