

# POLC42

## Topics in Comparative Politics

### African Politics

Week 12: Democratization and African politics since the 1990s

# PSA

- New email address: [mkczuba@sewanee.edu](mailto:mkczuba@sewanee.edu)
- Office hours

# Plan for today

- New material:
  - One-party rule
  - Democratization
  - Backsliding and hybrid regimes
  - Recent political trends
- Course recap
- Course evaluations
- Exam review

# African politics after independence

- Economic reform and ISI
- State weakness
- Neopatrimonialism
- Politics of ethnicity
- Horizontal inequality, exclusion, and conflict



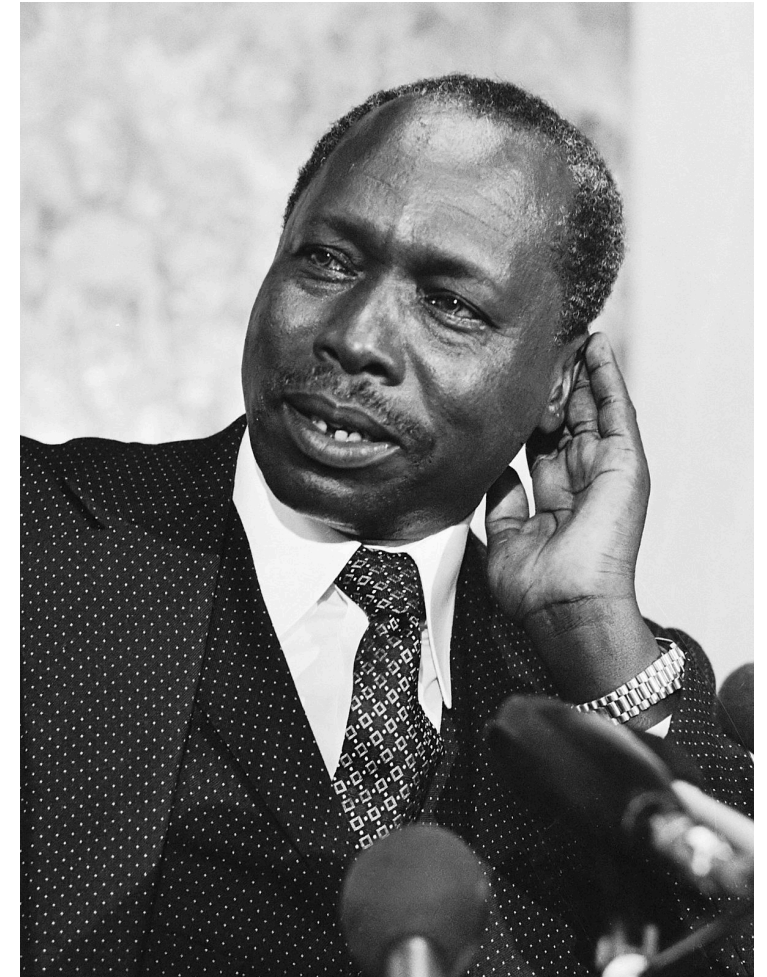
# Regimes and regime change in post-independence Africa

- Initial democratic experiments
- Coups d'état and military rule
- One-party rule



# One-party rule in Africa: the case of Kenya

- Daniel arap Moi's succession in 1978
- Ethnic interests (Gikuyu, Embu, and Meru Association and the Kiambu / Mount Kenya 'mafia') and intra-elite contestation
- 1982 coup d'état attempt
- Need to consolidate power → one-party rule



