

POLS 329 A
Comparative African Politics

Classes 15 and 16:
Politics of identity: gender and religion

Recap

- Historical sources of the contemporary prominence of collective identities, especially ethnicity, in African politics
- Political salience of collective identities as a result of political strategies adopted by politicians (and their constituents)

Kahoot!

Class plan

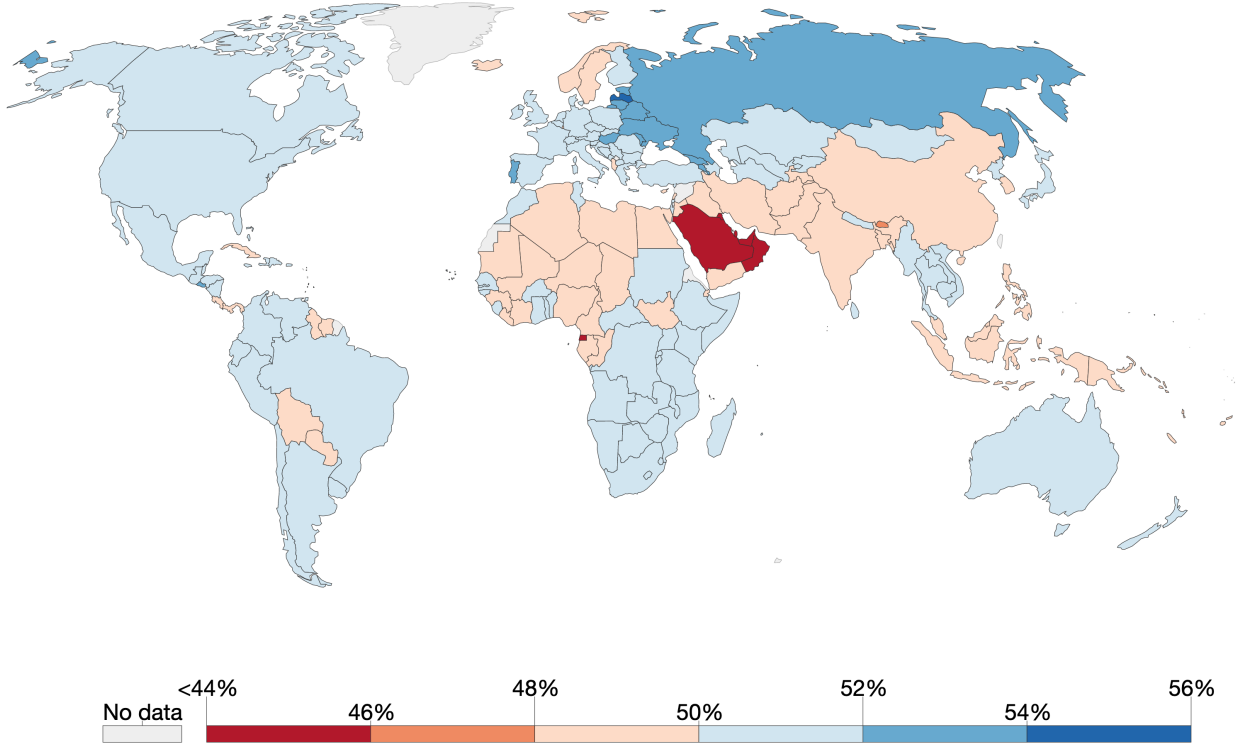
- Politics of:
 - Gender
 - Religion

Instrumental and strategic political mobilization of collective identities

- Ethnic
- Linguistic
- National
- Racial

Gender as the basis of minimum winning coalitions

Share of the population that is female, 2017

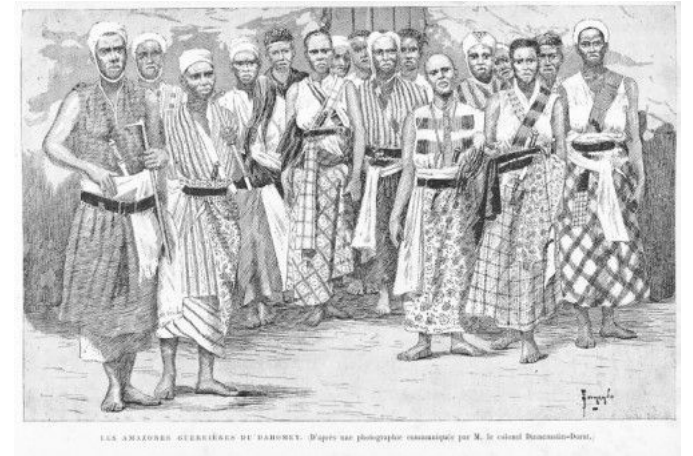


Source: World Bank
OurWorldInData.org/gender-ratio • CC BY
Note: Population is based on the de facto definition of population, which counts all residents regardless of legal status or citizenship.

Why is gender not politically mobilized in the same way as other collective identities?

Women and politics in Africa: historical legacies

- Precolonial gender roles:
 - Fluidity and division of roles
 - Variation:
 - Matrilineal societies
 - Dahomey Mino
 - Complementarity vs. subordination
 - Changes over time:
 - E.g. Sokoto Caliphate



<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/dahomeys-women-warriors-88286072/>

Women and politics in Africa: historical legacies

- Colonialism:
 - Imposition of European 19th c. gender norms
 - Indirect rule
 - Provision of formal education, agricultural equipment, and incentives to produce cash crops to men
- Early postcolonial period:
 - Formal franchise, but societal norms

