

African Elections
POLS. 53001-01
Online
T, TR: 3:55-5:10

Office Hours (on zoom):

M: 3-4, W:2-3

Please sign up using google calendar [here](#)

Professor Jaimie Bleck

Abstract:

This university seminar will explore current issues and trends in African elections. Students will participate in real-time analysis of electoral politics in three African countries that have elections in fall 2020: Tanzania, Burkina Faso, and Ghana. The course will utilize primary source materials from these countries including candidate speeches, social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, newspapers, and election monitoring reports in order to better understand the most important campaign issues, the candidates, and their constituencies.

Assignments:

Attendance and Participation

Presentations

Reaction Memos (4 at 15% each)

Final Essay

Date Due

Ongoing

See Syllabus

See Syllabus

November 19

Percentage

5%

10%

60%

25%

Required Books:

Books to Purchase:

We will read the following books almost in their entirety. You can purchase them in the university bookstore or online. Unfortunately, there are no physical reserve copies at the library this year. If you have any difficulty paying for any of the required course books, please contact me, and we can work to find a solution.

Sankara, Thomas. 2002. [We are Heirs of the World's Revolutions: Speeches from the Burkina Faso Revolution.](#)

Articles:

All articles will be available through direct link on the electronic syllabus or on SAKAI: <http://sakai.nd.edu/> unless specified as available as Course Reserve. Course reserve materials will be available through the library site for this course.

Assignment Descriptions:

Country Experts

Each student must sign up as a point person for one of three countries: Tanzania, Ghana, or Burkina Faso. During the course of the semester, she will be responsible for reading online press and giving a short current events update at the beginning of class. These updates will be graded as part of participation.

Every class will begin with a discussion of current events in each of the three countries, so group members should come prepared to discuss recent developments in their country. Below, I have listed links to newspapers, blogs, podcasts, and other resources so that you can get information on candidates and campaigns. I also recommend checking out candidate Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter pages.

Presentation

Each student is responsible for signing up for a presentation in which he is responsible for presenting background information on the assigned topic. Presentations will be 15 minutes X # people in each presentation group. If presenting in a group, all members are responsible for one part of the presentation.

Reaction Memos

Each student must choose four articles over the course of the semester to which they will write an 8 page reaction memo. Each memo should evaluate the author's main argument and then relate the readings to themes we have been discussing over the course of the semester. The best memos will have a thesis statement, which guides the reader through the essay. The reaction memos will be graded on the following criteria: a) organization and clarity in writing b) comprehension and engagement of the cited article(s) and c) the ability to integrate broader discussion of concepts and themes from class.

I highly recommend visiting the Writing Center: writingcenter.nd.edu – where you can meet with a tutor who provide one on one consultation on academic work.

The Final Essay

In a 20 page final paper, students will write on a topic of their choice related to African elections. They should consult with Professor Bleck in order to select a topic.

Academic Code of Honor

This class follows the binding Code of Honor at Notre Dame. The graded work you do in this class must be your own. In cases where you collaborate with other students, make sure to fairly attribute their contribution to your project. Students should familiarize themselves with these guidelines: <http://nd.edu/~hnr/code/docs/studentguide.pdf>.

A common infraction is lack of citations, so students should take time to make sure that they are citing work appropriately for their assignments. If students have any questions about proper citations, they should contact me.

Here are a list of local newspapers and new sites that you can follow in order to get up to date information on the election campaigns.