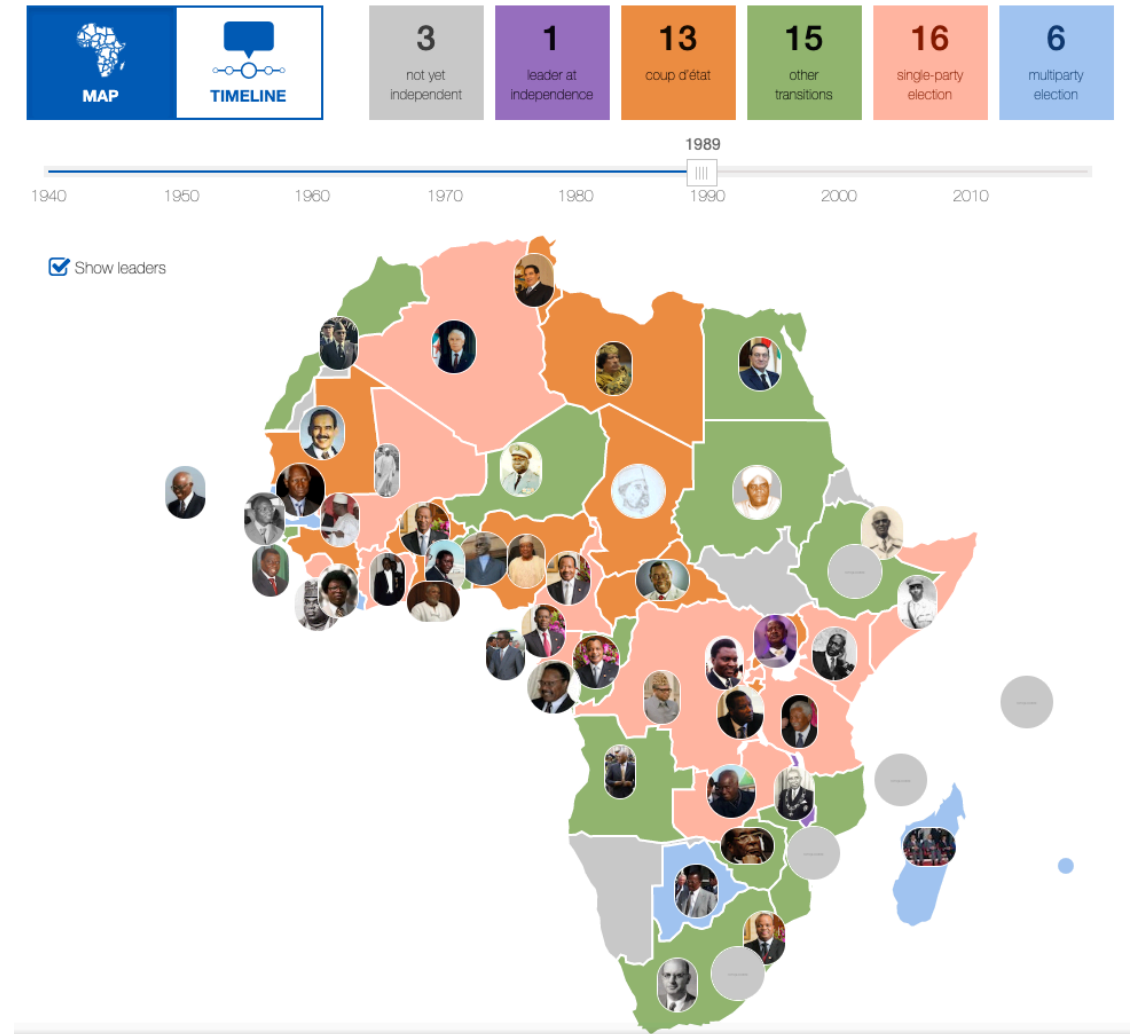
# Post-independence democracies

- Botswana
- Mauritius
- Gambia
- Senegal



# Elections in post-independence Africa

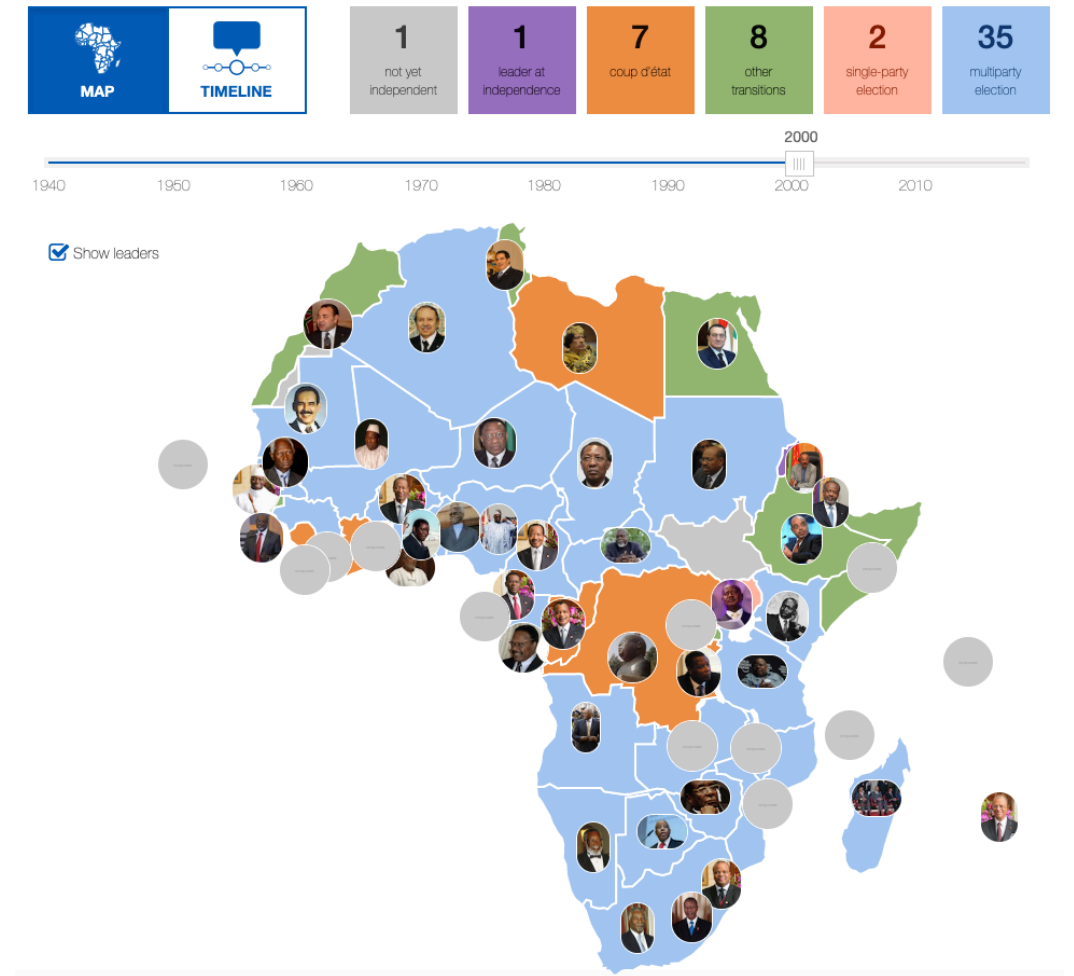
- Posner: parliamentary elections in authoritarian Zambia
- 70 competitive elections held in Africa between 1960 and 1990