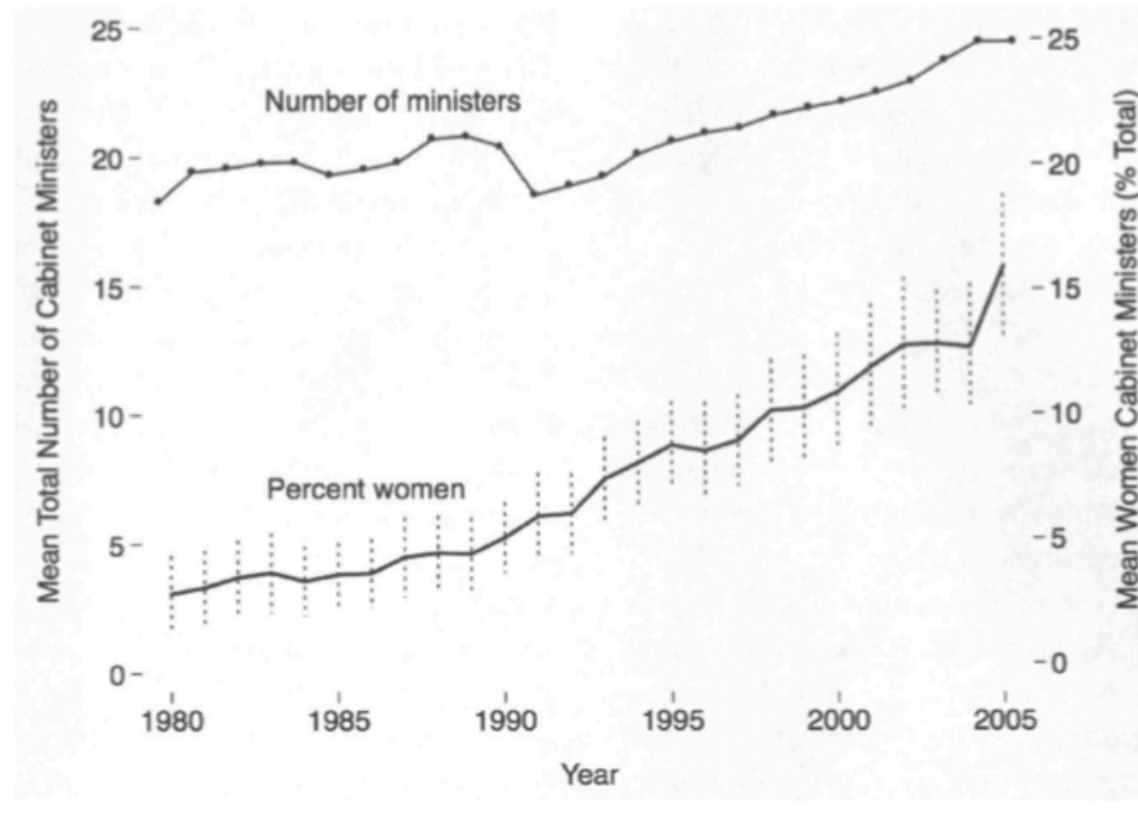
Women and political activism

- Wangari Maathai
- Green Belt Movement, 1977
- Nobel Peace Prize, 2004



Women in formal politics

FIGURE 1 Women in African Cabinets, 1980–2005



Arriola, Leonardo R., and Martha C. Johnson. 2019. "Executive Cabinets Ethnic Politics and Women's Empowerment in Africa: Ministerial Appointments to Executive Cabinets." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (2): 495–510.

Women in formal politics

