

**READING LIST FOR 2011 APSA
AFRICA WORKSHOP
July 19, 2011**

Learning Objectives for Unit One:

- 1) Identify the assumptions and values manifest in multiculturalism and liberalism as potentially competing philosophies of representation.
- 2) Familiarize participants with key definitions and concepts from the democratization literature and from new research on regimes, and practice applying them to a range of non-obvious comparative cases.
- 3) Advance understanding of different theories of representation, and analyze their consequences for democratic theory more generally.
- 4) Apply these broader debates to concrete issues being addressed by workshop participants in their particular cases of study.

Readings for Unit One:

DAY 1 : intro to concepts and definitions

Babbie, Earl. 2010. *The Practice of Social Research*. Florence, KY: Wadsworth Publishers. 82-100.

Bollen, Kenneth. 1993. "Political Democracy: Conceptual and Measurement Traps" In *On Measuring Democracy*, ed. Alex Inkeles. New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 3-18.

Barry, Brian. 2001. *Culture and Equality – An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 292-328.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1994. "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 5, 1 (January 1994): 55-69.

Edozie, Rita Kiki. 2009. Chapter 6, "Electoral Authoritarians and Delegative Democrats: Reconstructing African Democratic Consolidation in Africa." In *Reconstructing the Third Wave of Democracy: Comparative African Democratic Politics*. Lanham: University Press of America. 128-154.

Eisenstadt, Todd. 2006. "Mexico's *Concertaciones*: The Rise and Fall of a Substitutive Informal Institution," in Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky, eds. *Informal Institutions and Politics in Latin America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 227-248.

DAY 2: empirical studies of democracy and democratization

Holmes, Stephen. 2003. Chapter 1, "Lineages of the Rule of Law." In *Democracy and the Rule of Law*, eds. J. M. Maravall and A. Przeworski. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 19-61.

Krastev, Ivan. 2006. "Democracy's Doubles." *Journal of Democracy* 17(2): 52-62.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 2003. "Horizontal Accountability: The Legal Institutionalization of Mistrust," In *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*, eds. Scott Mainwaring and Christopher Welna. New York: Oxford University Press. 34-54.

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. 2006. "Linkage versus Leverage: Rethinking the International Division of Regime Change." *Comparative Politics* 38(4): 379-400.

Gerardo L. Munck and Jay Verkuilen. 2002. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy - Evaluating Alternative Indices." *Comparative Political Studies* 35(1): 5-34.

Coppedge, Michael and Monty G. Marshall, et. al. 2002. "Comments on Munck and Verkuilen." *Comparative Political Studies* 35(1): 35-57.

Kanyinga, Karuti, Duncan Okello and Akoko Akech. 2010. "Contradictions of Transition to Democracy in Fragmented Societies: The Kenya 2007 General Elections in Perspective" in *Tensions and Reversals in Democratic Transitions: The Kenya 2007 General Elections*, Eds. Karuti Kanyinga and Duncan Okello. Nairobi: Society for International Development and Institute for Development Studies (IDS), University of Nairobi.

DAY 3: democracy and representation

Burke, Edmund. 1774. "Speech to the Bristol Electors at the Conclusion of the Poll," at <http://www.ourcivilisation.com/smartboard/shop/burke/extracts/chap4.htm>

Webster, Mary E. 2008. *The Federalist Papers – Modern English 2nd ed.* Seattle: CreateSpace Publisher. Pages 42-47 (Federalist 10), pages 175-191 (Federalists 47 to 51).

Mahmood Mamdani. 1999. 'Historicizing Power and Responses to Power: Indirect Rule and its Reforms,' *Social Research* 66(3): 859-886.

Reilly, Ben. 2002. "Electoral Systems for Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 156-170.

Harri Englund. 2004. "Introduction: recognizing rights , imagining alternatives' in *Rights and the Politics of Recognition in Africa*. Eds. Harri Englund and Francis B Nyamnjoh. London: Zed Publication.

Francis B Nyamnjoh. 2004. "Reconciling the 'Rhetoric of rights' with competing notions of personhood and agency in Botswana" in *Rights and the Politics of Recognition in Africa*. Eds. Harri Englund and Francis B Nyamnjoh. London: Zed Publication.

Przeworski, Adam. 2010. *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Learning Objectives for Unit Two:

- 1) Consider the relationship between multicultural rights recognition and power sharing, analyzing how these literatures overlap but operate at different units of analysis.
- 2) Explore how comparative concepts such as veto players challenge conventional regime typologies and can reframe discussions about formal institutions and legitimacy.
- 3) Develop a balanced understanding of the literatures on consociationalism and power sharing, critically examining the outcomes used to measure the success of these models.
- 4) Building on the country expertise of the workshop participants, we will practice situating the primary issues of ethnic relations within the different models of democratic representation.

Readings for Unit Two:

DAY 4: consociationalism and power sharing

Horowitz, Donald. 2002. Chapter 1, "Constitutional Design: Proposals versus Processes," in Andrew Reynolds, ed., *The Architecture of Democracy – Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 15-36

Lijphart, Arend. 2002. Chapter 2, "The Wave of Power Sharing Democracy," in Andrew Reynolds, ed., *The Architecture of Democracy – Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 37-54.

Varshney, Ashutosh. 2004. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 219-278.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. "What is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 397-424.

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* 98:529-45.

Norris, Pippa. 2008. Chapter 6, "Presidential and Parliamentary Executives," in *Driving Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 132-156.

Cheibub, Antonio. 2007. Chapter 6, "What Makes Presidential Democracies Fragile?" in *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 136-164.

Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars." *International Security* 20(4): 137-175.

Varshney, Ashutosh. 2001. "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond." *World Politics* 53(3): 362-398.