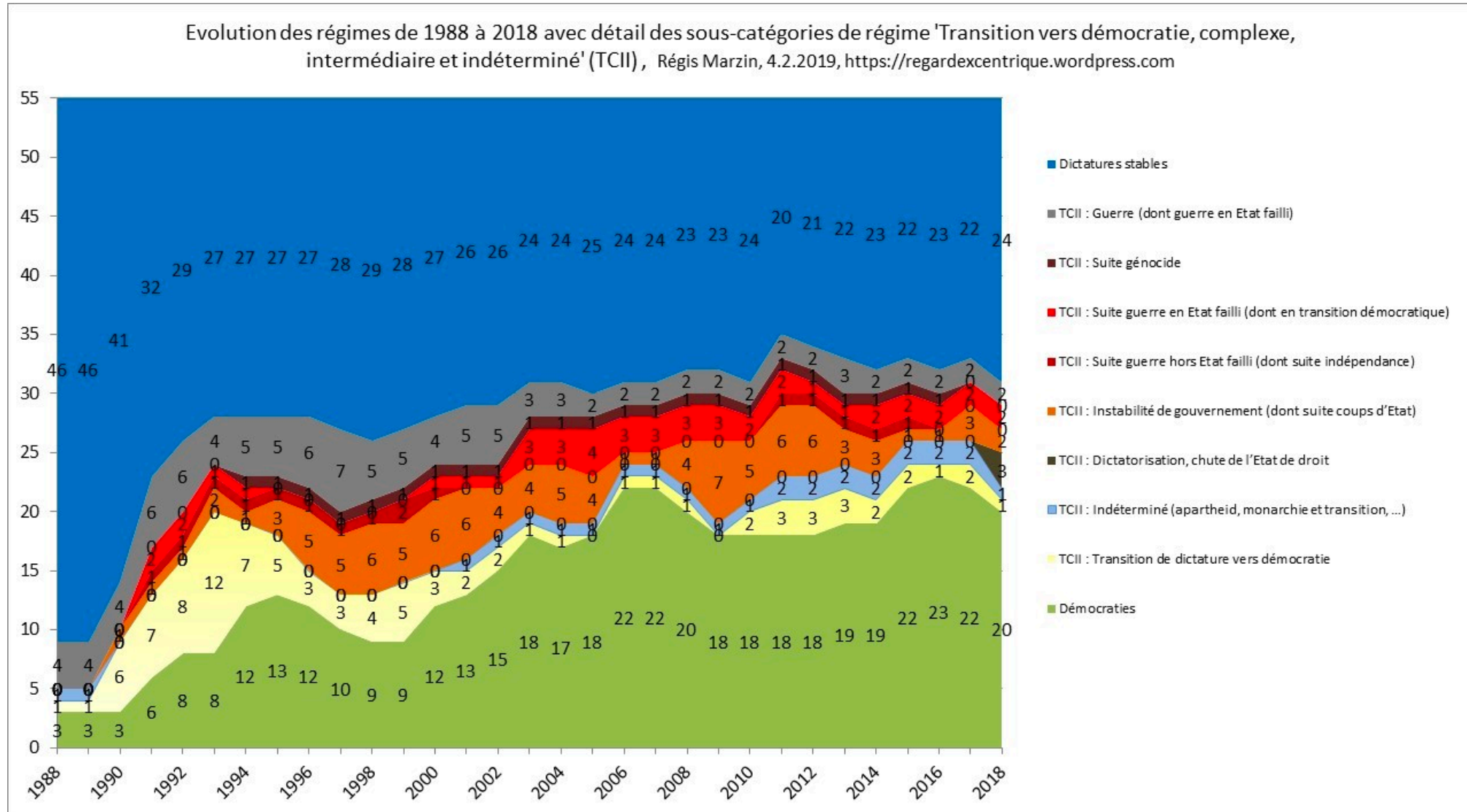


# Elections in post-independence Africa

- 140 competitive elections during the 1990s



# The wave of democratization in the 1990s



What explains many African countries' democratization in the 1990s?