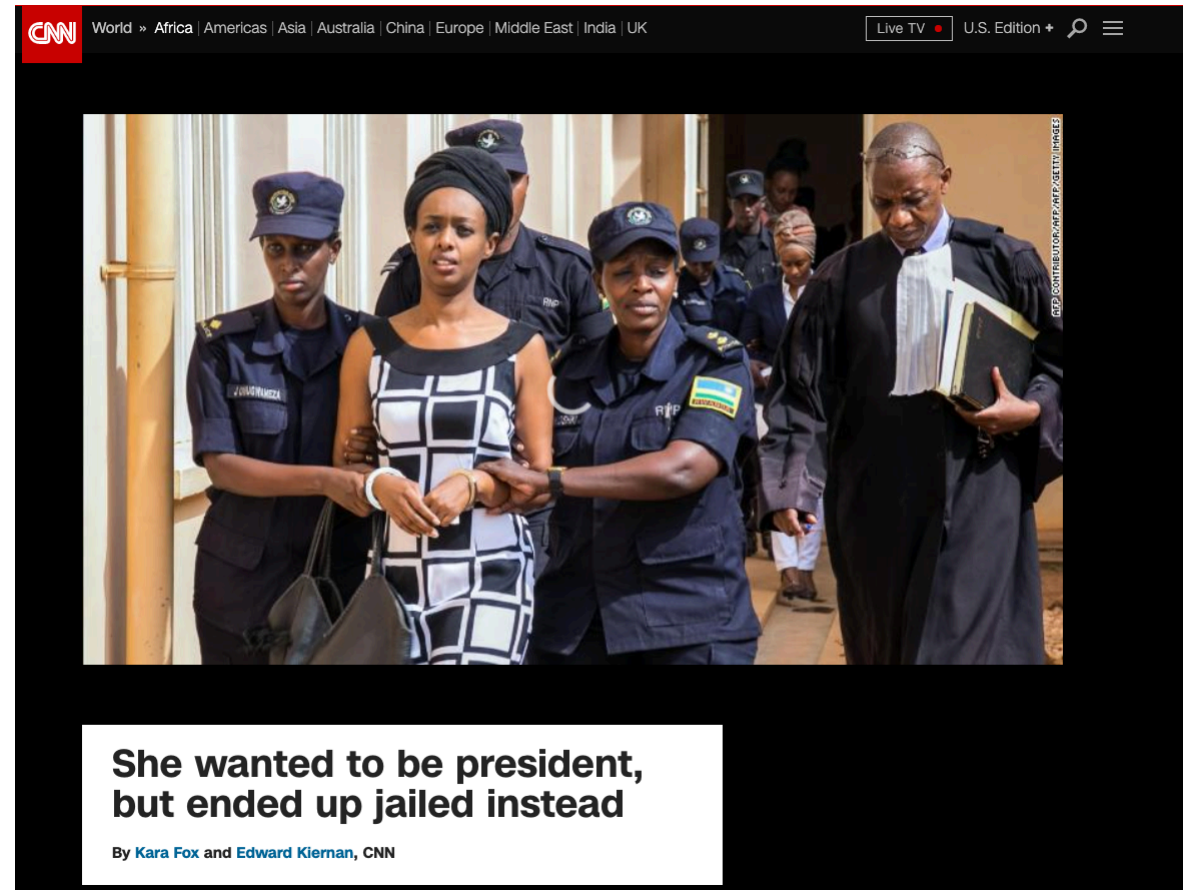
- Heads of state (excluding acting):
 - Ruth Perry, Liberia, 1996-1997
 - Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, Liberia, 2006-2018
 - Joyce Banda, Malawi, 2012-2014
 - Sahle-Work Zewde, Ethiopia, 2018-
- Heads of government:
 - Elisabeth Domitien, CAR, 1975-1976
 - Sylvie Kinigi, Burundi, 1993
 - Mame Madior Boye, Senegal, 2001-2002
 - Maria das Neves, Sao Tome and Principe, 2002-2004
 - Aminata Toure, Senegal, 2013-2014