Burkina Faso:

Sidwaya - <https://www.sidwaya.info/blog/bfcategories/politique/>

L'Observateur Paagla -

http://www.lobservateur.bf/index.php?option=com_k2&view=itemlist&layout=category&task=category&id=43&Itemid=102

Le Pays - <http://lepays.bf/>

Agence D'Information - <https://www.aib.media/>

L'actualite du Burkina - <https://www.burkina24.com/>

Tanzania:

Daily News - <https://www.dailynews.co.tz/>

The Guardian - <https://www.ippmedia.com/en/the-guardian>

The Citizen - <https://www.thecitizen.co.tz/1765046-1765046-2iga6hz/index.html>

Ghana:

The Chronicle - <https://thechronicle.com.gh/>

Daily Graphic - <https://www.graphic.com.gh/>

Daily Guide Network - <https://dailyguidenetwork.com/>

Ghanian Times - <https://www.ghanaiantimes.com.gh/>

The Herald - <https://www.theheraldghana.com/>

Ghana Web - <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/>

Relevant Websites:

General Election Sources:

Google Election Portal

Candidate Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram

www.v-dem.net

General Africa Sources:

<http://www.france24.com/en/>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world/africa/>

<http://www.africaportal.org/>

www.jeuneafrique.com (in French)

Blogs/Podcasts:

The Monkey Cage: www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/

Africa is a Country: www.africasacountry.com

African Arguments: www.africanarguments.com

Into Africa: <https://www.csis.org/podcasts/africa>

Ufahamu Africa: <https://ufahamuafrica.com>

August 11

Intro Class

Go over syllabus – sign up for groups

August 13 **Pre-colonial Systems of Governance**

Readings:

“Did Africa Invented Human Rights” by Jean-Loup Amselle

[“Indigenous Africa's governance architecture: a need for African public administration theory?”](#) By Benon Basheka, page 466-484

“The Warrior and the State in Pre-colonial Africa: Comparative Perspectives,” by GN Uzoigwe

August 18 **The Legacy of Colonialism**

Readings:

“Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement,” Peter Ekeh

“The Wretched of the Earth,” Franz Fanon, Pages 97- 144 (Course Reserve)

August 20 – Independence Leaders – Nyerere

Readings:

“Without Unity, There is Not Future in Africa”- <https://newafricanmagazine.com/3234/>

“Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism”

“Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa, and Political Morality in Contemporary Tanzania” by Fouéré

August 25 – Independence Leaders - Nkrumah

Guest Lecturer – Bright Gyamfi, PhD Candidate, Northwestern University

Readings:

Listen to 1957 Independence Day Speech:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=joBzivBKz4>

“The African Genius”

August 27 – Independence Leaders – Sankara

Readings:

Sankara, Thomas. 2002. [We are Heirs of the World's Revolutions: Speeches from the Burkina Faso Revolution.](#) Page 29-106

September 1 – Founding Elections

Readings:

“The Anomalies of Continuity: Ghanaian Elections since Independence” by Naomi Chanzan (Course Reserve)

“Africa: Dictatorial and Democratic Electoral Systems since 1946” by Matt Golder and Leonard Wantchekon

*******Reaction Paper 1 Due*******

Sept 3 Multiparty elections

Readings:

Electoral Politics in Africa Since 1990, Chapter 2 by Bleck and van de Walle (Course Reserve)

How Autocrats Compete: Parties, Patrons, and Unfair Elections in Africa, Chapter 1 by Morse (Course Reserve)

Sept 8 Parties and Presidentialism

Guest Lecturer, Professor Edalina Rodrigues Sanches, University of Lisbon

Readings:

Party Systems in Young Democracies: Varieties of Institutionalization in sub Saharan Africa, Chapter 2 (Course Reserve)

TBD

Sept 10 Tanzania

“The Multiparty Reform Process in Tanzania: The Dominance of the Ruling Party” by Nyirabu

“Authoritarian stability across space: the case of Tanzania” by Makulilo

“The democracy debate in Africa: Tanzania” by Shivji

Sept 15 Tanzania

“Against Foreign Capital?: The Populist Temptation in Tanzania” by Makulilo

“Macho Macho Man” by Komba

“Magufuli’s dilemma: corruption and the pursuit of Democracy” by Mwalupinde

“The Authoritarian Turn in Tanzania” by Paget

Sept 17 Tanzania

“Electoral Corruption and the Politics of Elections Financing in Tanzania” by Babeiya