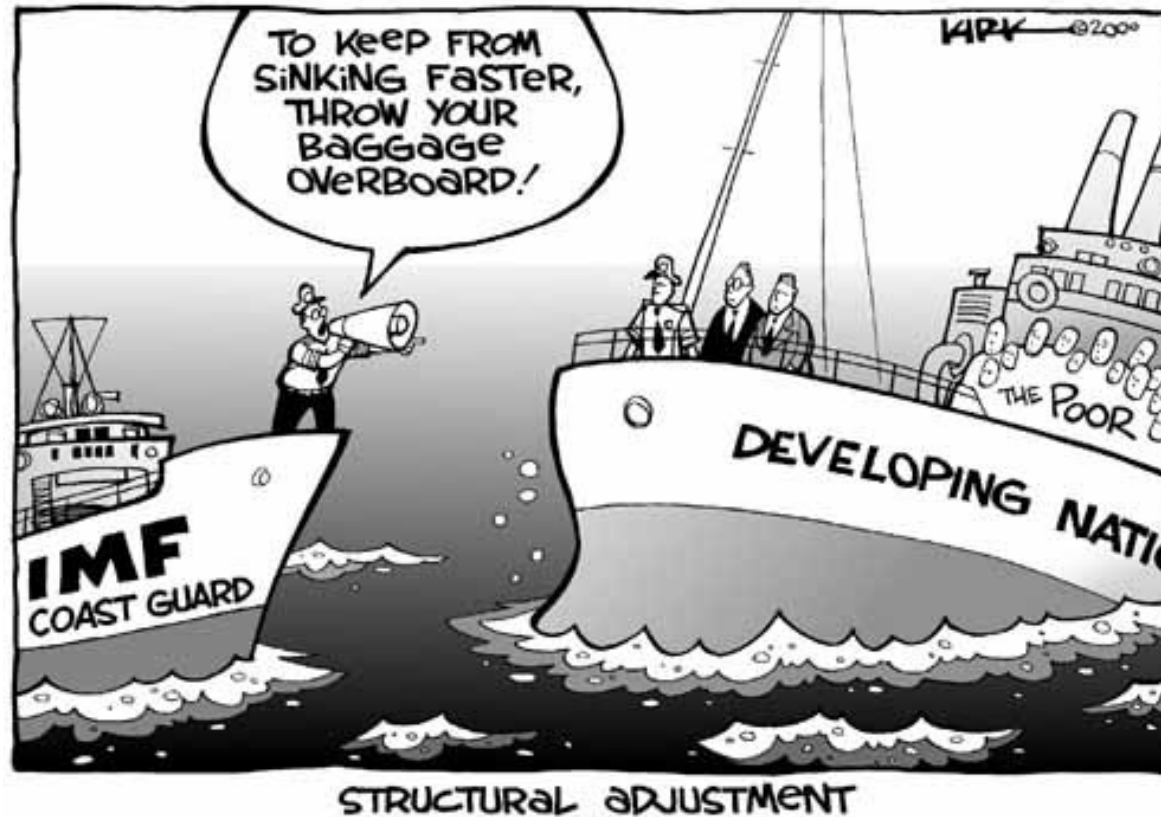
# The causes of democratization

- Economic trends
- African state
- Neopatrimonialism and the politics of ethnicity
- Coups d'état and military rule
- Horizontal inequality, exclusion, and conflict



# Economic crisis and democratization

- Debt crisis and structural adjustment reforms



# African state and democratization

- State autonomy and weak state capacity
- SAPs and the state:
  - Public services
  - Security apparatus



Demonstrators that broke a rally in Nairobi when the Kenyan police used gunfire and tear gas. A crowd of demonstrators was calling for multiparty democracy and protesting the arrest of opposition leaders.

## Democracy Rally Crushed in Kenya

**By JANE PERLE**  
Nairobi, Kenya, July 11 — A police crackdown on a demonstration for multiparty democracy and protesting the arrest of political opponents of the Kenyan government today left 100 people injured and police officers wounded.

The demonstration, which began in the morning, was held in the city of Nairobi. It was a peaceful gathering of about 10,000 people, many of whom were carrying signs and banners. The police used tear gas and gunfire to disperse the crowd.

The police said that the demonstrators had broken a rally in Nairobi when the Kenyan police used gunfire and tear gas. A crowd of demonstrators was calling for multiparty democracy and protesting the arrest of opposition leaders.

The protesters, many of whom were carrying signs and banners, were dispersed by police officers who used tear gas and gunfire. The police said that the demonstrators had broken a rally in Nairobi when the Kenyan police used gunfire and tear gas. A crowd of demonstrators was calling for multiparty democracy and protesting the arrest of opposition leaders.

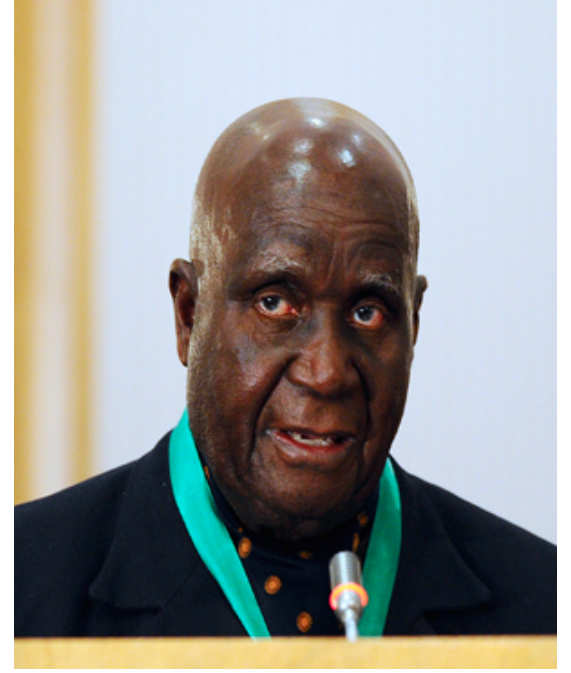
The protesters also gathered in the city of Nairobi to demand the release of political opponents of the Kenyan government. They were calling for a return to a multiparty system and for the release of political opponents of the Kenyan government.

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### Moi resists any movement to a multiparty system.

# Neopatrimonialism, ethnic politics, and democratization

- Appropriation and use of state resources to cultivate political support and systematic clientelism
- Big man politics:
  - Houphouët-Boigny, in power since 1960
  - Hastings Banda, in power since 1964
  - Kenneth Kaunda, in power since 1964