https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ellen_Johnson_Sirleaf

Women in formal politics: the case of Rwanda

- 68% of MPs
- Diane Rwigara's presidential campaign in the 2017 election



<https://www.cnn.com/2018/08/28/africa/hfr-rwanda-diane-rwigara-asequ-als-intl/index.html>

Women in formal politics: the case of Rwanda



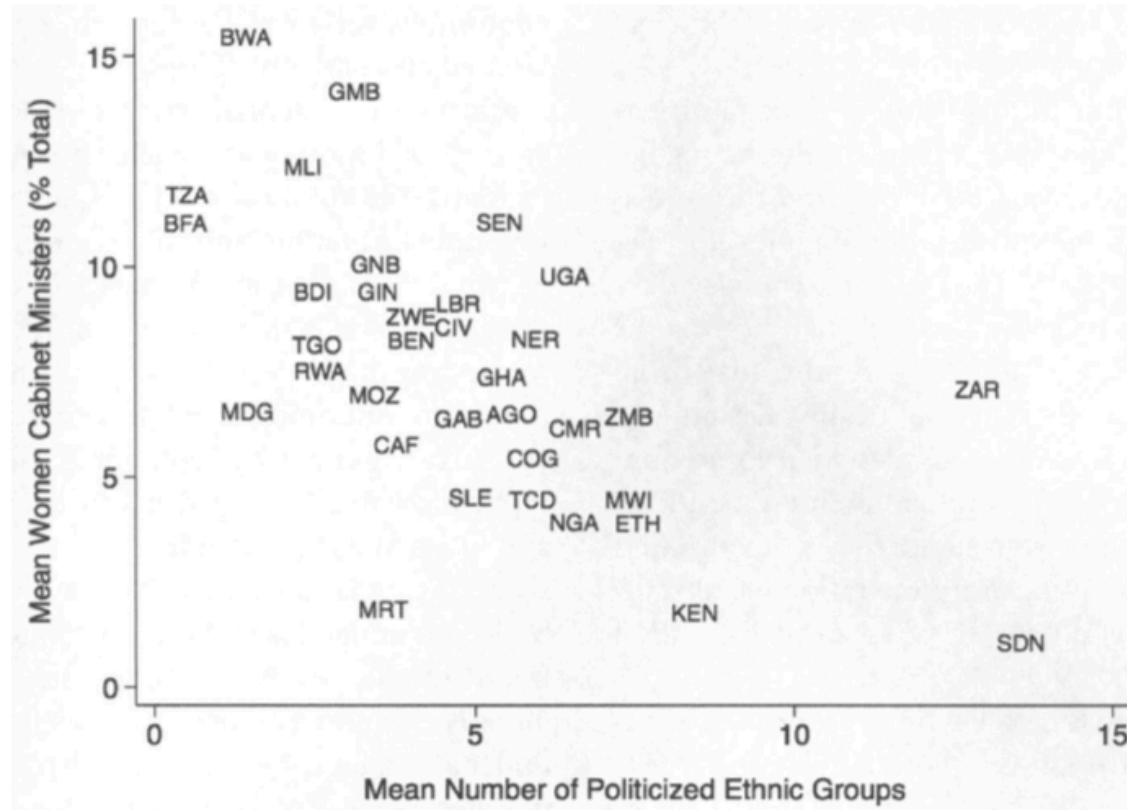
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q26z2wPVKb0>

Under what conditions
are women in Africa
more likely to acquire
political influence
according to Arriola
and Johnson?