“Women Participation in Party Politics during the Multiparty Era in Africa” by Shayo

“Tanzania General Election 2015: Religious factors as political instrument in determining voting preferences” by Mfinanga, Issa, and Mrosso

Sept 22

Readings:

“Money Politics” and “Ethnicity” in Voting Decisions during Tanzania Presidential Election” by Charles and Samani
“The Language of Caricatures in Tanzania’s Political Landscape: The Case of Selected Masoud Kipanya’s Cartoons” by Lusekelo
“Crowdmonitoring of Elections through ICT: The Case of Uchaguzi Wetu 2015 Crowdsourcing Platform in Tanzania” by Shayo and Kersting

*******Reaction Paper 2 Due*******

Sept 24 Group 1 Presentation: Tanzania Elections 2020

Sept 29 Burkina Faso

Readings:

“Burkina Faso- The Fall of Blaise Compaoré” by Frère and Englebert
“Explaining the Unexpected: Electoral Reform and Democratic Governance in Burkina Faso” by Santiso and Loada

**Oct 1 Guest Lecture – Professor Abdoul Karim Saidou, University
Thomas Sankara, Burkina Faso**

Readings:

TBD

Oct 6 Burkina Faso

Readings:

“Urban Protest in Burkina Faso” by Harsch
“Burkina Faso: from Thomas Sankara to popular resistance” by Zeilig
“Francophone Muslim intellectuals, Islamic associational life and religious authority in Burkina Faso “ by Madore

Oct 8 Burkina Faso

Readings:

“The Rise and Fall of a Political Party: Handling Political Failure in Municipal Elections in Burkina Faso” by Hapberg
“Elite defection and grassroots democracy under competitive authoritarianism: evidence from Burkina Faso” by Andrews and Honig

*******Reaction Paper 3 Due*******

Oct 13 Burkina Faso

Group 2 Presentation: Burkina Faso 2020 Elections

Oct 15 **No Class**

Readings:

Watch African Elections on your own time. Available via Kanopy:

<https://www.kanopy.com/>

October 20 **Ghana**

Readings:

“MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK? Quasi-Public Entities and the Drama of Elections in Ghana” by Asante

“Another Step Forward for Ghana” by Gyimah-Boadi

“A Peaceful Turnover in Ghana” by Gyimah-Boadi

October 22 **Guest Lecture, Professor Richard Asante, University of Ghana, Legon**

Readings:

“Oil and Ghana’s 2012 Presidential Elections” by Nyuykonge and Letsoala

The Youth and Party Manifestos in Ghanaian politics: the Case of the 2012 General Elections” by Gyampo and Debrah

“The Nature of Ideology in Ghana’s 2012 Elections” by Obeng-Odoom

October 27 **Ghana**

Readings:

“Ghana’s elections of 7 December 2016: A post-mortem” by Joseph R.A. Ayee

“Democratic Ruptures and Electoral Outcomes in Africa: Ghana’s 2016 Election” by Bob-Milliar and Paller

October 28 – Tanzania Elections

Oct 29 - Guest Lecturer, Professor Richard Asante, University of Ghana Legon

Readings:

“Liberal Democracy and Civil Society from Below in Ghana: Can the sub-Alterns Act?” by Ayelazuno and Mawuko-Yevugah (Course Reserve)

“Addressing the Problem of Political Vigilantism in Ghana through the Conceptual Lens of Wicked Problems” by Asamoah

“We would rather be leaders than parliamentarians: women and political office in Ghana” by Bauer and Darkwah

*******Reaction Paper 4 Due*******

November 3 **Ghana Presentation**

November 5 **Outline of Final Paper Due**

November 10 **Updated Draft of Outline for Final Paper Due**

November 12 **First Draft of final paper due**

November 19 **Final Paper Due**

November 22 – Burkina Faso Elections

December 2020 – Ghanaian Elections