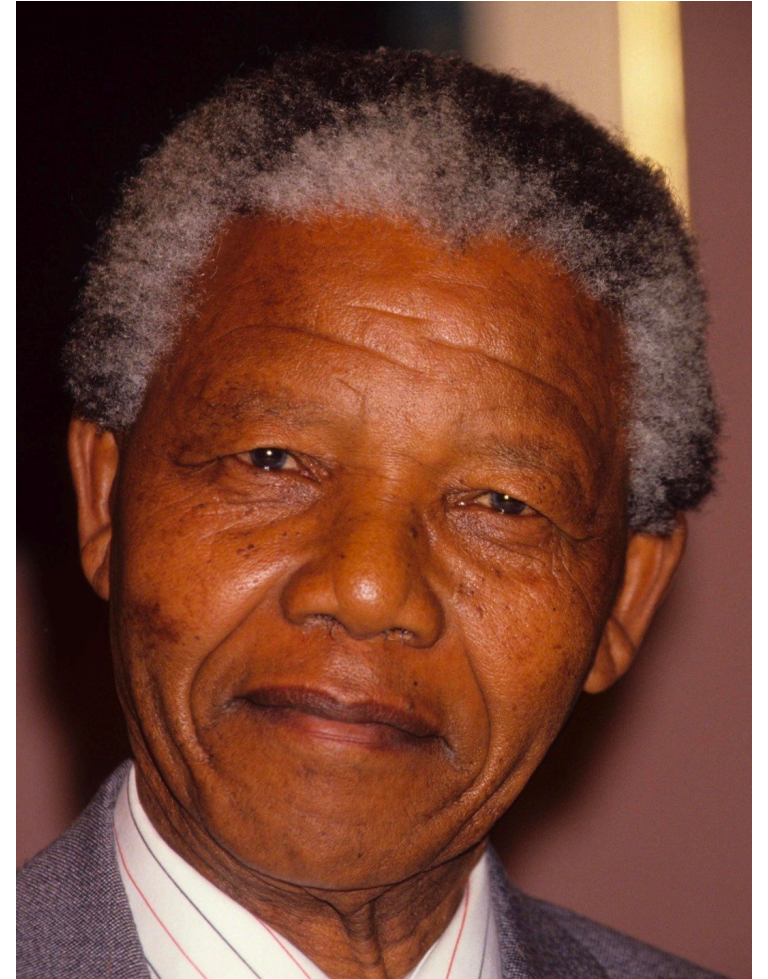
# Military rule and democratization





# Conflict, exclusion, and democratization

- The case of South Africa:
  - Political tensions and majority mobilization
  - Pressure on the National Party
  - 1994 elections and the end of apartheid

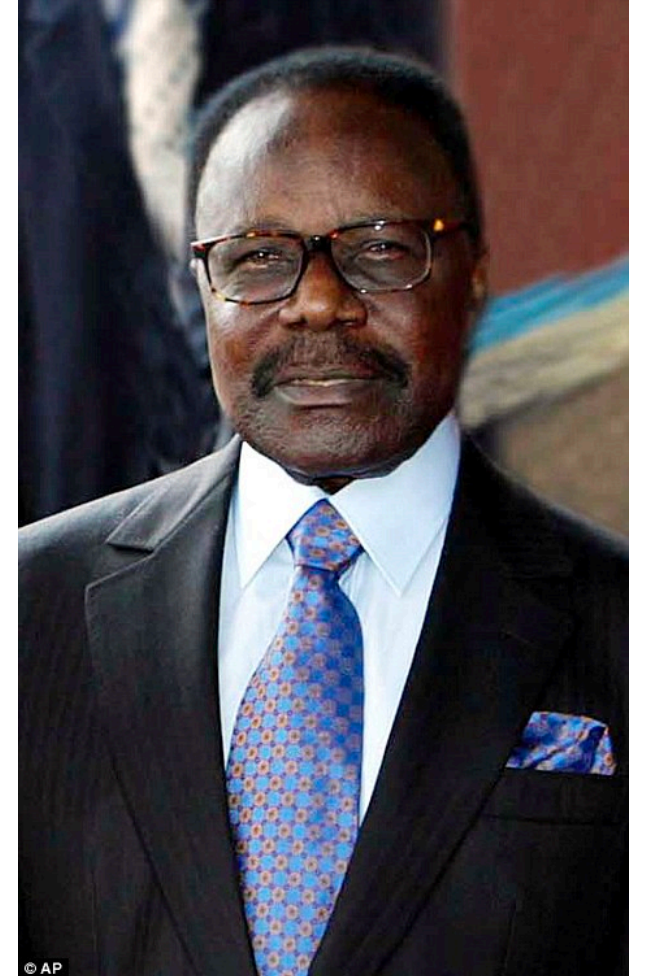


# Causes of democratization

- Loss of authority and popular resentment against misrule
- Lack of resources

# The end of the Cold War

- Pressure from the Global North
- Demonstration effects from the Fall of Nations
- Omar Bongo: “The winds from the East are shaking the coconut trees”