Political influence of women according to Arriola and Johnson

FIGURE 2 Ethnic Politicization and Women in African Cabinets

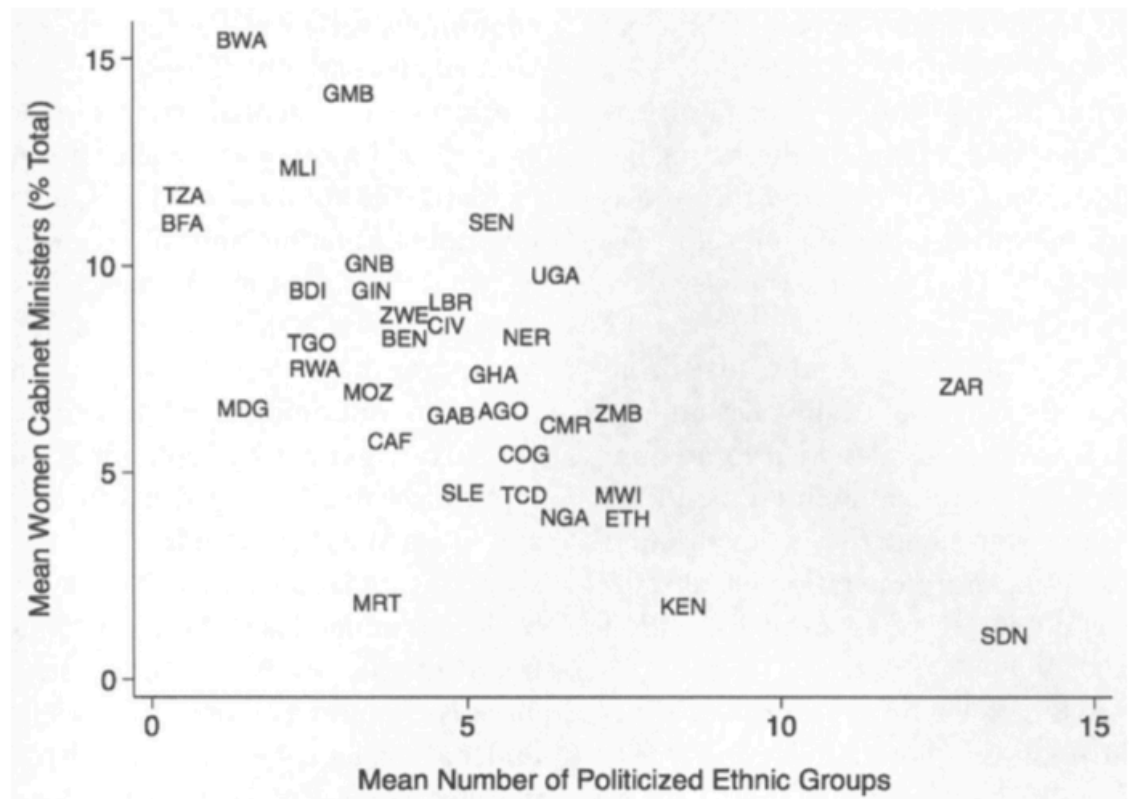


Political influence of women according to Arriola and Johnson

- “[W]omen's share of cabinet appointments is significantly lower in countries where leaders must accommodate a larger number of politicized ethnic groups, but it rises with higher levels of democracy and greater representation of women in parliament.”

- Arriola, Leonardo and Martha Johnson. 2014. “Ethnic Politics and Women’s Empowerment in Africa: Ministerial Appointments to Executive Cabinets.” *American Journal of Political Science*, 58 (2).

FIGURE 2 Ethnic Politicization and Women in African Cabinets



What can explain Arriola
and Johnson's findings?