DAY 5: representation in real life

Eisenstadt, Todd A. 2009. "Agrarian Tenure Institution Conflict Frames, and Communitarian Identities: The Case of Indigenous Southern Mexico." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(1): 82-113.

Hagopian, Frances. 2005. "Conclusions: Government Performance, Political Representation, and Public Perceptions of Contemporary Democracy in Latin America," in *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Eds. Frances Hagopian and Scott Mainwaring. Cambridge University Press. 319-362.

Naira Yuval-Davis. 1997. "Women, Citizenship and Difference." *Feminist Review* 57: 4-27.

Ekiert, Grzegorz and Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2007. "Strengthening Pluralism and Public Participation in New Democracies," in *The Construction of Democracy: Lessons from Practice & Research*, Eds. Jorge I. Dominguez and Anthony Jones Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 20-44.

Avritzer, Leonardo. 2009. *Participatory Institutions in Democratic Brazil*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1-20.

Barkan, Joel. 2009. African Legislatures and the 'Third Wave' of Democratization' in *Legislative Power in Emerging African Democracies*, Ed. Joel Barkan. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers

DAY 6: power sharing in practice

Kanyinga, Karuti. 2009. "Hobbling Along to Payoffs: The Kenya Grand Coalition Government." In *Workshop on the Consequences of Political Inclusion in Africa*. Washington, DC: American University Africa Council.

Cheeseman, Nic, and Blessing-Miles Tendi. 2010. "Power-sharing in Comparative Perspective: the Dynamics of 'Unity Government' in Kenya and Zimbabwe," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 48(2): 203-229.

LeVan, Carl. 2011. "Power Sharing in Africa's Uncertain Democracies," *Governance: an International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* 24(1): 31-53.

Oyugi, Walter. 2006. "Coalition Politics and Governments in Africa." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 24(1): 53-79.

Rothschild, Donald, and Philip Roeder. 2005. "Power Sharing as an Impediment to Peace and Democracy." In *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*, edited by Donald Rothchild and Philip Roeder. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 29-50.

Rakner, Lise, and Nicolas Van de Walle. 2009. "Democratization by Elections? Opposition

Weakness in Africa." *Journal of Democracy* 20(3):108-21.

Learning Objectives for Unit Three:

- 1) Diagnose similar barriers to good governance across different contexts in order to identify the possibilities – and limits – of incentivizing behavior through institutional.
- 2) Explore how comparative institutional analysis helps address practical problems of resource distribution and political rights.
- 3) Consider the effects of power sharing and other conflict resolution mechanisms on democratic governance more broadly.
- 4) Apply these broader debates to concrete issues being addressed by workshop participants in their particular cases of study.

Readings for Unit Three:

DAY 7: property rights and accountability

North, Douglass and Barry Weingast. 1989. "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in 17th Century England." *Journal of Economic History* 49(4): 803-832.

Moreno, Erika, Brian F. Crisp, and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 2003. "The Accountability Deficit in Latin America," in *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*, eds. Scott Mainwaring and Christopher Welna. New York: Oxford. 79-131.

de Soto, Hernando. 1990. *The Other Path: the Invisible Revolution in the Third World*. New York: Harper. Pick pages

Kanyinga, Karuti. 2009. "The Legacy of the White Highlands: Land Rights, Ethnicity, and post-2007 Election Violence in Kenya," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 27(3): 325-344.

DAY 8: particularistic goods versus public policies

Peter Ekeh (1975) 'Colonialism and the two publics: A theoretical Statement.' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17: 91-112

Arriola, Leonardo. 2009. "Patronage and Political Stability in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(10): 1339-1362.

Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. "Clientelism and Voting Behavior: A Field Experiment in Benin," *World Politics* 55(April): 399-422.

Habyarimana, James, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel Posner, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2007. "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" *American Political Science Review* 101(4):709-25.

Miguel, Edward. 2004. "Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania," *World Politics* 56: 327-62.

Bruce Berman, Jill Bottrel, and Yash Ghai. 2009. "Patrons, Clients, and Constitutions: Ethnic Politics and Political Reforms in Kenya." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 43(3): 462-506

DAY 9: inequality and governance

Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2010. "[Why is Africa Poor?](#)" *Economic History of Developing Regions* 25: 21-50.

Oxhorn, Philip. 2003. "Social inequality, civil society, and the limits of citizenship in Latin America," in *What Justice? Whose Justice? Fighting for Fairness in Latin America*. Eds. Susan Eckstein, Eva and Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley. Berkeley: University of California Press. 35-63.

Robinson, James A., and Daron Acemoglu. 2006. "Economic Backwardness in Political Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 100: 115-131.

Roberts, Kenneth M. 2006. "Populism, Political Conflict, and Grass-Roots Organization in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 38(2): 127-148.

DAY 10: quality of democracy and of democratic governance

Levine, Daniel H. and José E. Molina. 2011. "Evaluating the Quality of Democracy in Latin America" in *The Quality of Democracy in Latin America*, Eds. Daniel H. Levine and José E. Molina. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers. 1-19 (available online at <https://www.rienner.com/uploads/4d2f423ca1650.pdf>)

Mendoza-Botelho, Martin 2011. "Chapter 7 Bolivia: The Growth of Grassroots Participation by Martin Mendoza-Botelho" in *The Quality of Democracy in Latin America*, Eds. Daniel H. Levine and José E. Molina. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Rotberg, Robert I., and Rachel M. Gisselquist. 2008. "Strengthening African Governance: Results and Rankings 2008." In the News, Harvard University, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.
http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/18541/strengthening_african_governance.html?breadcrumb=%2Fexperts%2F219%2Fachel_gisselquist (October 6, 2008).