# Political organization

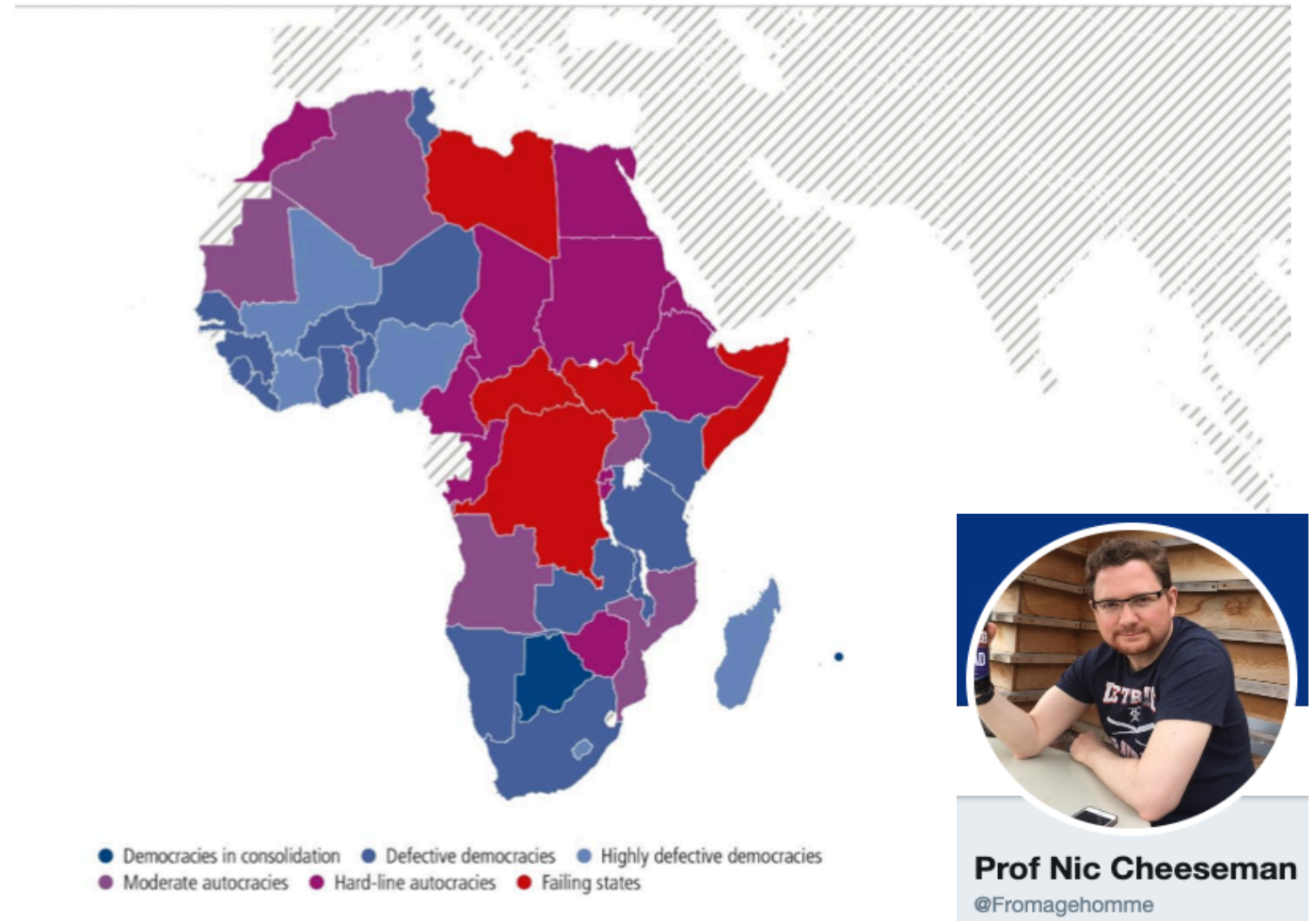
- Civil society
- Religious organizations:
  - Hastings Banda's Church of Scotland: "Pray for this profoundly lonely man who is locked in the prison house of power"
- Trade Unions:
  - Zambian Congress of Trade Unions and Frederick Chiluba





# Africa three decades after the wave of democratization

- Democracies:
  - 5% consolidating
  - 34% defective
  - 11% highly defective
- Autocracies:
  - 36% hardline
  - 14% moderate



**Prof Nic Cheeseman**  
@Fromagehomme

What explains Africa's regime polarization?

# Democratization and democratic consolidation

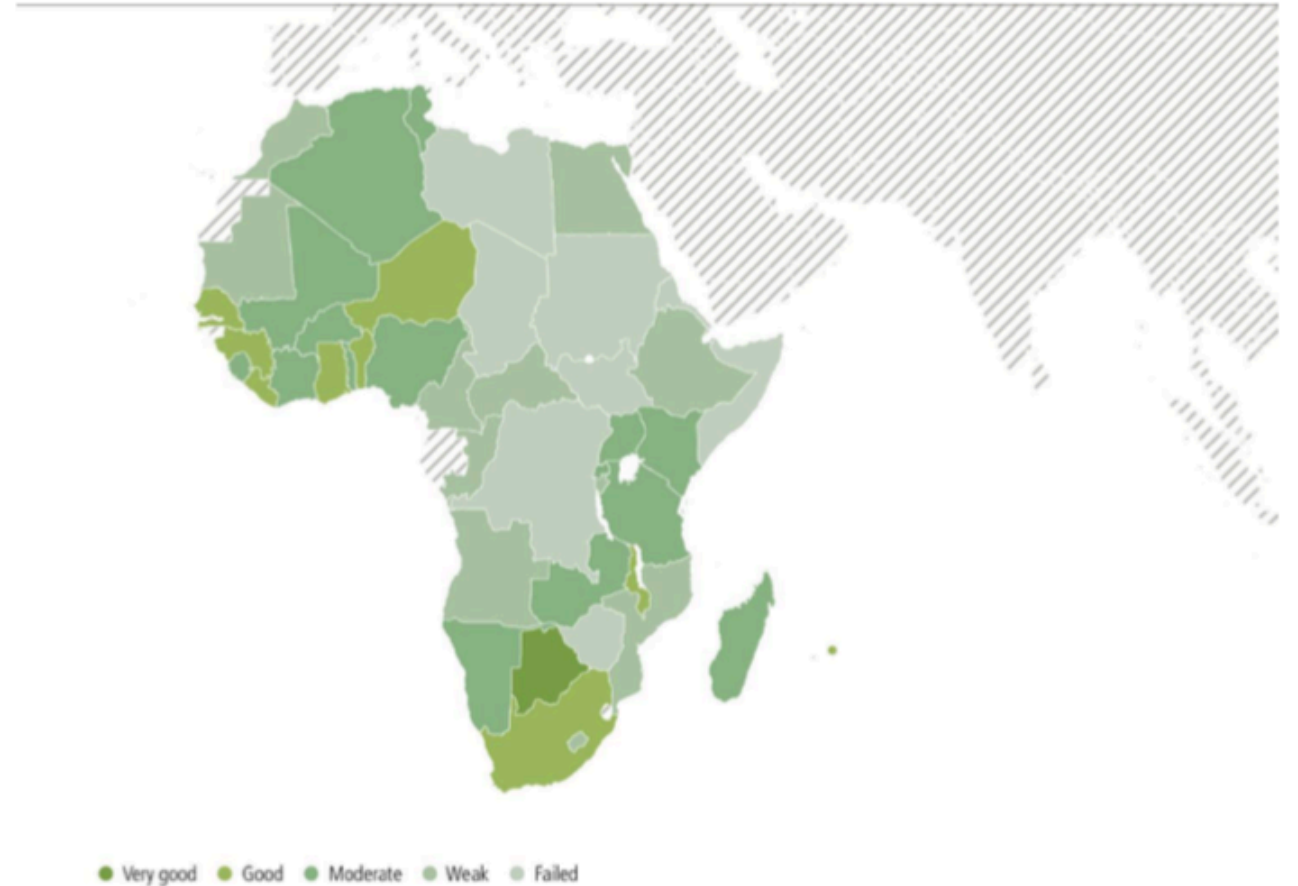
- Richard Sandbrook:
  - “Africa’s hostile conditions encumber not so much *transitions* to democracy as the *consolidation* of enduring democracies.”