What are the effects of greater participation of women in politics according to Turkington?

from [Africa in Transition](#) and [Africa Program](#)

A Step Forward for Women in African Politics



Ethiopia's Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed walks with the newly elected President Sahle-Work Zewde, as they leave House of Peoples' Representatives in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on October 25, 2018 Tiksa Negeri/Reuters

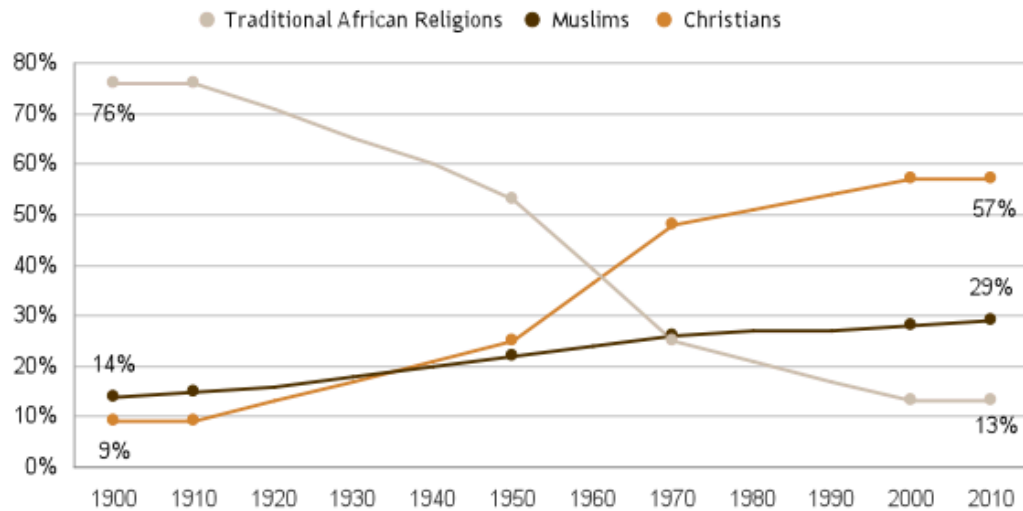
Blog Post by Guest Blogger for John Campbell

October 25, 2018



Religion in Africa

Growth of Islam & Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa Since 1900

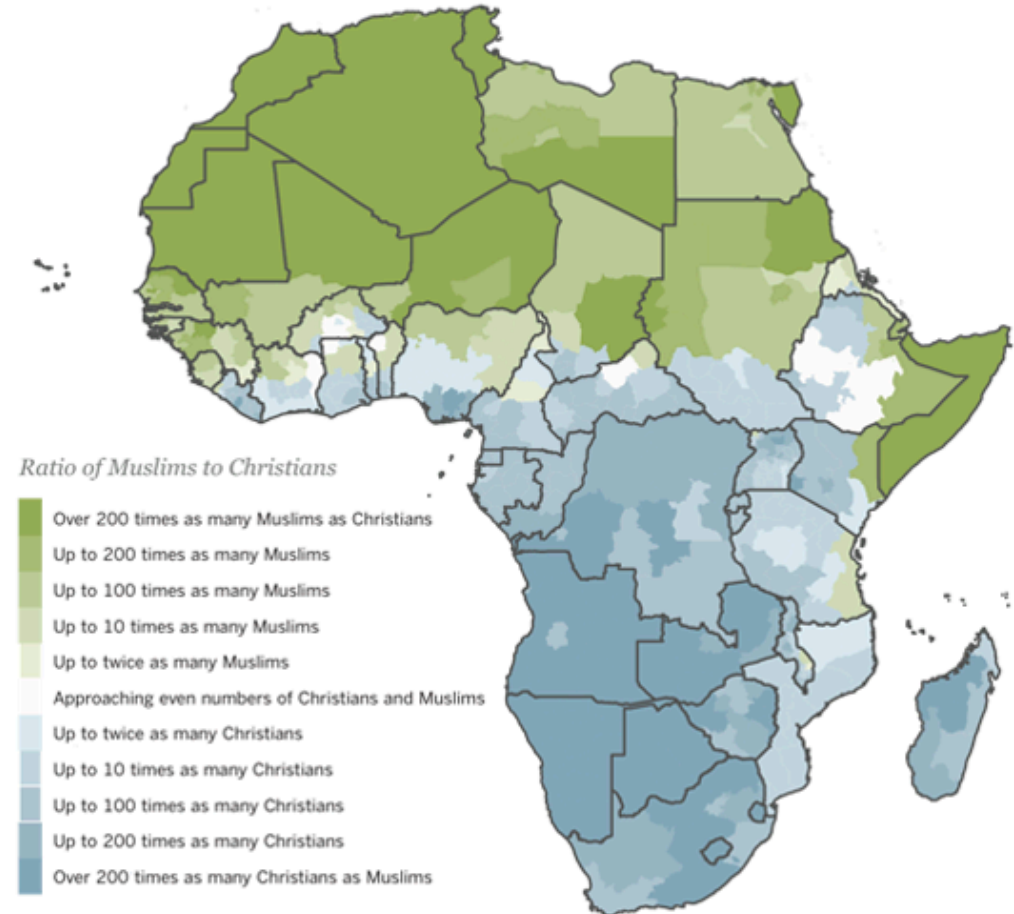


Source: World Religion Database. Historical data draw on government records, historical atlases and reports of religious organizations at the time. Later figures draw on U.N. population estimates, surveys and censuses.

Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, April 2010

Muslims and Christians in Africa

This map shows the ratio of Muslims to Christians in each country and province. The north is heavily Muslim, and the south is heavily Christian.



Sources: censuses, demographic and health surveys, and the World Religion Database

Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, April 2010

Religion and politics in Africa

- Schatzberg:
 - “Most Africans understand that ‘politics’ and ‘religion’ are parts of the same terrain: that power flows between the visible material world and the invisible spiritual world; and that the political kingdom contains a politically significant spiritual terrain. Moreover, intelligent and gifted politicians know the contours of this terrain and are comfortable traversing it in either its material or spiritual manifestations. They understand that in their culture power is unitary and cannot be divided into separate boxes.”
 - Schatzberg, Michael. 2001. *Political Legitimacy in Middle Africa: Father, Family, Food*. Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press: 74.



What political role has religion played in Zimbabwe according to Maxwell?

Religious movements in politics in Africa according to Maxwell

- Zimbabwe Assemblies of God, Africa (ZAOGA) and the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (Zanu-PF) regime
- “Catch the Cockerel before dawn”
- Reproduction of neopatrimonialism within ZAOGA
- Internal contestation



<https://www.herald.co.zw/first-lady-opens-zaoga-hospital/>

Politicization of religion in Africa according to Maxwell

- Pentecostalism as means of social control



Politicization of religion in Africa

- Uganda's Anti-Homosexuality Act 2014 & 2018 and elite manipulation of social anxieties

- Sadgrove, Joanna, Robert M. Vanderbeck, Johan Andersson, Gill Valentine, and Kevin Ward. 2012. "Morality Plays and Money Matters: Towards a Situated Understanding of the Politics of Homosexuality in Uganda." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 50 (01): 103–29.



<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/uganda-passes-anti-gay-bill>

Politicization of religion in Africa

- Cross-cutting cleavages and mobilization of religious vs. ethnic allegiances

Politicization of religion in Africa: evidence from Northern

- 2007 parliamentary elections in Laisamis Constituency:
 - Joseph Lamasolai Lekuton (Ariaal) vs. Abubakar Godana Hargura (Saale Rendille)