What are Africa's 'hostile conditions'?

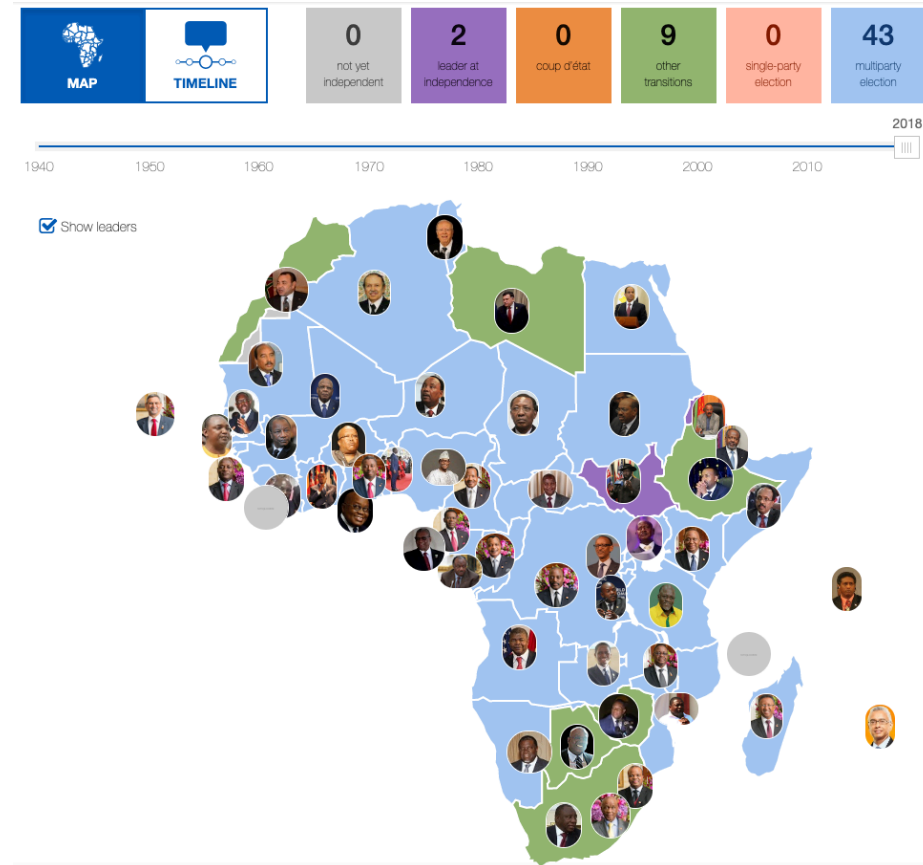
# Quality of democracy

- Economic weakness
- State weakness
- Civil society weakness
- Neopatrimonialism
- Politics of ethnicity
- Conflict
- Dominant party systems
- Factionalism



# Democratic backsliding and hybrid regimes

- Elections as a tactic to increase legitimacy



What are the causes of backsliding?

# Causes of backsliding

- Quality of democracy
- International system:
  - African Union:
    - Sanctions against military takeovers
    - Acceptance of non-free and fair elections
- Autocrats' toolkit



# Autocrats' toolkit: the case of Cameroon

- Electoral fraud
- Cooptation of opposition
- Intimidation
- Manipulation of electoral boundaries
- Electoral access restrictions
- Opposition fragmentation through decentralization and ostensible protection of minority language rights



# Autocrats' toolkit

- Skewed playing field: access to funding, media, judiciary, electoral authorities
- Press manipulation
- Opposition as stooges of foreign interests
- Limited concessions
- Control over NGOs and internet
- Removal of term limits

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Q Search

Africa

## Uganda's Supreme Court Upholds Lifetime Term for Museveni

By Halima Athumani  
April 19, 2019 09:24 AM



# Some recent events: Benin

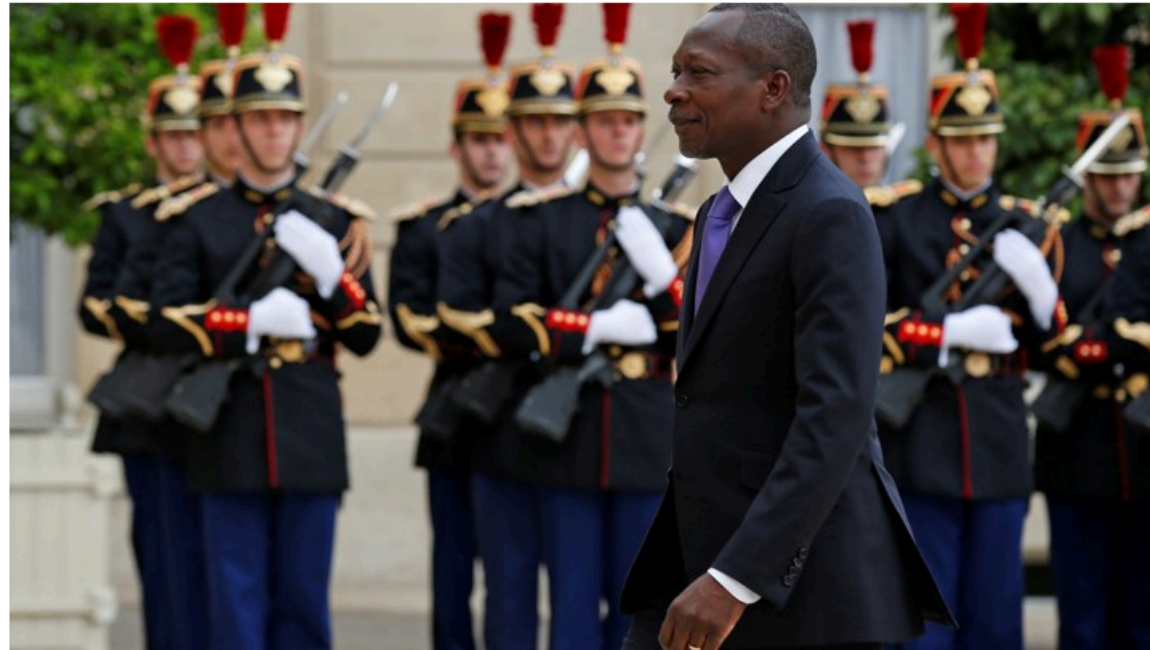
GLOBAL

## The Fall of a Model Democracy

Benin, in West Africa, was hailed as a success story. But it shared many of the same problems as other democracies.

STEPHEN PADUANO MAY 29, 2019

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Benin's president Patrice Talon meets the French president at the Elysee Palace in Paris in 2016. (BENOIT TESSIER / REUTERS)

# Some recent events: Kenya

The New York Times

## *Kenya Supreme Court Nullifies Presidential Election*



The opposition leader Raila Odinga arriving at the Supreme Court in Nairobi on Friday. The court nullified last month's presidential election. Ben Curtis/Associated Press

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/01/world/africa/kenya-election-kenyatta-odinga.html>



# Some recent events: Ethiopia



## 'Abiy Ahmed is our miracle': Ethiopia's democratic awakening

Under the transformative regime of prime minister Abiy Ahmed, a reformist from Oromia, exiled dissidents are being welcomed home. Yet the loosening of state control has also sparked an upsurge in violence

by [Tom Gardner](#) and Charlie Rosser

<https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/sep/25/abiy-ahmed-miracle-ethiopia-democratic-awakening>

Kahoot!

# Course recap: the danger of a single story



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D9lhs241zeg>

# Course recap

- Historical developments
- Themes in African politics
- Political agents, structures, and institutions
- Scholarly perspectives



# Course recap

- Chazan's typology of scholarly perspectives:
  - Modernization
  - Dependency
  - Statist
  - Interactions
  - Geography
  - History
- Classics and state-of-the-art
- Variety of methods

# Course recap

- Inferences:
  - Descriptive
  - Causal
- Units of analysis:
  - Africa, and intra-African variation
  - Countries
  - Subnational areas
  - Ethnic groups

# Complete your course evaluations...



Check your e-mail for a message from [course.evaluations@utoronto.ca](mailto:course.evaluations@utoronto.ca),  
or go to <http://uoft.me/openevals> to complete your evaluations!

# Final exam

- Two parts:
  - 5 short question answers
    - Chosen from a list of 10 questions
    - 50%
  - 1 essay
    - Chosen from a list of 3 questions
    - 50%
- Description + analysis
- Class + readings

# Final exam: short questions 1

- Clientelism
- Neopatrimonialism
- Theories of ethnicity
- Autochthony and indigeneity
- Causes of the civil war in Côte d'Ivoire
- Apartheid
- Identity change in Darfur

# Final exam: short questions 2

- The political salience of Chewa and Tumbuka ethnic identities in Malawi and Zambia
- ZAOGA
- Women in Rwandan politics
- Women's representation in African cabinets
- Varieties of military rule
- Causes of coups d'état
- Causes of the paucity of interstate armed conflict in postcolonial Africa

# Final exam: short questions 3

- Civil war
- Horizontal inequalities
- Resource curse
- Genocide in Rwanda
- The political basis of agricultural policies in postcolonial Africa
- National conferences in Benin and Togo
- Hybrid regimes

# Final exam: essay questions 1

- What is “the core feature of politics in Africa”? According to Bratton and Van de Walle, it is neopatrimonialism. Are they correct?
- How has the relationship between African states and societies changed since decolonization?
- What are the effects of the ethnic fractionalization of many African countries?



# Final exam: essay questions 2

- What explains the incidence of civil conflict in postcolonial Africa?
- What explains the variation in the performance of African economies since independence?
- According to Cheeseman, Africa is a “divided continent”? What explains the political trends that he observes?