SEARCH

The New York Times Magazine

Magazine

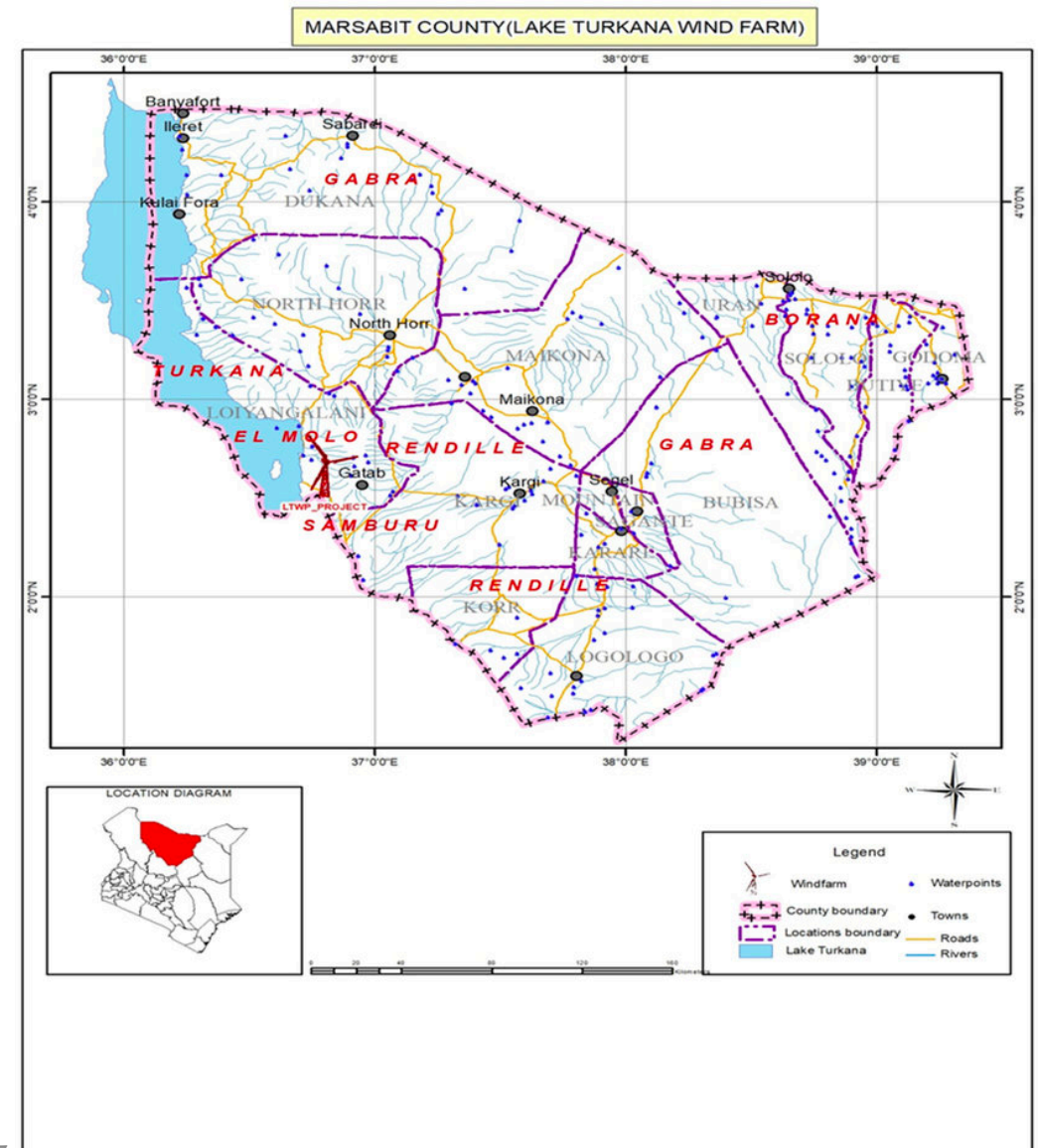
The African Front

By JOSHUA HAMMER DEC. 23, 2007

<https://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/23/magazine/23kenya-t.html?nytmobile=0>

Achiba, Gargule. 2019. "Navigating Contested Winds: Development Visions and Anti-Politics of Wind Energy in Northern Kenya." *Land* 8 (7): 1-29.

PollEv.com/karolczuba247



Politicization of religion in Africa: evidence from Ethiopia

- Oromo nationalism and other centrifugal forces in Ethiopia
- Ethiopia's ethnic federalism project
- Osmond:
 - Waaqeffannaa association, return to (neo)traditional religion, and invention of tradition
 - Osmond, Thomas. 2004. "Waaqeffannaa: une association religieuse d'Éthiopie entre nationalisme ethnique et idéologie afrocentriste." *Politique africaine*, 94(2), 166-180.



Why is ethnicity the most politically salient identity in Africa?